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SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW,

CONDUCTED BY

AN ASSOCIATION OF MINISTERS.

Vol. XXXVI.

JANUARY, MDCCCLXXXV.

No. 1.

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COLUMBIA, S. C.

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With the address of each subscriber, we now print the date of the last number for which he has paid. For example, those who have paid in full for the current volume—Vol. XXXVI.—will find after their names, “Oct. '85,” which means that they have paid for the October number of 1885, and of course for all preceding it. If any one has paid for all past volumes, and one dollar on XXXVI., he will find “Jan.” or “Jny, '85 and 25c. ;” which means that he has paid for the January number of 1885, and 25 cents on the April number. And so in other cases.

Those who have not paid for the current volume will confer a favor by forwarding the amount due to JAMES WOODROW & Co., Columbia, S. C.

In compliance with the wishes of many friends, it is announced that hereafter, *as a general rule*, the names of writers for this REVIEW will be attached to their articles, and the initials of each to the critical notices.

The REVIEW will continue to be, as it has always been, an open journal, favoring free discussion within limits. More than ever it is desired to make it a representative of our whole Church, as its name imports, and a faithful exponent of the Calvinistic Theology and the Presbyterian Polity.

Communications for its pages may be addressed to JAMES WOODROW, Columbia, S. C., or to ROBERT L. DABNEY, Austin, Texas, or to JOHN B. ADGER, Pendleton, South Carolina.

A more generous support by Southern Presbyterians would enable the Proprietors to make the work more worthy of its name.

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ARTICLE I.

PROFESSOR WOODROW'S SPEECH BEFORE THE
SYNOD OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Moderator, Fathers, and Brethren:

It affords me, notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances which surround us to night, no little pleasure once more to meet with the Synod of South Carolina. It is not the first time that I have enjoyed the pleasure of addressing this body; many years ago I met with you in the dark time that tried men's souls. And therefore I come to you as no stranger. At that meeting, Moderator, I had the satisfaction of communing with my brethren touching the interests of the same Seminary which is occupying so much of your attention at this time. We had been broken and blasted by the fortune of war; we were in the deepest depression, and despair well-nigh filled every heart: and under these circumstances we came together to consider what we should do for our beloved Church. Stout-hearted as is my brother and father who is sitting there before you [Dr. Adger], wrapped up in the Theological Seminary as its venerated Chairman, the Rev. Dr. Howe, so much loved by all—wrapped up in the Seminary as he was—even they were ready to give up all, to retire, the one to his farm in one direction, the other to seek a home in another,

and to give up the ship. But however little it may have been that I could do, when this beloved Seminary seemed to be so near temporary extinction, I have ever thought with infinite satisfaction that, little as it may have been, I could contribute at least something to the restoration of hope and to the resumption of the exercises of that institution absolutely necessary to the well-being of our Church. I come to you, Moderator, as no stranger for another reason also: for thirty-two years I have been your servant. You know my manner of life; I have taught you, and you,—but how can I enumerate, as I look around on this body, all those whom I have taught? You have seen me; you have tried me; and if I am guilty of aught, you know it. I come, however, fearlessly, because you have known me—not fearing that one recollection of all my past will cause you at this time to distrust or doubt one word that I shall utter. Whatever others may do, you know that there is no room for distrust.

But, Moderator, I have to confess that though I have these reasons for thinking that I am not a stranger, as I have been sitting here during the last few days I have wondered of whom the members of this Synod could be speaking. As I listened to words of praise, I felt that they could not apply to me, I did not deserve them. When I listened to words of blame, I knew that I did not deserve them; I knew that they must apply, if applied truthfully, to some one else than myself. I am not guilty, Moderator, of those things which have been said touching me, and of those things which have been charged against me since your sessions began. But I said "guilty." Am I on trial, Moderator? In what capacity do I appear before you? Am I a prisoner at the bar? Am I on trial for my ecclesiastical life? I have been told, as I have been listening day after day, that I am not on trial; and I might have known it, Moderator; because, when one is to be tried, a bill of indictment is prepared; specific charges are laid against him; he is told of the offence that he has committed; he has legal safeguards thrown around him; he may appear and answer for himself, not to vague rumors, not to indefinite utterances, but to the sharp, accurate, definite specifications of the evil that he has done. And, Moderator, no charge has been laid against me;

no accuser has appeared to challenge a single thought or utterance of mine before any tribunal of the Church. Moderator, I know by that that I am not on trial; I know that this Church which you represent is a law-abiding Church; I know that when it has thrown the ægis of its protection around me it will not mob me; it will not take away my ecclesiastical life by lynch law. And therefore I have known, notwithstanding the appearances, that before such a body—a body made up of honorable, truth-loving, righteous men—I could not be on trial when no forms of trial are observed, when no charge is made, when no utterance of mine has been challenged in accordance with those rules which you have ordained by your authority. And yet, Moderator, this, well as I know it, seems inconsistent with much that I have heard. I have heard definitions of offences read to see whether or not they applied to me; I have heard the question discussed whether that of which I had been supposed to be guilty was heresy or not. “Supposed to be guilty”? “Offence committed”? Committed by whom? It was not said; it was intimated; the whole discussion took it for granted that offences were laid to my charge, and that the only question to be decided was: What is the nature of the evil that you have done? Now, Moderator, what has been my offence? But before attempting to answer in any way that question, let us see how it happens that I am here before you in any capacity—what is the cause of my presence. I was not summoned as I would have been if I had been a prisoner at the bar; but I came. Why did I come? I can give most readily, perhaps, an account of the reasons of my coming by referring to the initial stages in this—what shall I call it?—in this process. Why, I could hardly keep from saying “process”; and yet, is this a process? Of what nature is the process? Pardon me, Moderator, if I forget to discriminate sufficiently before this body in the use of the terms that will exactly describe my position.

To begin, then, at the beginning, Moderator, let me read from an account of the origin as I suppose. You will find it contained in the journal which I hold in my hand. I find from this that in the year 1882–3 the Board of Directors of the Theologi-

cal Seminary invited me to deliver an address on the subject of "Evolution" as it is taught in the Theological Seminary. They told me that this invitation was given because scepticism in the world is using alleged discoveries in science to impugn the word of God; and they thought that, as my studies had lain in that direction, I possibly might be of some service in removing the objections to our sacred word, the foundation of our hopes, by pointing out that the charges made against it were not true. In obedience to that request, I delivered an address on the subject which had been assigned to me. I had this address, in accordance with the request of the Board, printed, and I sent a printed copy of it to the Board, which met on the 16th of September in the present year. I said to the Board that "in the autumn of 1882 your report to the Synods contained certain expressions touching Evolution which led me to regard it as my duty to take the earliest opportunity to call your attention specially to my instructions on that subject in the class-room, although I had already frequently done so at the successive annual examinations." Delight, joy, was expressed in that report sent to the associated Synods in 1882 "that Evolution and other insidious errors" were not taught in the Theological Seminary. Now, that was certainly true, Moderator; Evolution as an insidious error was not taught nor referred to in the remotest way. But it was known to the Board of Directors that for years I had been pointing out the fact, in the discharge of my duties, that Evolution, whether true or false, did not in the slightest degree impugn the absolute truthfulness of a single word in the blessed Bible. Still, I supposed that it was my duty at the earliest opportunity—that self-respect demanded it of me—that I should give the Board of Directors an opportunity of correcting any mistakes in their future reports to the authorities of the Church. After I had called their attention specifically to the teaching of Evolution, as it is called (the teaching, that is to say, in the sense that was explained this morning, of *handling* the subject), the Board of Directors sent precisely the same report to the General Assembly, and thus proved that they could have no possible reference to me or to my teaching, in speaking of

Evolution in connexion with insidious errors, and that it must have been, consequently, that which was on the face of their invitation that had led them to make the request which they did. The rest of my letter from which I was quoting is simply a reference to the occasion which I have already in other words stated. On the receipt of this address, after full and exhaustive discussion, the following paper was adopted by the Board by a vote of 8 to 3: "The Board having carefully considered the address of Dr. Woodrow, published in pursuance of its request, adopts the following: 1st. *Resolved*, That the Board does hereby tender to Dr. Woodrow its thanks for the ability and faithfulness with which he has complied with its request. 2nd. That in the judgment of this Board the relations subsisting between the teachings of Scripture and the teachings of natural science are plainly, correctly, and satisfactorily set forth in said address. 3rd. That the Board is not prepared to concur in the view expressed by Dr. Woodrow as to the probable method of the creation of Adam's body; yet, in the judgment of the Board, there is nothing in the doctrine of Evolution, as defined and limited by him, which appears inconsistent with perfect soundness in the faith. 4th. That the Board takes this occasion to record its deep and ever-growing sense of the wisdom of our Synods in the establishment of the 'Perkins Professorship of Natural Science in connexion with Revelation,' and of the importance of such instruction as is thereby afforded, that our ministry may be the better prepared to resist the objections of infidel scientists and defend the Scriptures against their insidious charges."

Moderator, such approval from the representatives of the Church was a full reward for all the labors of the past twenty-four years. It is not as if another occupant of the chair, or the chair itself, had been commended, for the Perkins chair, from its beginning to this day, has been occupied by myself alone, and, consequently, whatever is said of the importance and value of the teachings of that chair is said of the importance and value of my teachings; and when these words, upon which I will not now further comment, are uttered by eight such men, repre-

sentatives of the different Synods of this Church, I am satisfied—I am satisfied that I cannot have been walking far astray in the paths of infidelity or heresy.

But, Moderator, how came I to speak of natural science in any of its aspects in the Theological Seminary, and of Evolution in particular? In order to show this, it will be necessary for me to carry you back for some years, to give a distinct history of the origin of my connexion with the Theological Seminary and the teaching of natural science there in any of its aspects.

In the year 1857 the initial steps looking to the establishment of the Perkins chair were taken, first in the Presbytery of Tombeckbee, and afterwards in the Synod of Mississippi, all based upon this resolution:

“Whereas we live in an age in which the most insidious attacks are made upon revealed religion through the natural sciences; and as it behooves the Church at all times to have men capable of defending the faith once delivered to the saints; therefore,

“*Resolved*, That this Presbytery recommend the endowment of a professorship of the natural sciences as connected with revealed religion in one or more of our theological seminaries, and would cheerfully recommend our churches to contribute their full proportion of funds for said endowment.”

The Synod of Mississippi subsequently adopted the same resolution; and so began this chair. To that chair, Moderator, the Synod of Georgia, representing the three Synods, covering four States, which had control of the Seminary, called me. I did not seek the honor or the labor. When I was named as a suitable person for it, I knew nothing of it; when subsequently I was urged to allow efforts to be made in behalf of my election, I sternly forbade it, and by no word or act of mine was a single step forward taken in the direction of my occupancy of the chair. You took me from other duties; you took me from other church work, from teaching by your authority and in your name, and spending as much of my time as I possibly could in preaching to the poor and neglected in the regions round about. You knew, Moderator, what my opinions were; I had been serving you for eight years. I taught one, and another, and another of those

who are now to-night in this house, principles which I have heard, since I came here into this city of Greenville, denounced as contrary to the Confession of Faith and the standards of our Church; and you knew it. The very men who called me to that chair had either sat under me, or had been my associates, or had been members of the Board of Trustees of Oglethorpe University, or had been of those who confirmed or approved of my nomination and my teaching. Consequently you were not electing some one who might have entertained opinions that were wholly and grossly different from those which you would have taught the theological students of this Church. And now, what was I to teach, Moderator? To what was I called? At the earliest possible moment after my election I met with the Board of Directors, presented myself before them, to consult, to advise with them, as to what I was to do. The chair was new; it was without parallel in the world; no theological seminary in America or Europe had anything that could even remotely serve as my guide. And what was I, a youth, to do without the help of the Church, through its representatives, to guide me? I presented to that Board, (not the Synod of Georgia; it was the Board of Directors of this Seminary, representing all of the constituent Synods, although it met indeed at the same time and in the same place with the Synod of Georgia,) I presented to that Board an outline of what seemed to me to be my duty, and asked their counsel; and they freely gave it to me. They approved my suggestions; they sanctioned all that I proposed to do; and from that day to this I have been carrying out in good faith, with pure conscience, the instructions which I thus received from the Church; because, though this was only a Board of Directors, you may say, yet when one part of the Church is authorised to speak on any point, it is the whole Church that is speaking, and I so regarded it. So strengthened I have gone forward as I have done to this day.

I will, by reading a portion of the Inaugural Address which I delivered on that occasion, indicate as briefly as possible the work that you, Moderator, gave me on that occasion to do, you sitting as the representative of the Church. It was not a differ-

ent body, it was this body; and therefore I claim that until I am condemned, until disapprobation of my course has been expressed, I may assume that I am walking in the narrow path which you pointed out to me at this long time ago. After stating other duties that might have been supposed to belong to the professorship, I say: "In the third place, it may be the design of the professorship to evince the harmony [between natural science and revelation] only where it has been doubted or denied, or where opinions prevailing among scientific men either are, or are supposed to be"—*either are, or are supposed to be*—"inconsistent with our sacred records; in other words, to scrutinise the nature and the force of current and popular objections to the Scriptures; to meet them, to set them aside by proving"—proving what, Moderator?—"that they spring either from science falsely so-called, or from incorrect interpretations of the words of the Holy Bible." I was warranted, then, Moderator, in scrutinising the interpretations of the Bible which might be prevalent around me. You gave me that work to do; and now are you going to make the objection that I have ventured to indicate that possibly some interpretations of the Bible that have been floating around in the popular mind are incorrect? No, Moderator, you are not going to treat me so; you are not going to tell me to scrutinise with all vigilance interpretations of the Bible and interpretations of nature to see whether they are correct or not; and when, with all modesty, I venture to suggest that here may possibly be some popular interpretation that is incorrect, turn upon me and say, "You are a heretic. You are destroying the Church; you are tearing up the foundations; you are denying the Word of God; you are violating your vows."

I proceed:

"This would involve a careful study of the fundamental principles of the various branches of science from which the objections are drawn, and of their details, carried far enough to enable one to judge correctly of the amount of truth in each objection." Will you now say that I may teach, that I may handle nothing in science, except that which some ecclesiastical council has pronounced to be a verified hypothesis? Why, then, did you let me

say to you twenty-three years ago what I have just read, and approve of my saying and of my doing it? And now, when I have done it, will you charge me with all of those things which I have heard echoing and reëchoing through this house these last few days, and flooding the land in the religious and in the secular journals from Maine to Texas and California?

I say further:

“It would involve, further, the careful study of the principles of biblical interpretation, as far as these relate to the mode in which the works of God are spoken of. The comparison of the results obtained thus, if the processes have been properly conducted, must inevitably evince entire harmony, or at least the entire absence of discord.” Moderator, that was twenty-three years ago. In those twenty-three years I have tried to learn something, and I think that I know more now than I did twenty-three years ago of these relations; and I find that this is the chief thing, perhaps, that I have learned in that direction: that the last phrase which I used is the one which I ought exclusively to have used, instead of the alternative proposition which I then presented, and that the connexion is that which I then, youth as I was, pointed out: the entire absence of discord. Now it is this which I regard as constituting the field on which most of my labor is to be expended. I had marked other passages to read from my Inaugural Address to show the design of this chair, but I will not weary your patience by reading them.

And now to what extent and how am I required to “teach” science, by this compact to which I have been referring you? Why, teach it so that its connexion with revelation can be clearly understood in all cases where that connexion is to be discussed. As you have been told over and over on this floor, I have not been teaching science for its own sake. I have been teaching it, indeed; but in no case have I taught or presented—or handled, if you prefer the word—in no case have I handled the subject of natural science, except for the express and limited purpose of pointing out the connexion which you had ordered me to do by the voice of the Church, representing the voice of God. That is the extent.

And now, how have I taught, Moderator? Did I ever teach you that you were to receive at my lips, by my authority, a single sentiment—a single opinion? Did I ever inculcate upon you the duty of receiving one opinion that I expressed, because I expressed it? Yes, one—one, not with regard to natural science, however. The only thing that I ever inculcated upon any of these dear brethren, whose faces I see turned up towards me at this moment, was that there is but one authority before which you must bow. You must bow before the Lord God Almighty; you must accept his word; you must submit to his control; and beyond that you must submit to no control. You are freemen in the Lord. If I have with weariness to you taught any one thing, it was: "*Nullius jurare in verba magistri.*" I have not inculcated science upon you; I have insisted that at every step that you took you must judge for yourselves as you were to answer to the sole authority. You know this, as do those, not yet members of this body, who are still sitting under my instructions. I am to be forbidden to inculcate? I never have inculcated, except in the sense explained. If you call that *inculcation*, I have done nothing else. But science, as I repeat—and this seems to me to include all the information that you desire on that point—science for its own sake I have never even remotely referred to in the hearing of any human being within the walls of that Theological Seminary.

Let me say, further, as is perhaps sufficiently evident—but for fear it may not be, let me refer very briefly to another point—that the object of this chair is purely apologetic; it is purely defensive. Let me recur to the Synodical resolution establishing the chair and then you will see:

"*Resolved*, That in accordance with the conditions annexed to the generous donation of Judge Perkins, there be added to the existing departments of instruction in the Seminary, a chair, to be entitled the Perkins Professorship of Natural Science in connexion with Revelation; the design of which shall be to evince the harmony of science with the records of our faith, and to refute the objections of infidel naturalists." When I had the opportunity for consultation with it, I found that the Board, that is to

say, the Church, agreed with me that the last clause of this resolution chiefly set forth the intention which it had in establishing the chair: "to refute the objections of infidel naturalists."

Moderator, to refute, to answer objections, what does that require? I see learned members of the Bar sitting in this house. When the evidence of two witnesses is said to be contradictory, what do they do? Do they undertake to show that the evidence of the one is identical with the evidence of the other? Do they not rather maintain confidently before the judge and the jury that they have refuted the objection that was made against the evidence of the two witnesses when they have presented some probable hypothesis which would entirely remove the apparent contradiction which had existed? It is not necessary—it would be absurd, impossible—to require that it shall be shown that the two witnesses, who may be speaking of entirely different things, agree with one another. But when they have shown that there is a reasonable interpretation of their testimony which is consistent with the absence of contradiction, they have accomplished all that any court of justice would ever require, or the common sense of any man living, whether in a court of justice or not. Therefore this is the point of view from which I have regarded the subject.

But you have heard, Moderator, frequent reference to the formula of subscription.¹ I will not take time to read that formula; I will simply remind you that it includes my vows, my solemn oath before God and the Church, that I accept the Confession of Faith as containing "a just summary of the doctrines contained in the Bible," and pledging myself that I would teach nothing directly or indirectly in opposition thereto. And with regard to this I may say again in all good conscience, I have kept my vows.

¹ Const. Theo. Sem., Section III., Article 5: "Every Professor, when inaugurated, shall publicly subscribe the Confession of Faith and other standards, agreeably to the following formula: 'In the presence of God and these witnesses, I do solemnly subscribe the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and other standards of government, discipline, and worship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, as a just summary of the doctrines contained in the Bible, and promise and engage not to teach, directly or indirectly, any doctrine contrary to this belief, while I continue a Professor in the Seminary.'"

But during the progress of the single act of inauguration or introducing me into my chair, I called the attention of the Church—for remember, Moderator, that it was the Church that was assembled in the Board of Directors—I called the attention of the Church to that which I might have assumed they well knew before, and insisted that they should observe that I was going to teach, in the sense explained, this: that the teachings of geology respecting the antiquity of the earth are true. A vow is binding in the sense of those who impose that vow. The Church was assembled in the Board of Directors when this vow was imposed upon me, and I took it in the sense in which they imposed it. They imposed it in such sense that it was not to be regarded as inconsistent with it that I should teach that this world was created more than one hundred and forty-four hours before Adam. The Board knew, and they accepted my subscription with this understanding, that I was going to teach something very different from the doctrine that the world was created only one hundred and forty-four hours before Adam; if that is in the Confession of Faith, that is not what I am going to teach; I am going to teach that the world is more than ten days even older than Adam; yes, more than several months older. Moderator, I told them, in telling them what I did, that I was going to teach that the world was so old that the mind of man would utterly fail to grasp not the years alone, but the centuries and the thousands of years during which I not only believed but knew it had been existing. And, Moderator, having taken this oath in the sense of those who imposed it upon me, I repeat I have kept it in all good conscience to this day.

The part of the Confession of Faith which refers to the matter of which I have just been speaking is this: "It pleased God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the glory of his eternal power, wisdom, and goodness, in the beginning, to create or make of nothing the world, and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good." I will not enter upon an argument as to the meaning of this; I am perfectly willing to admit the argument of my learned brother from Columbia [W. A. Clark, Esq.], or the argument of

my learned colleague [Rev. Dr. Girardeau] on the opposite side. I am perfectly indifferent as to what its meaning is. Following a principle which I have always adopted, whenever any interpretation of any doctrine has been favorable to myself or to my supposed opinions, I have leaned against it and away from it. And therefore I have never sought to show that this meant anything else except that which my colleague insists that it means; I have always assumed that it meant what he supposes. And it was under the influence of that principle at that early date that I guarded against any possible misconstruction—against the idea that by any attempt, any effort of mine, I was stealing into public office in the Church with the intention of violating my vows and corrupting the youth of the Church by my false teachings.

I wish to say at this stage, for fear I shall forget it later, that from that day to this, with regard to all of my teachings, there is not one other word or syllable that I would wish to have changed in this Confession or in these Catechisms, from beginning to end. With regard to all the rest of what is said of the work of creation, there is not, "Evolutionist" though I may be, there is not one syllable that I would have altered—not one syllable that does not express my interpretation of the word of God. The rest of this chapter is as follows: "After God had made all other creatures, he created man, male and female, with reasonable and immortal souls, endued with knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, after his own image," etc. And the Larger Catechism says: "After God had made all other creatures, he created man, male and female; formed the body of the man of the dust of the ground, and the woman of the rib of the man," etc. There is not one word here, not one syllable, which I would have changed, if I had the power of the entire Presbyterian Church in my hands this moment. This expresses my exact belief as to the meaning of the word of God; and in that word—though the opposite may be charged again and again, as it has been charged—in that word I find not one syllable which I disbelieve. Shall I again be met by the taunt, "So says the Unitarian; so the Arian of every grade"? Whether this shall be repeated jeeringly against me or not, I will say

once more that every word of the Bible I receive as coming from the God of all truth.

Now, Moderator, after this historical statement, I may repeat that it was the Board's invitation that I publish my views, the Board's report upon my address, and the protest against that report—it was these things which brought up this case—case I suppose I can call it, inasmuch as a recent determination of the General Assembly in one instance was that anything that might be presented before an ecclesiastical body was a “case.”

In the next place, let me ask what right has the Church to teach anything directly or indirectly with reference to natural science? Does the Church exist for the purpose of teaching natural science? Had the Church any right to establish such a chair as that which I occupy? Let us consider a little while this question, What right has the Church to do anything? Moderator, what is the Church? What commission has been placed in its hands? I will not read that commission as recorded in both the places where I find it, but content myself with reading it as it is presented in one of these. As our blessed Lord was about to leave this earth as to his bodily presence, he said to the assembled eleven, representing you, representing me, representing there the entire body of those who should be collected in subsequent ages as constituting the members of his kingdom and the subjects of it upon earth: “Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,” or as it is given in a parallel passage, “the things that I have commanded.” There, and there alone, do we find our commission. Whatever is inconsistent with that commission, you have no right to do. If you go one step beyond the things here commanded; if you authoritatively undertake to teach anything that is outside of the gospel or the “things commanded,” that is to say, the contents of the Holy Bible; if you go a hair's breadth outside of that, you are adding to what the Lord, the King of this kingdom, has enjoined upon you; you are transgressing his law; you are preparing the way for the addition of the plagues which are written in this book to your lot, if you so do. You may preach the gospel, you may teach that; and you may authoritatively teach nothing else. Here is the foundation, then, upon which we rest.

But, Moderator, that does not exhaust the statement, although every addition to it must come within it. I suppose that it will be conceded without argument that the principle is true that whenever a duty is commanded or a right conferred by competent authority, everything necessary to the proper performance of that duty or enjoyment of that right is also commanded or conferred. Is this admitted? Then it follows that since the Lord Jesus Christ has commanded his Church to preach the gospel to every creature, he has also thereby empowered it to do what is necessary to obey that command in the best possible manner—among other things, to train and educate those who shall preach the gospel. If there is anything “expressly set down in Scripture,” or by good and necessary consequence deducible from the Scriptures, showing how this is to be done, such methods must be rigorously followed, and the slightest departure from them is sin against the headship of the King. But no methods being prescribed in the Scriptures, then such and only such are to be adopted as “are ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the word, which are always to be observed.” All that relates to the training or educating of the ministry, according to the universal interpretation of our Church for ages, falls under the last sentence just quoted from the Confession, and consequently that wisdom, that prudence with which the King of Zion has endowed his subjects, is to be exercised in selecting the methods by which his great command is to be best observed.

But what are the limits, Moderator? I do not mean now, in asking that question, the limits so far as regards simply the matter of educating or training those who shall preach the gospel; but what are the limits universally? Moderator, the Church may not only teach those things which tend to prepare preachers efficiently to preach the gospel, but it may do anything that will directly or indirectly promote the efficient preaching of the gospel. It may buy land; it may build houses; it may go on Wall Street and buy exchange; it may set type and print books; it may build ships; in short, there is nothing that it may not do, all under this limitation: that the building, that the printing, that the buying of exchange, is done with reference to the accom-

plishment of the one great aim, the proclamation of the gospel with the utmost power and efficiency. Do you believe that, Moderator? I know that you believe it; I know that there is no one here who can fail to believe it, if he will but exercise his unprejudiced reason upon it.

But, next, as to this matter of teaching—let me call your attention to the fact that it is not teaching in the Theological Seminary alone; but in accordance with the principle just stated, the Church may, if it is necessary to accomplish the object which I have pointed out, take the little child and teach it its alphabet; it may take the boy and teach him in the academy; it may teach him in the college; it may teach him in the theological seminary; it may do whatever fairly and honestly comes within the limitations presented. And accordingly the Church, recognising this principle, has established colleges and schools of all grades; and its relations to each—its relations to the college, to the seminary, to the parochial school—its relations in every case are identical, without the slightest modification. The Church as truly teaches mathematics as it teaches theology. At Davidson College, for example, you find that the relations subsisting between the professors and the ecclesiastical bodies controlling that institution, are exactly the same as those which exist between myself and the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary and the Synods associated in control of the Board of Directors. Prof. Martin and Prof. Blake and Pres. Hepburn are as really the Church's representatives, clothed with church power, as is any theological professor under your control. It is you who are teaching mathematics; it is you who are teaching political economy; it is you who are teaching chemistry, just as truly as it is you who are teaching church history or theology at Columbia; and you have the same right to do it, provided always that the exercise of wisdom and prudence shows that thereby you are preparing for the most efficient preaching of the gospel, which is your sole duty. It is useless, therefore, in view of the facts which I have now stated—it is useless for you to attempt to make any distinction between teaching in a theological seminary and teaching in a college. That which you do by your agent, you do

yourself; and President Hepburn is as much your agent as I am your agent; and if you have no right to teach metaphysics or political economy through President Hepburn, then, and then only, have you no right to teach any subject that it may please you to teach through me in the exercise of your wisdom and prudence.

And now, Moderator, having, as I think, established your right to have a Perkins Professorship, let me ask you, What is your responsibility for my teaching? How far are you responsible for the details of my instruction? Are you to see to it that every word that I say is strictly scientifically correct? I suppose that we can best examine this question by examining another similar case. How is it in the matter of chemistry? When you, the Church, teach chemistry through Prof. Martin, what is your responsibility for the kind of chemistry that he teaches? Did you, as a Synod, a few years ago, when the chemistry of the world underwent a revolution, and that which thirty years ago was supposed to be true came to be regarded as not true in this science, did you expect Prof. Martin to come before you and say, "The chemistry that I am going to teach in the future is not like the chemistry that I have taught in the past; I tell you now that I believe that what I formerly taught was not true"? As we have now an entirely new chemistry, why did Prof. Martin not come before you and urge upon you the consideration of the question: "Shall I teach the new chemistry? Or am I, because I taught the old when I was elected, under obligation to continue to teach it whether I believe it or not?" Moderator, the idea is preposterous that you are responsible for the kind of chemistry that is taught. I do not ask it in any personally slighting way—I hope you will understand me—but how could you tell which was right? What do you know about it? What does this Synod know? I have the utmost respect for their knowledge; but just imagine yourselves undertaking to direct your agents as to what they shall teach in Davidson College. I will not apply this question to myself, Moderator; I will assume that you know exactly what I ought to teach with regard to scientific matters. But speaking of these other gentlemen, I am not so sure. And

it would be an unfortunate thing if this Synod's time should be occupied year after year in considering whether the changing aspects of science did not require that you should say to the professors at Davidson, "You shall teach this and not this," or "You shall not teach the other; because we, sitting as a court of the Lord Jesus Christ, pronounce it to be an 'unverified hypothesis.'" Is that the function of a court of the Lord Jesus Christ? But I ask, what is your responsibility then? Your responsibility terminates when you have selected those in whom you confide as to their general knowledge, as to their ability, and as to their fidelity, and, above all, as to this: that they shall teach nothing that contradicts the word of God. There, and there alone, is the limit of your responsibility. Your professors, like yourself, Moderator, as pastor—your professors are of the nature of professional counsel. You indeed employ your professors; so do I employ a lawyer or a physician—and in the same sense. But when I have employed him and put the case into his hands, and told him which case of mine I wish him to attend to, do I venture to say how he is to bring suit? Am I to watch him and see that he pleads law correctly and that he makes no mistakes? Or when you are called as pastor, does the Presbytery undertake to prescribe for you your texts; whether you shall preach extemporaneously or otherwise; whether you shall preach chiefly from the Old Testament or the New; whether you shall use poetic language or plain simple prose; whether you shall confine yourself to the very words of the Bible, or make it the basis of your ideas without using its very words? No, Moderator; when you are called to be pastor of a church, you become the professional counsel of that church; and you teach what you think to be the truth of the Scriptures in the way that you think best; and the only control—the only rightful control—which the Presbytery has over you is that you shall teach nothing contrary to the word of God. There is no other limit; and as to any supposition that you may make in the course of your exposition of the Sacred Scriptures respecting the meaning of this passage or that, there is no control over you except within the limits that I have pointed out: that your teachings shall not contradict the word of

God as interpreted by our standards. The Church teaches natural science, Moderator; teaches it, that is to say, as I need hardly continue to repeat quite so often perhaps, with the intention of training by the culture and absolute knowledge that is conveyed; teaches it so that thereby it may prepare one the better to preach the gospel, which alone it may authoritatively do. Here is its authority in both directions. Now, as it may teach authoritatively nothing except the word of God and the things intrusted to it by its King, is it competent to sit in judgment on anything else? Is it competent to the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ to sit in judgment on the truth or falsity of any proposition in science? Has it a right to consider whether the multiplication table that is used throughout its schools is correct or not? You are abundantly competent, Moderator, no doubt, to tell whether the multiplication table is correct or not; but it is not competent to you, sitting as a presbyter, in the Church, to express any opinion on that subject. The Lord Jesus Christ has not intrusted you with that work. Truth indeed is involved; it may be a false multiplication table. It may be filled with ruinous errors, as to the business man who conducts his business according to it; it may lead astray in many directions; but it is not your business to correct it. However competent you may be, it is not competent to you to sit in judgment upon it.

And this brings me to that which is the conclusion of this part of what I have to say to you: that you can have, that you dare have, no opinion on any subject except as that subject is related directly to the word of God. As to whether an opinion is correct or not, as to whether an hypothesis is proved or not proved, you may not open your lips when you are speaking as the representative of Christ Jesus our Lord. He has not commissioned you to do that thing; and if you do it, you will be going beyond the authority that he has given you. Just as, according to one of the illustrations used in the debate now in progress, you may not interfere with my political opinions or discuss the question as to whether on the 4th of November next I should vote for Blaine or Cleveland, just so you have no right to discuss any of my opinions or any of my teachings in the discharge of the duties to

which you have appointed me, except in the one particular as to whether or not they contradict the word of God. Where do you get such authority? In the charter containing the things commanded? No, Moderator; you don't get it anywhere; and what you don't get in that charter is withheld from you; and if you claim such authority, you are usurping the rights of others, you are stepping out of your sphere, you are claiming that which the Lord the King has carefully kept out of your hands.

Now, Moderator, having established these principles, as I trust and believe all will agree, I proceed to the examination of the paper which was presented to you by the minority of the Committee on Theological Seminaries, but prepared, as the writer of it informs us, from notes furnished by the Rev. Dr. Girardeau, my colleague in the Theological Seminary. The first resolution in this minority report is:

“Resolved, That the question whether Dr. Woodrow's views in regard to evolution involve heresy is not before the Synod.”

Moderator, I am perfectly certain that every word of affection and of care for the reputation of his colleague which was spoken by Dr. Girardeau is strictly true in its fullest sense; I know that all that he said in that direction is not to be questioned. But, Moderator, I cannot blind myself to the conviction that his heart has interfered in this particular with the usual clearness of the working of his head. “The question whether Dr. Woodrow's views with regard to evolution involve heresy is not before the Synod.” Well, why did you say anything about it? Suppose I were to say and publish to the world “that the question of the Rev. J. Spratt White's honesty and truthfulness is not now before the Synod;” what would you think of that, Moderator, if I introduced a paper containing that expression? Would you be content with the disclaimer, going out with the paper to the world, that it never occurred to me to question your honor and truthfulness and integrity? Why say anything about it, if your honor and truthfulness and integrity are not called in question? But, Moderator, that is not all; let us read on and take in connexion with this the fourth resolution of this minority report: *“Resolved, That the action of the Board of Directors virtually*

approving the inculcation and the defence of the unverified hypothesis of evolution in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, is, the majority of the Synods of Georgia, Alabama, South Georgia and Florida concurring, hereby reversed; and that the inculcation and defence of the said hypothesis, even as a probable one, in the Theological Seminary, as being contrary to the interpretation of the Scriptures by our Church and to her prevailing and recognised views, is, a majority of the associated Synods concurring, hereby prohibited." Now, it seems to me that that is a charge which comes very near placing me on trial. If I use very inaccurate language on this point, Moderator, and speak of myself as being on trial, remember I don't mean it—I don't mean, of course, that I am on trial; but if I do slip, let me slip, and I won't correct myself, but I'll take it for granted that you'll understand that I don't mean that. But, Moderator, here I am before this Synod directly charged with teaching in the Theological Seminary that which is contrary to the interpretation of the Scriptures by our Church; and yet you are told that I am not charged with heresy. Well, I care very little about the words employed; but so to teach is an "offence," isn't it? Let us see.

"An offence," as you heard read by the author of this paper in direct reference to this particular matter, "the proper object of judicial process, is anything in the principles or practice of a church member professing faith in Christ which is contrary to the word of God." Now it is stated in this paper which this Synod is asked to adopt, that what I do, what I teach, what I believe, is contrary to the interpretation of the Scripture by the Church, which is the Scripture. I am then charged with an offence; so much, at least, is clear. But an offence is the proper object of a judicial process. If then I am charged with an offence, and the safeguards of a judicial process are not thrown around me, is justice done me? But this offence is not heresy, you are told. Oh no, it is not heresy that you are charged with; that is not before the Synod. Well, what is?

What is heresy, Moderator? I will not inquire of Blackstone, I will not inquire of Webster; I will read what the nature of heresy is from our sole guide in this matter: "Heresy and schism

may be of such a nature as to warrant deposition; but errors ought to be carefully considered, whether they strike at the vitals of religion, and are industriously spread, or whether they arise from the weakness of the human understanding, and are not likely to do much injury."

Now, under which of these categories does my contradiction of the Holy Scriptures come? Is my false teaching, that is, this teaching that is contrary to our interpretation of the Scriptures, such as arises from the weakness of the human understanding? I will not express any opinion on that point. Is it that they are not likely to do much injury? O Moderator, what have you been hearing as to the injury that has come from my false teaching? Why, Moderator, you have been told that the vital doctrines of our blessed gospel are utterly uprooted by my false teaching; you are told that the federal headship of Adam is denied; you are told that therefore our connexion with the Saviour is denied; you are told that the Church is likely to be rent. O Moderator, is teaching attended with such effects not likely to do much injury? That your future ministers shall be taught to doubt and disbelieve the Bible, to deny the supernatural, is that not likely to do much injury? And then as to the other qualifying phrases, let us see: "carefully considered, whether they strike at the vitals of religion"—well, you know what that is; "and are industriously spread:" I cannot deny the industry, if my teachings are false; and whether they are false or true, I have industriously spread them, and the Board of Directors has helped. The Board, after it had heard these dangerous teachings, after it had heard all that I had to say on this particular subject and in this direction, requested that they should be widely disseminated, so far as the circulation of the SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW extended; and then—I will not shield myself behind the Board of Directors and its request—I printed a great many besides and widely disseminated them. I printed thousands of copies in a religious journal and in pamphlet form; I cannot shield myself under the plea that I have not widely and industriously spread the poison that some of you profess to have found in my teachings. No, Moderator; my offence of teaching

that which is contrary to the word of God comes under the very gravest specifications that are here presented; and whether, after having seen this so clearly, it is heresy or not, I will not venture to express an opinion. If such an offence has been committed by me, ought I not to be deposed? If I thought that you, Moderator, had done a tithe of what I have been charged with, I would say, much as I love you, that you ought to be deposed; and if you think deposition is not warranted by the enormity of my offence, it is only because the clear working of the mind is obscured by the loving heart.

And then it is to be observed still further in this direction, Moderator, that this is not my first offence. For all these twenty-four years—as to the eight years before, you need not count them; when I was serving you then I had not promised to regard the Confession of Faith as the expression of my faith—but for twenty-four years I have been, according to the author of this paper [Dr. Girardeau], violating my vows. As you have been told by him, it was too late when in my Inaugural Address I told the Board what my views were; it was then too late, I had already signed the Confession; and I was bound to take the Confession in the sense that has been pointed out to you by him, as teaching that the whole universe was created only six times twenty-four hours before Adam; and here year after year I have violated that vow.

Whether or not there might be any propriety in pleading a statute of limitations, I will not undertake to say.

But there is one comforting thought. Is it a comforting thought, Moderator? I am not sure. Misery is said to love company, and I suppose under the same general principle, it may be a comforting thought that he who charges you with a sin, if he has not committed it along with you, at least has never reproved your sin and your folly, although he knew it all the time. The author of this paper was a member of this Synod, and in that sense one of the controllers of this Seminary, twenty-four years ago; for years he was a Director in that Seminary; for eight years he has been my colleague; and yet he has allowed me to go on in sin all this time without ever having breathed to

me that I was guilty of such enormities. As he has told you, we have taken sweet counsel together in the house of God. He suffered this sin in me, although he knew, according to what he has been saying to you during these last few days how grievous my fault, my sin against God, was every day.

The second of the resolutions in the minority report reads as follows:

“Resolved, That the Synod is called upon to decide, not upon the question whether the said views of Dr. Woodrow contradict the Bible in its highest and absolute sense, but upon the question whether they contradict the interpretations of the Bible by the Presbyterian Church in the United States.”

Moderator, are you going thus to publish your shame to the world? For is it not a shame if you proclaim that the meaning of the Bible as interpreted by your standards is not what you believe to be the absolute and highest sense of the word? Are you going to say to the world, “We don't believe our standards.” “We think that there is a high and absolute sense which is inconsistent with our standards.” “When we preach to you and interpret to you the word of God according to the standards, we are preaching and interpreting in a way that we believe to be false”? Are you going to say that? Are you going to put that on record? Is not what I have intimated in these last few sentences most strictly true? Let us imagine a case, Moderator: there are a number of your flock and of your neighbors sitting under my instructions in South Carolina College. I teach them that geology is true; that this world was created more than a week before Adam. Suppose that one of these when he returns to your pastoral care, anxious for the salvation of his soul, shall come to you and ask you what he is to do. After you have told him that he is to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and he will be saved, he tells you, “I feel that that is true; I believe what you say; but don't you remember that when you last expounded in church the first chapter of Genesis, you taught in obedience to your church principles and to your Confession of Faith, that the world was created only six days of twenty-four hours each before Adam?” You look incredulous and are not willing to sit as the

original of that picture, Moderator. But you must; you are bound from what you have heard on this floor to do so; if you undertake to explain the first chapter of Genesis and explain it in any other way, you are told that you are violating your vows, you are bound to teach that very thing; and so the young man goes on: "I believed that to be true before; but I have been down at Columbia for the last year or two, and I have been taught in such a way that I have come to believe that that is not true, and consequently I cannot receive this Lord Jesus Christ whom you urge upon me, because the book that contains the lessons touching him is one that you told me contradicts the truth as I have ascertained it elsewhere." And so the poor young man, your lips being sealed—if you open them to say that that is not the meaning of the Bible, you are violating your vows, and you may not say it—so the poor young man goes away, there is no hope, no Saviour for him, and he is lost. Would you let him go away? Wouldn't you call him back, notwithstanding all that has been said about violating your vows, and teach him what you believe to be the highest and absolute sense of the Sacred Scriptures, and say, "The Scriptures don't teach that lie; the Scriptures do not teach that this world is only 6,000 years old, and the Scriptures are true. Come, accept the Saviour whom they present, without fear of believing two contradictories at the same time."

This is the inevitable result of the teaching as you will send it forth if you adopt the minority report: that the highest and absolute sense of the Sacred Scriptures is different from that which you pledge yourselves to teach as ministers and to support as ruling elders in the Church of Christ. Isn't it? Why, Moderator, I am under no more obligation to teach received interpretations than you are, am I? Didn't you accept the Confession of Faith in the same sense in which I did? And are you going to charge me with violating my vows, are you going to hold me up as a perjurer before God and man, if I teach the highest and absolute sense of the Sacred Scriptures as I can find it, untrammelled by that which, you yourself being judge, is not true? No, Moderator, I am bound by no vows by which you

are not bound in substance; and if you can justify yourself in holding up the gospel and earnestly entreating the enlightened youth to come and embrace the Saviour, I may teach the students that you send me that they may do it—that they must do it, or be recreant to the King himself. And yet, Moderator, you are asked by adopting this resolution to proclaim to the world that these two things are entirely different.

In the next place, you find in the third resolution this:

—“That the declaration of the Board of Directors that ‘the relations subsisting’ ”—observe, Moderator—“that ‘the relations subsisting between the teachings of Scripture and the teachings of natural science are plainly, correctly, and satisfactorily set forth’ in Dr. Woodrow’s address, was inexpedient and injudicious.”

Moderator, observe what is commended here, or of what approval is expressed. It is not said that anything else in the address is approved; it is not said that Dr. Woodrow’s ideas about Evolution are approved; no, there is not a syllable about that; but that the relation subsisting between natural science and revelation is non-contradiction, because the Bible does not teach natural science, that that is plainly, correctly, and satisfactorily set forth. The Board do not become responsible for any of my scientific errors; the Board knew their duty too well, as it seems from what they have sent here, to venture to express any opinion on such points. It is true there is an ambiguous expression in one of their resolutions: “That they are not prepared to concur,” and, if you choose, you may press that, as has been done, into an expression of non-concurrence or disapprobation. I will not venture to express any opinion, although I may just say privately to you, Moderator, that I know that that is not what they meant. But I will not argue that matter. They simply express in this resolution their approbation of what they were pleased to regard as a demonstration: that the relation that ought to be regarded as subsisting between the teachings of Scripture and the teachings of natural science is the relation of non-contradiction, and that based upon the proved truth that the Bible does not teach natural science.

But I am told that this definition of the relation is defective ; that I ought not to have said that the relation is that of non-contradiction ; I ought to have said that the relation is to be expressed by the terms "the harmony of non-contradiction." It is not non-contradiction ; it is agreement, it is unity, it is "harmony of non-contradiction." Now, Moderator, I don't care much for refinements of language ; but I really, soberly, honestly do not think that that expresses the true idea any better than the simple plain words that I used. As an illustration, we may inquire what are the relations between these two expressions : "General Washington commanded the American troops during the Revolutionary War in the last century ;" "Christopher Columbus several centuries ago discovered America." What is the relation now between these two statements that have—I was going to say no connexion, Moderator ; I must not say that ; I must be more careful. But do these two statements contradict each other ? Oh no ; they do not contradict. Well, would it do to say that the relation is that of non-contradiction ? According to my idea, that would express it. But then you begin to criticise me ; you say, "That is defective. George Washington and Christopher Columbus were both men ; isn't that harmony ? And didn't God make them both ? And are they not thus taken up into a higher harmony ? You ought not to have said 'non-contradiction' ; you ought to have said that those two expressions are related to each other in the 'harmony of non-contradiction.' " Now, I can't understand that ; that weakness of comprehension of mine is again shown ; it is too deep for me, or something.

But the basis of the statement commended by the Board is a fact, viz., that the Bible does not teach natural science. I don't intend to talk, as my Brother Martin did, of the law of identity, and the law of excluded middle, and all those things. But it has been said that the Bible does teach natural science. If I was wrong in saying that the Bible does not teach natural science, then the opposite of that must be to some extent true, and the Bible must teach natural science. And this proposition has been gravely maintained before you. Not for the first time, Moderator, has that proposition now been maintained. It was main-

tained during not only the Middle Ages, but the ages before the Middle Ages. Yes; and it is maintained now, as you heard the other night, down into the latter part of the 19th century. The Bible teaches natural science, Moderator; why, of course it does. For example, doesn't the Bible speak about the stars, and doesn't astronomy speak about the stars? And since they both speak about the same thing, if astronomy teaches about them, isn't the Bible also teaching about them? Of course, therefore, the Bible teaches astronomy; and I might here appeal to received interpretations of the Sacred Scriptures, and cite these in proof of my assertion. And then, again, with regard to geography, with regard to every subject that you can think of that forms the subject-matter of natural science in any of its aspects, doesn't the Bible speak of those objects, and is not the Bible therefore teaching natural science? That is the argument; and it is an argument that has convinced the world for hundreds and hundreds of years, and therefore, no doubt, ought to be spoken of with the utmost respect. But now let us examine it. If I call your attention to the fact that that book is lying there, am I stating a scientific fact? Am I teaching science when I say that there is a book lying on the Moderator's table? Is that what you would call teaching science? I suppose you would say, "No; that is not teaching science." But now suppose when I go back to Columbia, in lecturing before my class in physics, there is a book lying upon my desk, and I call attention to it as to its form and its color; I take hold of it and attempt to raise it up, and find that I am resisted by some power—something is holding it down when I try to raise it; when I go through with all this, and thus call the attention of those young gentlemen to that fact, am I teaching them science or not? Yes; I am teaching science then. —But why? Because I say, "There is a book lying there"? No, Moderator; that is not the reason; but because I am calling their attention to the relations existing between that book and other things; I am speaking of the forces by which it is operated upon; I am calling attention to the way in which light is affected by it; I am presenting an orderly view of the relations between things, and not simply

stating the fact of their existence; and, therefore, in this latter case I am teaching science; but in the former, when I merely asserted the book was lying on your table, I was not; was I? Was I teaching science then? You are not going to say so, Moderator; nor are you going to pronounce my analysis of the relation between the Sacred Scriptures and natural science false on the ground that I made a mistake in saying that, notwithstanding the fact that the Bible speaks of man, it therefore does not teach human anatomy. You are not going to say that because the Bible speaks of woman, it therefore discourses on the science of loveliness and beauty; or that because it speaks of the earth, therefore it teaches geology. No, Moderator; it does not teach any of these things; it does not teach anything concerning the orderly arrangement of the facts which constitute a science; and it is to no purpose, it is misleading, to imagine for an instant that natural science in any of its aspects is taught in the word of God.

In the next place, Moderator, I recur to the fourth resolution, which I read before for another purpose. I need not now say much with reference to it, because I have probably already said all that was necessary. "*Resolved*; That the action of the Board of Directors virtually approving the inculcation and defence of the unverified hypothesis of evolution"—Moderator, they did nothing of the kind: the Board of Directors neither virtually nor otherwise approved of the inculcation and defence of the unverified hypothesis of evolution. If they had, they would have committed that sin which I have pointed out to you, of arrogating, when they were speaking in the name of the Lord, to decide that which the Lord had not committed to them; they would have been expressing an opinion that an hypothesis of natural science was true, and inasmuch as they were speaking as representatives of the Church of matters most closely connected with the faith of the Church, they might not utter any sound on that subject; and, Moderator, neither may you. When you are sitting as the court of the Lord Jesus, when your utterances are utterances touching the faith of the Church, you may say nothing whatever that even looks in that direction. As to the remaining portion of this

resolution, I suppose that it is not necessary for me to speak at present; I will confine myself to this matter of the "unverified hypothesis." I have already said that you have no right to consider it at all; but inasmuch as it has been considered, you must pardon me for following the example of those who have have been so largely discussing it.

Now I ask first, Moderator, how do you know that it is an "unverified hypothesis"? Putting aside the question as to whether it is competent to you as representatives of the Lord Jesus to consider the question, how do you know that it is an unverified hypothesis? Well, the answer has been given already by those who have preceded me: "You think so, and have told us so in your address, and you have told the world so; you have said it was only probable in your opinion, and you are supposed to know something about it. At any rate you have said that, and you have no right to object to our calling it an 'unverified hypothesis,' whatever right other people may have." But, Moderator, I was called on for my opinion in that case as an expert; I was appealed to to state what I knew myself—what I had found out by examining into the evidence personally. I was not giving my opinion; I was called on to state what I knew, and that is all I know on the subject up to the present time. I cannot say that I know Evolution, within the limits that I have applied, to be true; but I have followed the various lines of evidence connected with the matter during these past years so far that I can say that it is probably true. And I do say it; I don't conceal it; I have no concealed opinions, notwithstanding all that has been said about my trying to teach without letting the Church know. But if you ask me with regard to the evidence on this point that may possibly carry conviction to others, if you ask me in any other direction on this matter, I would have to say that the answer must be quite different. But before undertaking to give an answer, let me ask how you are to find out when an hypothesis is verified? Of course one way is by examining into the evidence yourself. Well, Moderator, I know that you are not gray yet, and I am becoming so; but you have not, with your other duties, years enough, however long your life may be—and may it be very long—you have not

years enough to inquire into the evidence and form an opinion of your own. And what then? Why, take the concurrent testimony of those who have, you say. Just so soon, we are told over and over again, as the experts will tell us that this hypothesis is verified, why, then we will believe it. But some of you refuse to do that. Well, now, Moderator, we want to be consistent, do we not? We do not want to apply one rule in one direction and another in another. How are we to find out the truth concerning the Scriptures? First, what are the Scriptures? I suppose if I was an outsider, and should come to you, I would learn from what I have been listening to here during the past few days, that there is a good deal of difference of opinion among you about the Scriptures; and I might learn that though you have been studying them for a good many years, you don't agree as to what the Scriptures are. Now, I might say to you, You first agree among yourselves, and then come and tell me, and I will take your opinion as the opinion of experts. But you don't agree yet, and I will not accept your opinion that the Scriptures are true; I find that you don't agree even as to what the Scriptures are: whether it is the word of God which constitutes the Scriptures, or whether it is only that the Scriptures contain the word of God, and containing the word of God contain much else that is not the word of God. I find that large numbers of professing Christians exclude much that you ask me to believe as the word of God. Agree among yourselves before you ask me to receive the Scriptures. After you have found out what they are, I come to you and ask you what is the truth with regard to this matter of predestination? I hear a great deal about it; I come to you as experts; you have had time to study the question; I have not much time, and I don't know anything about it. Is your Methodist brother there right, or are you right? He doesn't believe it; you do believe it. He is as pious as you are; he loves the Scriptures as much as you do; the word and Spirit of God will enlighten him as much as they will enlighten you, for anything that you know to the contrary. And yet he comes and tells me that the doctrine of predestination is not true, and you tell me it is true. Now settle your difficulties among yourselves

before you come to me about this matter ; just so long as I can quote respectable witnesses on this matter contradictory to your views, your views are not worth anything to me. There must be absolute unanimity. And so I might go down the whole list of doctrines. What is the absolute, divinely appointed form of church government ? Is there any ? What is the proper mode of performing the rite of baptism ? If I put it to vote here in this city of Greenville and in this State of South Carolina, will I get an answer from the majority that will carry conviction to you ? Why, our Baptist brethren will out-vote you ten to one. And yet are not Dr. Broadus and Drs. Manly, Basil and Charles, and Dr. Boyce, and all the other Baptist worthies whom I might name—are they not as learned as you, and don't they love the Scriptures as much, and are they not as likely to be right as you ? And yet you will not believe them. You cannot settle this matter by votes. You cannot look for substantial unanimity, yourselves being judges ; and if you will not apply this rule in one case, you are not going to be dishonest enough to insist upon applying it in another. And then with regard to other matters. Is the Copernican system a proved hypothesis ? Is it true that this world is a sphere, and that it rotates on its axis ? Why, Moderator, I was told by one of your number on our coming here the other day that he knew of a most devotedly excellent Christian man who did not believe that. Well, he had as good a chance to know perhaps as I. I know a respected and prominent citizen in Columbia who scouts the idea of the world's being a sphere : "Why, if it was a sphere and turned on its axis, we'd spill out." Although I might multiply them almost indefinitely, I will not add more than one other illustration. Some thirty-four years ago I spent a delightful evening in company with Judge Ezekiel Pickens, whose name I give because I dare say that some of his relatives may live in this region, and who was a prominent Judge in Alabama, where I was residing at the time. He spent the whole evening in presenting in the most ingenious manner, and to not a few present there in a convincing manner, arguments to prove that all that had been said with regard to the rotundity of the earth and the rotation of the earth upon its axis,

was—to use the expression that has been here repeated so often—an unverified hypothesis. Now, Moderator, I can quote these cases when you want to prove to me that that is a verified hypothesis.

Now, without going further in that direction, let me ask you what are the facts as to the opinion of experts touching Evolution? I do not like any more than is absolutely necessary to refer to myself in any way; but in this case I must be allowed to stand here as a witness for the time being, if indeed I can combine the characteristics of witness and prisoner; as I am not prisoner formally, perhaps you will let me be witness. Now, Moderator, what is the state of opinion touching this question of Evolution, within the limits that I have applied in the address which I delivered? Well, Moderator, I suppose that if any persons are likely to know about these things, it will be college professors who have been studying the question at issue all their lives whether long or short. Beginning in the far northeast at Harvard University, there are the distinguished Professor of Botany, Asa Gray, and a number of younger men associated with him; and near by, Alexander Agassiz, the son of the distinguished Louis Agassiz, and very like his father in the extent of his knowledge, however unlike him in his belief on this particular subject—all evolutionists. Coming, without exhausting the number at Cambridge and Boston, to the university at Providence, Brown University, there is the son of a Congregational minister, Prof. Packard, who is a pronounced evolutionist. At Yale there is the venerable Dana, and there is the learned Marsh, and Verrill and Brewer and the younger Dana—all evolutionists. And, let me say in passing, not a single anti-evolutionist. At the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia there are the earnest Prof. Heilprin, and Cope and Leidy and Lewis; they are all evolutionists, and there is not an anti-evolutionist. Perhaps I ought not to speak of Johns Hopkins, as we have been told [by President Shepherd] that the learned Professor of Biology there is an infidel; but Prof. Brooks, I don't know whether he is an infidel or not, and it does not matter—he is an evolutionist. While I cannot say of my own personal knowledge, I am told that in the Uni-

versity of Virginia the same doctrine is taught. May I go on? What does Prof. Blake teach by your authority in Davidson College? If I make a mistake, I hope that any one who knows that I make a mistake will correct me. He teaches the nebular hypothesis as probably true. And while his colleague, Prof. Martin, does not believe in Evolution, he does believe what I believe, that belief in Evolution is perfectly consistent with belief in the Sacred Scriptures, as he has written to me himself. And so, when we come within thirty miles of this place, I am told that Prof. DuPre, the ardent young scientific professor at Wofford College, teaches it. I am not informed as to the belief of Prof. Purinton who adorns the University in this place, and so I say nothing with regard to him. I know that in the University of Georgia Evolution is taught. I know—shall I tell it?—that the Synods of Nashville and Alabama and other Synods of the Southwest are teaching Evolution at the Southwestern Presbyterian University. I know that the Synod of Kentucky is teaching Evolution at the Central University; and so I might go on; but this surely is enough. Along the whole line of these colleges which I have named I have failed to find an exception.

Now as to the belief of naturalists in foreign lands. When I was in feeble health some twelve years ago, in order that I might recover I went away from this country. I spent a portion of my time in the enlightened capital of Saxony, where I was warmly received and invited to become a member of the scientific association of that city. I visited the Scientific Association of Switzerland in 1872, and I spent days in conversing with my fellow-members upon this very subject. In 1873 I had the pleasure of attending the meeting of the German Naturalists' Association at Wiesbaden, and there too I pursued my inquiries. Amongst others I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of one who has been continually named during this discussion, Prof. Virchow, with whom I conversed freely touching this very subject. In London I had the opportunity of attending the Geological Society and the Anthropological Society, and making the acquaintance of the distinguished naturalists in those great Societies. Now, Moderator, do you want to know what I found? I didn't then believe

Evolution to be true; I believed it to be not true, and I wanted—we all want, don't we?—I wanted to be upheld and strengthened in my opposition; and I was trying to find all the help I could in that direction. So far as the capital of Saxony was concerned, the Professor of Comparative Anatomy, in whose laboratory I was dissecting day after day, did not believe in Evolution. The Professor of Geology, distinguished highly in that kingdom, was in doubt. But every other naturalist in that association, so far as I could learn, except those two and myself, were decided evolutionists. At the meeting which I have referred to at Freiburg, in Switzerland, I found no anti-evolutionist except one Presbyterian minister, who had paid a little attention to science and so had become a member of that association; but he had paid only a little attention to science. Whether or not there was any connexion between that fact and his not believing in Evolution, I am not going to express an opinion. At the meeting of the German naturalists at Wiesbaden, the subject having been brought prominently before the association by Prof. Oscar Schmidt, who delivered on that occasion a lecture that contained much that was offensive and untenable, the greatest interest was felt. Every one was ablaze with regard to the matter; and yet, though I prosecuted my inquiries with great diligence, I could not find a single member who agreed with me. From my conversations with Prof. Virchow, I feel sure he would be greatly amused and amazed if he knew how he has been quoted during this controversy as an anti-evolutionist.

I beg pardon of North Carolina for neglecting to speak of the University of that State in the enumeration that I was giving a little while ago. If I am wrong, I hope that the brother or the father of Prof. Holmes will correct me: in the University of North Carolina Evolution is taught by the eager young professor from Laurens.

REV. Z. L. HOLMES: "I think, sir, that he is undertaking to examine the subject, and I am trying to bolster him up as much as I can."

REV. DR. WOODROW: I would not have referred to him but for the fact that I knew that I could by this inquiry obtain respecting his teachings immediate information.

I had begun to think that I must really have been mistaken in supposing the great body of naturalists the world over to be evolutionists. I thought that perhaps the constant reiteration of the statement that naturalists generally rejected Evolution, or at least regarded it as a mere unverified hypothesis, might have some foundation. Hence, besides making the inquiries to which I have referred, I have continued them recently on this side of the Atlantic. During a recent visit to Philadelphia, where I met many members of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, I asked each of them to what extent Evolution was received. On being invariably told it was almost universally believed, I asked if they knew of any exception among leading naturalists in America; the answer was always the same: "Yes, one, Sir William Dawson, of Montreal." During the same visit, I met a member of the British Association; and to my stereotyped question, I received the answer that Evolution was accepted as true by nearly all British naturalists. In France, I have been able to hear of but one anti-evolutionist who is eminent, the distinguished De Quatrefages.

Wishing to gain all the information I could on this subject, a few days before coming here I wrote to Prof. William H. Brewer, of Yale College, a Christian gentleman, my former fellow-student, as I knew his opportunities of knowing the views of scientific men. I knew that he had been engaged in various geological surveys and other scientific work in the field, and thus had become intimate with many working naturalists; and as Professor in Yale and member of scientific associations he must know many others. Hence I wrote to him to inquire what proportion of active working naturalists believe in Evolution, and also requested him to give the names of such as do and such as do not, as far as might be convenient. I will read his reply:

Yours of the 18th is just received. You ask my views on two questions:

"1st. What proportion of the working naturalists of this country and abroad believe in Evolution?"

"2d. The names of as many as do so, as far as your patience will allow you to write them?"



I know of but one EMINENT naturalist in America who does not "believe in Evolution"—that is the venerable Sir William Dawson, of Canada, who is an illustrious geologist and a good man.

Precisely what his belief is, I do not understand; but my impression is that while he does not believe in Evolution, he holds that the idea of species that was held thirty years ago is not tenable, and our conception of them must be greatly modified.

When I speak of *naturalists*, I include all geologists, whether structural or experts in paleontology; and from my earlier work in the field and later associations here and with societies, I have a somewhat wide personal acquaintance with this class in this country, less so in Europe.

I have an impression that in Europe a few naturalists are still left, all old men, who have not accepted the modern doctrine of Evolution, but who they are, and what their present belief is, I do not know. While I can repeat many names of eminence there who believe in Evolution, I cannot cite one who does not, although I think some still exist.

Among my personal (scientific) acquaintances there is a wide range of belief and view as to the details—as to the comparative force of several causes, as to the paths along which lines of evolution took place, but this does not affect belief as to the general fact of Evolution.

I think that the working naturalists of the world are as substantially agreed as to the truth of the doctrine of Evolution as the educated men of the world are as to the rotundity of the earth.

I am a member of the National Academy of Sciences. Of the ninety-four living members (I have run through the list), I am acquainted personally with thirty-two naturalists who believe in Evolution (I exclude from this all the mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, engineers, etc., and all others whose belief I have no knowledge of), and I do not know of *any* member, naturalist or otherwise, who denies it; but then I have no positive knowledge as to the beliefs of a number of the members.

As I look down the first page of the list, I find the naturalists (including geologists) Alex. Agassiz, Spencer F. Baird, W. K. Brooks, W. H. Brewer, C. Comstock, E. D. Cope, E. Coues, J. D. Dana, C. Dutton, W. G. Farlow, G. K. Gilbert, F. N. Gill, Asa Gray, and so on down the list.

There is an annual "Scientific Directory," or "Naturalist's Directory," published at Salem, and some years ago I looked over the list as then constituted and marked the names of all those scientists whose religious belief I had any knowledge of, and I was struck with the large number who were connected with some evangelical Church—I then and still think a larger proportion by far than would be found to be the case with a similar list of lawyers or doctors.

I have among my scientific acquaintances devout and zealous Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, etc., etc.,

who believe in Evolution, and who are no more disturbed in their religious faith by this belief than by the belief that the earth is round, the sun the centre of the solar system, or the world more than 6,000 years old.

It seems to me that the doctrine of Evolution is now as surely and firmly established as either of the three doctrines (dogmas if you choose) I have named. Many of my friends will not discuss it now, except as they might discuss either of the other three beliefs named, and it seems to me most unfortunate that the clergy should be the last and most reluctant to accept, even as an intellectual belief, a doctrine so firmly placed, and so generally accepted by other classes of educated men.

As a teacher, I see much of young men, and know their difficulties. Some years ago I had much experience with the rougher elements of society, when at work on explorations and surveys; and my belief is that this attitude of so many good clergymen against scientific progress is a more powerful factor in the turning of the masses away from religious teaching which so many are deploring, than all the writings and all the arguments of all the infidels in Christendom.

You and I are both old enough to have seen its sad effects in the discussion of the geological question. That is now settled; the evil appears to be renewed in the matter of Evolution, with the same sad results.

He ends with the prayer that this Synod may be kept from similar folly.

Now, Moderator, I have given you the evidence on this point fully, and as clearly as I could, setting before you the sources of my information even at the risk of doing that which was immodest.

But have we not much evidence on the other side? Haven't we heard a great deal of Sir William Thomson's opposition to Evolution? And is he not a distinguished scientific man? And ought not his testimony to be decisive? Undoubtedly he is one of the most eminent men of science living. But on a question of natural history, is he an expert? The sphere of his greatness lies outside of that department of science. He has studied mathematics, the molecular constitution of matter, electricity and heat, and various other physical subjects; and in these departments of knowledge he is a master. But he has not so studied natural history, and there he cannot speak with authority. But let us suppose that he is here a competent witness, and let us hear what he said some years ago. When he was delivering an address before the

British Association, he gave it as his opinion that the way life originated on this planet was that it was brought hither by meteorites wandering through space and falling on the earth, and that all present life came from that source. Now, as anti-evolutionists have introduced Sir William as their witness, they are bound to accept his testimony. Will not Judge Walsh there tell you that that is the rule? So here we have a person introduced as a witness to prove the orthodox belief, maintaining Evolution by the most fanciful ideas ever uttered in relation to it. Why, Darwin himself was nearer the orthodox belief than that. He held that God did create immediately *some* things—the first forms of life on the earth; but this good Presbyterian elder, Sir William Thomson, tells us that he thinks it most probable that the first germs of life were brought by these wandering meteorites wildly careering through space!

Another anti-evolutionist witness is that prince of naturalists, the great Louis Agassiz, my friend and my teacher. We are told that he pronounced the theory of Evolution a scientific blunder; and surely he knew if anybody did. Well, if we must receive his testimony as conclusive on one point in natural history, we must receive it as equally trustworthy in all. As believers in the Bible, we are much interested in the question of the unity of the human race. Ask this master what he believes on that point. He replies: "All the members of the human family belong to a single species." "Oh," you will say, "that is all right; that is just what we believe." But he would stop you before you rejoiced too much. "Yes," he adds, "a single species, but that species consists of many varieties; and each of these varieties had entirely different ancestors. There is the red man, the negro, the white man, and the Chinaman; and I know too much about natural history to believe that all of these could come from the same source. Instead of a single pair being created as you think, there must have been hundreds of negroes created at the same time, and hundreds of Chinese, and hundreds of white men. There is no such thing as unity of origin." That is what he would tell you. But I am not going to accept the testimony of even so eminent a man as conclusive against that of the cloud of

witnesses I have produced before you, when I find him going so far astray and teaching what I know to be not true.

Now are you going to commit the Synod of South Carolina and the whole Church to the assertion that Evolution is an "unverified hypothesis" on such evidence? Is that to be the belief of a body that has no business to have any scientific belief? If you are going to have a scientific belief in this matter, it would be well perhaps to study the subject somewhat longer, lest you meet the fate which has befallen every council in every part of the Christian Church which has ever undertaken to formulate its belief with regard to natural science or natural history from the earliest ages down to the present time. I know that the Holy Office of 1633 has its defenders and upholders upon this floor; but if you can consistently with a proper sense of duty, abstain from putting yourselves in the same category, surely you will do it.

The next allegation in the report against the hypothesis is that it is "contrary to the interpretation of the Scriptures by our Church and to her prevailing and recognised views." Now what is the interpretation by our Church on this subject? I have read to you what it is so far as the Confession of Faith and the Larger Catechism are concerned.

So far as I have been able to discover, that is all there is in our standards on the subject. Do the Confession and Catechism teach anything concerning the *mode* of the creation of man? Do they say whether the creation was mediate or immediate? I presume that no one will say they do. But this report does not confine itself to "the interpretation of the Scriptures by our Church," (to be found in the standards of the Church and only there,) but speaks of "her prevailing and recognised views." What are they? Well, I suppose it would be the prevailing opinion of the prominent Christian men, the ministers throughout the Church. If I desired to find out what were the prevailing ideas or opinions concerning any branch or department of learning, wouldn't I ask the leading men in those departments? If I had wanted twenty-five years ago to find out the prevailing views concerning geology, wouldn't I have gone to that class of men? When scarcely more than a mere lad, I became Professor of Geology

in Oglethorpe University, I found that the honored President, Dr. Talmage, held the view that the world was only six thousand years old, and that the Scriptures so taught. That was the prevailing view there. When I came to Columbia I found that the loved Thornwell held the same views, and so did his successor. They knew better than I, didn't they? If I were to go to the Union Theological Seminary, I know that a few years ago the three senior professors there believed just as Dr. Talmage did; but it isn't worth while to go any farther in this enumeration, after giving such names as these. Well, those were the "prevailing and recognised views" of our Church twenty-five years ago. But because these good and learned men believed thus, and I didn't, was I disbelieving the truth of the Scriptures? Their judgment, great, good, and learned as they were and are, couldn't affect the opinion of any one who looked into the subject for himself. If you wish to go farther— [Dr. Adger here moved for an adjournment.]

PROF. WOODROW: I am in the hands of the Synod; but as my life, my ecclesiastical life, is at stake, I know you will not be angry with me if I do weary you a little in trying to show that I do not deserve to die. But I feel that there are a great many of those who are present whose home duties will not allow them to remain much longer; therefore I would beg that those who desire to withdraw should now do so.

[Some persons having retired, the speaker continued.]

Thanking you for the rest allowed me, permit me to say (and I shall omit as much as I possibly can of what I intended to say) that much of the difficulty on this subject arises from the failure to perceive that Evolution and Scripture do not stand in opposition to one another. I know that it is supposed that if one believes in Evolution in one sense, that he must believe it in every sense. No argument I think is necessary to prove that that is not the case. Is it true that what Haeckel believes as to Evolution, I must likewise believe? Must I believe what Herbert Spencer and Darwin believe, because I have declared that I regard something else as probably true? So you have been told; and has it not been proved by quotations from the *South-*

western Presbyterian to show that whatever Darwin believes I also believe? You have heard seven reasons given, drawn from that source, to prove that what Darwin believed I believe; although I have kept saying, "I don't," "I don't," and I say so still, the seven reasons of the *Southwestern Presbyterian* to the contrary notwithstanding. I ask you if it is fair, or right, to attribute to me views that I utterly disclaim? I do not say that this is done through either inability to understand or a desire to misinterpret; but I ask if it is fair or just that I should be held responsible for views that I absolutely abhor, and which I have proved over and over again that I do not hold? I know and knew the difficulties surrounding the subject; and therefore in preparing my address I took the precaution, before giving my opinion upon Evolution, to state as accurately as I could what I meant by it. I gave my definition of Evolution, which, as it relates to the organic world, is contained in the three words, "Descent with Modification." That is, as animals and plants descend from generation to generation, at length modifications appear. In my definition I do not say anything of the power under whose influence the modifications appear. So far as the earth is concerned, I define Evolution as derivation of one state from another previous state, such as is illustrated in the *résumé* I give of the nebular hypothesis. That is to say, Evolution is simply a process, a description of a mode according to which changes take place, not a description of the power which produces the changes. On this point I shall read what I have written:

"This definition or description of Evolution does not include any reference to the power by which the origination is effected; it refers to the mode, and to the mode alone. So far as the definition is concerned, the immediate existence might be attributed to God or to chance; the derived existence to inherent uncreated law, or to an almighty personal Creator, acting according to laws of his own framing. It is important to consider this distinction carefully, for it is wholly inconsistent with much that is said and believed by both advocates and opponents of Evolution. It is not unusual to represent Creation and Evolution as mutually exclusive, as contradictory: Creation meaning the immediate

calling out of non-existence by divine power; Evolution, derivation from previous forms of states by inherent, self-originated or eternal laws, independent of all connexion with divine personal power. Hence, if this is correct, those who believe in Creation are theists; those who believe in Evolution are atheists. But there is no propriety in thus mingling in the definition two things which are so completely different as the power that produces an effect, and the mode in which the effect is produced."

Moderator, knowing that that was what I had believed and maintained, and knowing that I had so explicitly repudiated all atheistic forms of Evolution, I could not but spring to my feet when I heard two or three days ago, for the first time, that which I had denounced as atheism attributed to me. If I erred in my vehemence in repelling the charge, I crave your forgiveness.

Perhaps it may be well to make clear by an illustration that which may be too abstract for ready comprehension by those who have not studied such subjects. Take an oak, for instance. First observe the acorn. You notice that under the influence of heat and moisture it begins to swell. Then little leaves make their appearance; then these leaves are repeated and repeated until at last the full-grown oak stands before you. Let us now try to see what is the religious character of the process of this growth. Is the passage from the acorn to the oak a religious or an irreligious process? Do I need to show that the idea that it was God who made the acorn to develop into the oak is not involved in the description of this process? So the idea of God is not involved in the definition which I have given of Evolution.

DR. JUNKIN: I desire to ask for my own information this question: Does this process of Evolution which you have thus described carry with it the presumption of a growth from one form of life into another? That is, does it carry along with it the presumption of divine power or supervision in the change from vegetable to animal life; or is that done without the immediate intervention of a divine creative act?

DR. WOODROW: As to that I would have to answer at length, instead of saying yes or no. In describing the changes from the acorn to the oak, I am stating the results of observation. So if

that particular oak gives rise to a slightly different form, I simply note that as a fact. I am not then considering the power that has produced the changes when I am merely describing the changes. The mere observation of the process or mode by which the acorn becomes an oak, does not tell me whether it is God who is the cause of the change or not. So the observation of cases in which I observe modification during descent tells me nothing of the power producing the observed changes. Within the limits of natural science, it is only the natural or the ordinary—that which occurs uniformly—that can rightly be considered. All else the student of natural science would regard as extraordinary or extra-natural, and so beyond his province. If he should speak of the supernatural, he would be going beyond his province.

Speaking of the processes or modes, it is true that a knowledge of them depends on observation, which teaches us nothing of their origin; but so soon as I have learned from other sources that there is a God; that there is a being, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in wisdom, power, and all his attributes; and when I know the relations of this being to the universe, his workmanship, then I perceive that this process of change from acorn to oak is his mode of working—that every step in the process is the working of an almighty and all-wise God. And so when I come as a believer in God to the study of those things which I now begin to call the works of God, I find him present in a way that I had never imagined before. When I look at the quivering leaf growing under the influences of the sunshine and the rain, I see before me God's power effecting the wonderful changes that are there taking place; I see the present power of that God directing and guiding its faintest movement. When I see the dew-drop resting on the blade of grass reflecting from its surface the prismatic hues, I see not proofs of the existence of a distant or absent God; I see his hand there immediately present holding the particles together, for my delight as one of his ends; causing the white ray of light to be broken up into the marvellous rainbow colors so as to charm the sense of sight; it is God who is doing this before me. As I look abroad upon the operations of

nature on a grander scale—when I stand in the presence of the mountain and behold the veil of blinding snow on its summit, I see there the power of God holding particle to particle and producing that which fills my mind with awe; that which expands my soul and gives me a new and an exalted idea of the mighty Creator—not in whom we *did* live, but in whom we now live and in whom we have our being, who is now causing every pulse beat in this wrist, who is now giving me the power to be heard by you. He is a God near at hand; he is not a God afar off. This, I say, is the Christian's view of God and his relation to his works. Can you imagine, then, if this is true and not a mere fancy, can you imagine that when I, so believing, speak of Evolution, or when any right-thinking man speaks of it, he is pushing God away and doing that which tends to materialism, or to a blank denial of the existence of the Almighty? Need I now undertake further to prove that Evolution is not antagonistic to Creation; that Evolution is Creation?

If anything more is needed, let me ask you again the question which I have heard so frequently during the last day or two: "Who made you?" I don't mean who made several ages ago those from whom you have descended, but who made YOU? Are you an orphan so far as the Creator of the universe is concerned, or is God your Father and Creator? Are you going to allow some one to come here and say that because he did not create you immediately, he did not create you at all? No; you have as much claim to him as your Father as Adam had. But did he make you immediately? Oh no, he did not. Yet, for all this, no one is willing to give up his right to say "Our Father" and "our Creator." Creation is not antagonistic to our evolution. God may create out of nothing; but so far as the daily operations of his hands are concerned, we see that he does not create out of nothing, but out of something that he had previously brought out of nothing. But he is not the less *creating* before our eyes. There is no antagonism between Creation and that mode of Creation which we call Evolution.

You will now better understand why I should say that I want no change in the expression of the Confession: "After God had

made all other creatures, he created man." The only difference between us is as to the probable mode of that creation.

I wish, in the next place, to call attention to the fact that it has been constantly reiterated that I subordinate Scripture to science. The only answer that I have for that statement is that it is not true. I cannot give any explanation of the matter except just that. I say that there is not a word that I ever spoke, or wrote, or thought, that would bear that construction; and any one who has read what I have written ought to know that it is not true. I have always sought to know what the Scriptures teach with regard to any matter that I was examining; and when I have found the meaning of the Scriptures, I have accepted that as final. I say again that there is not a syllable I ever uttered, or a word I ever spoke, that could even remotely sanction any such construction. When I said that I believed it to be probably true that Adam's body was included in the method of mediate creation, it was only after I had shown that it might not be inconsistent with the Sacred Scriptures. [Here a motion was made that the Synod adjourn. Lost by a large majority.]

Hastening on as rapidly as I can, and omitting many things, I will take up a sample of the objections that have been made to my views. "You are utterly unscientific," I am told, "in your statement that Adam, as to his body, was derived from beast ancestors." That is about the way it is put. I don't think that all who use this language mean thereby to excite disgust or contempt towards me. But when I say that Adam, as to his body, may have been a lineal descendant of the higher forms of mammalian life, I believe it because I think it in accord with God's usual plan as I find it in the case of other animals. "When you come to the soul of Adam, you are guilty of a breach of continuity; and when you come to Eve, instead of believing that she descended from the lower animals, you say that she was created in a supernatural way. Therefore you are talking nonsense; you contradict yourself; you are doing that which is unscientific; you are making a muddle and a jumble. Is it not perfectly clear that God made man, male and female, and that he created them in the same way? You say there are two ways."

Why do I say so? I say part of what I do because God tells me so plainly in his word; I say the other part because, his word being silent, he has allowed me to learn its probable truth from a study of his works. I do not believe it unscientific to believe in miracles, or that the Almighty God, who chooses to effect certain purposes in one way now, ties himself to that way, and that he can never effect the same purpose in another way. I do not think it unscientific to believe that God can make wine by causing the grapes to grow on the vine, and the juice to be expressed and to ferment, and at the same time to believe that he can also make it even better without that which is his ordinary process. If that is making a muddle and a jumble, I am satisfied to make it. It may be making a botch and doing what is very ridiculous to say that while fire ordinarily burns, it does not always burn. I remember a case where fire did not burn. Don't you? Is that unscientific? If it is, I am content to be unscientific. Why do I say that there are two different ways as to the creation of the bodies of Adam and Eve? Because I find in the Bible no expression which certainly shows the mode of the creation of Adam's body, and I do find the mode of the creation of Eve's body and soul clearly set forth. It is not the ordinary way, and therefore it is excluded from Evolution. Is that a subordination of the Scriptures to science, to accept their plain and simple declaration? Again they say: "If true science admits of no change or exception, how can you believe that God made the first man? If he made our parents in a certain way and their parents in the same way for all time, we will have to keep going back for ever before we arrive at the origin." With regard to that matter I might reply that such an objection might come from a certain kind of so-called science, but I do not see how it can come from a Christian believer. The same objection, if valid, would keep one who believes in the possibility of miracles from believing in any branch of natural science.

But I wish to say that what is involved in my probable belief as to the creation of Adam, has been the belief of the Church of Christ from the earliest ages down to the present time as to the creation of each human being. What has been the doctrine of

the Reformed Churches with but few exceptions until very recent times? What was the prevalent belief in the Church before the Reformation? It is that doctrine which is spoken of as "Creationism." That doctrine represents the body of each human being as derived from its parents by natural generation—as mediately created; while each soul is immediately created, and is imparted to the derived animal body by God's direct power. By one mode or process the animal body is brought into existence; then by an entirely different process the soul is brought into existence and united with the previously formed animal body. This is not, I understand, the doctrine of the Professor of Theology in the Columbia Seminary; but if you will read any work on Theology or Church History, you will see that it has always been the widely prevalent belief of the Church. And you cannot fail to perceive that this furnishes an exact counterpart of the suggestion that Adam's body may have been derived from ancestors, while his soul was immediately created and inbreathed by God.

I might also call your attention to the wonderful likeness that exists between the first Adam and the second Adam. That is to say, in the origin of the one and of the other there has been a mixture of the natural and the supernatural, of creation mediate and immediate. How was it in the incarnation of our adorable Redeemer? He was formed as to his body of the substance of his mother. He grew according to the laws of God as in the case of any other human being. And then, whatever may be true as to the doctrine of Creationism, we know that in his case there was superadded that other nature the nature of the Almighty God. There was plainly that admixture of the natural and the supernatural which is presumed in the hypothesis which I have been inclined to believe as probably true, and which has been held up as only worthy of withering scorn.

Moderator, I am told that in the contest now in progress I stand alone; that no one stands beside me, or believes with me. Now, if there is anything for which I yearn, after the love of God and of Jesus Christ my Saviour, it is the love and approbation of the good, the pure, the upright, of those who bear the image of God in their hearts. And I know that isolation is deso-

lation. But if I must stand alone in defence of what I believe to be his truth, I submit to the decree and to the will of my God. I will not be the first who has seemed to stand alone. As I look through the vistas opened before me by the word of God, I see the forms of three who were cast alone into the furnace of fire heated seven times more than it was wont to be heated. But as I look again, they are not alone, for four are walking in the midst of the fire; and when they came forth from that furnace not even the smell of fire had passed on them. I remember also that when an apostle was once called to stand before Nero, all men forsook him; but yet he was not alone. As I look in another direction, I see a form standing alone, in the presence of a mighty emperor and the princes of the empire, and saying, all alone as he seemed to be, "With regard to the charges against me, if any man can prove that they are true by the word of God, I will repent and recant; but until then, here I stand, I cannot otherwise; God help me. Amen." And so stand I.

But, Moderator, I do not believe, with regard to the only point concerning which I care, comparatively, in this whole discussion, that any such loneliness even as to the human kind is in store for me. And yet there might well be. Why, you have heard, and you well know that it is true, that when this address of mine was published, when it went abroad throughout the land, there was a shock given to the Church and to every Christian heart. There was apprehension and terror with regard to the truth which God himself had dictated. There was wild agitation, which, we are told, threatened to rend the Church. Moderator, I was the poor cause of that shock. It was what I believed or was said to believe that sent this thrill throughout the land. No sooner was the address published than it was stated in a journal of this Church that I, a minister of this Presbyterian Church and a teacher in your Theological Seminary, was treating, to all appearance, the sacred Bible as a Hebrew legend. Was not that well calculated to shock the Church from one end to the other? In speech after speech on the floor of Synods and Presbyteries, this same teacher was represented as holding doctrines which would require you to throw away the Confession of Faith, and to introduce a Confes-

sion that would not recognise Adam as the federal head of the human race. And you have been told here what has been uttered in many a place before—you have been told that, if the principles of this Seminary professor are received, you must throw away the supernatural altogether; you must give up all hope of a resurrection. Was not that enough to shock the Christian world? Was not that enough to excite the agitation which followed?

But is it true that I have ever taught that the Scriptures are to be regarded as doubtful in even a single word? No, it is not. Every word of it and every syllable I have maintained must be received as true. Have I ever taught any doctrine which involved the giving up of the federal headship of Adam? No, I say again.

And then, again, to show the effect of such teachings and such beliefs as this professor is charged with, in some journals to which reference has been made, my personal religious character has been blackened.

Now, is it any wonder that a shock should be felt by this Church from one end to the other? But am I the guilty party? Do you see, do you hear, any foundation for the charges which you have heard brought against me? Did you ever hear anything from me (and I would appeal also to those young gentlemen sitting there who are still under my instruction), did you ever hear from me anything that would give ground for such charges? There is not one thing that I believe or have said that could give color to these gross misrepresentations of my belief. I cannot and will not say it was because I may have been misunderstood. It was gross misrepresentation and nothing else. The extent to which this shock has been felt is shown by the interest taken in the matter both by the secular and religious journals of the land. One Presbytery, the New Orleans Presbytery, has published to the world that it is not to be held responsible for any of the wicked teachings of this wicked professor. It has recently sent a young man to the Columbia Seminary, but it gives fair notice that, if this poison be not eradicated by drastic measures, that youth will be taken away so that he shall not be harmed. As I have told you already, Synods which are themselves teaching

Evolution in their Universities, are raising most loudly the cry that my wicked teachings must be stopped. Now are they not a pretty set of people to ask you to sweep away this foul blot from the Theological Seminary of South Carolina? "We can teach it as much as we please here at home," they say practically; "but there you shall not do it. We will take our students away, and send them to other institutions." But where will you send them, I may ask. Is not Evolution taught in those other places? Is not that, Moderator, jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire?

I do not know that it is really worth while (and I shall do it in the most rapid manner) to consider some of the objections made to the theory of Evolution. Dr. Junkin gave as one of those objections the difficulties presented by hybridism. He said that there was no possibility of the theory being true on account of such difficulties. Now, on a point of this kind, I must prefer the authority of Dr. Asa Gray, who has been studying that subject longer than Dr. Junkin has been living; and Dr. Gray says it is not so. He finds that the notion that hybrids are not fertile is by no means always true. Another of Dr. Junkin's objections is the naming of the animals by Adam as showing the perfection of speech. Well, I must say that I cannot see the force of that argument; for if the animals had come by evolution, couldn't they have been named just as well? As to the philological theories alluded to, I have never intimated that I knew anything about the evolution of language; and there is no propriety in holding me responsible for what I know nothing about. But I cannot see what the evolution of language has to do with the evolution of plants and animals; or how that subject, about which I do not profess to know anything, can affect what I do know, and of which I have spoken.

In the next place, we are told that Evolution is to be rejected, because it is born of atheism. It is said that many atheists hold the doctrine of Evolution, and therefore it is not true. Darwin was not an atheist, but at the same time he was not a believer in Christianity. But how does that affect the truth of Evolution? On the other hand, we know that there are many others who believe in Evolution who are not atheists. If others say it leads

to atheism, I say it does not; and I content myself with pronouncing their proposition an "unverified hypothesis."

Then you are told that it assigns a beastly origin to man. Well, we need not be so proud. We have bodies exactly like the beasts, if you choose to call them so. Our muscles are arranged in the same way. The heart beats in the dog just as it beats in me. His legs are made like mine and like my arms. He has a brain in his skull and a spinal marrow. He digests as I do. He does everything in the same way. Again, as to our instincts being shocked: what is there in red clay that is so much more noble than the most highly organised form God had made up to the time of Adam? You have only the choice between red clay and the highest and best thing that was produced by the power of God up to the time of man's existence. And if your decision is to be controlled by your prejudices and your instincts and your feelings, let me ask you, Moderator, how do you like to think that the negro is your brother? Is your instinct shocked by that? Will you follow instincts in one case and not follow them in another?

Without dwelling longer on that point, let me call your attention to an objection urged against the theory as to man's body. We are told that, according to the received interpretation of the Scriptures, he was made of inorganic dust. (Of course, when I say that man's body may have been made of organic dust, I mean God may have chosen to derive man's body from a previously existing animal form.) You are told that the idea of mediate creation is precluded by the received interpretation of the Bible. Well, it is not precluded by anything said in our Confession of Faith and Catechisms, as we have already seen. Outside our standards I suppose that some of the most widely "prevailing and recognised views" of the meaning of the Scriptures are set forth in the little Catechism, already frequently quoted during this discussion. What is said there on this subject? Let us see: "Who made you?" "God." Did he make you mediately or immediately? I suppose you would say: God did not make me immediately, but mediately, through my ancestors. "Of what did he make you?" "Of the dust of the ground." Mediate or immediately?

Now, if you say it was mediate in the one case, why may you not at least say it may have been mediate in the other? In Ecclesiastes xii. 7, we learn that each one of us is made of the dust of the earth; and yet each one of us has come from a long line of ancestors. But that language is figurative, you say; and it is true, as has been said on this floor, that every figure must have its literal basis. Now, you say that the basis for the figure is to be found in the fact that Adam's body was formed of the literal dust of the ground. How do you know that? Suppose I say you may go back a generation or so farther for the basis of the figure, why not? According to your own exegesis, you can go back from yourself to Adam. Why can't you go back a step farther, and farther, until you reach the very beginning of all organic life, when inorganic matter was organised and vivified? If you may go back to Adam for the basis of your figure, what right have you to say that I must stop there, and may not go still farther in search of the true basis? What right have you to say that I shall stop at any particular place?

[At this point, another motion was made to adjourn, which, a division being had, was lost. In answer to a question by Prof. Shepherd, Dr. Woodrow continued.]

DR. WOODROW: I have answered the objection as to the evolution of language already. I said that I did not know enough about it. I have never studied it in such a way as to entitle me to say one syllable as to the development of language. But that does not interfere in the slightest degree with what I do know and have studied. If I had confined my investigations to the changes in animals, I would not consent to speak as if I knew anything about the changes in plants. And if I had so studied the facts of the solar system as to convince me of the truth of the nebular hypothesis, I would not be disturbed in my belief by any difficulties that may be connected with the evolution of plants and animals. I cannot therefore undertake to answer the question that has been put. And so far as the evolution of the standards of the Church is concerned, my venerable friend, Dr. Adger, is the proper person to whom to address that question.

Next, let me call your attention to the formidable objection

urged by Mr. Pratt, derived from the genealogy of the Saviour as it is presented in the third chapter of the Gospel according to St. Luke: "Which was the son of Methusaleh, which was the son of Enoch, . . . which was the son of Adam, which was the son of God." Now, let us read that genealogy in accordance with the interpretation which Mr. Pratt has insisted on, and wouldn't it be: "Which was the son of Adam, which was the son of"—what? Of what shall I say? Go back to the Catechism; what is the substance of which Adam was made? If it is true that a belief that Adam's body may have been derived from previously existing animal forms requires you to read, as you have been told, "which was the son of Adam, which was the son of a beast," is it not equally true that Mr. Pratt's belief requires you to read, "which was the son of red clay"? Is that the way in which you would reason? Well, it is not the way, Moderator, in which I would reason. You know, and it would seem that everybody must know, that this genealogy cannot have the remotest bearing on the question as to how it pleased God to form the body of Adam. Would Adam be less the son of God if God formed him of one substance rather than another? Our venerable friend [Dr. Frierson] tells us that we are not certain about the meaning of anything contained in the Bible. Still I am persuaded that my friend and I would agree as to the meaning of this genealogy: that going back step by step we at length come to the first great Cause, the God and Father of us all, the omnipresent and almighty God, the Source of all being; the Framer of Adam's body and the Father of his spirit, and, through him, of all his descendants to the latest generation.

But I find, Moderator, that I am so exhausted that it is utterly impossible for me to proceed, and hence I must ask your indulgence.

[After a short debate, a motion was made to adjourn, which was carried, Dr. Woodrow having the floor. Next evening (the morning having been devoted to replies to his remarks), Dr. Woodrow, resuming the argument, said:]

Moderator, you need not be at all alarmed at this formidable array of books, for I do not intend to read them to you. I had

intended to read extracts from them on certain points; for example, from this work by President Schmid, to show who are evolutionists; but I think probably it is not necessary. I had also intended to read an extract or two from this work on *The Origin of the World*, by the anti-evolutionist, Principal Dawson, to show that in some important particulars the views of the author correspond precisely with those set forth in my address. I had intended to read from Guyot's book on *Creation*, to show that his teachings upon points touching the Scriptures are identical with mine; and that while I do not know what his views were with regard to Evolution, yet that is a matter of entire indifference, for he has distinctly set forth in the work that the question, so far as Evolution is concerned (within the limits of my definition), is an entirely open one. I had intended to read from *Truths and Untruths of Evolution*, by the Rev. Dr. Drury, lecturer before the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church, for the purpose of showing the strong support the theory received from those high in that Church; and particularly from the teachings of one of his predecessors in the lectureship, the learned Tayler Lewis, who, notwithstanding the fact that he was an avowed anti-evolutionist, maintained that it was perfectly consistent with the Scriptures to entertain the views of the theory which I do, and of evolution in all the various directions which I point out. But I shall not burden you with all this. Nor shall I read to you a letter which I have in my pocket from the Professor of Theology in the Allegheny Theological Seminary [Rev. Dr. S. H. Kellogg], in which he makes it appear that in all the scriptural points involved his views are identical in every particular with mine. I may say, however, while on this point, with regard to the chairs of theology, that Evolution is discussed by every Professor of Theology in the Presbyterian Church, whether North or South; and there is a good deal about it in the textbook used by the Professor of Theology in the Columbia Theological Seminary. I am not singular, therefore, you will observe, Moderator, in my course.

Now, inasmuch as the course of the Holy Office or the Inquisition has been so stoutly recommended as an example for us to

follow, and as it has been maintained that the Church of Rome performed its duty, and that we, being similarly situated, must now take similar steps in reference to a similar matter, I have thought it might be well for the Synod to have the method adopted by the Church of Rome fully before it, that it may adopt whatever course of action may be suggested by the reading of the whole case.

I will now give you, therefore, from this book the

“Sentence of the Tribunal of the Supreme Inquisition against Galileo Galilei, given the 22d day of June of the Year 1633.”

We, Gasparo, etc., etc., by the mercy of God Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, Inquisitors of the Holy Apostolic See, in the whole Christian Republic specially deputed against heretical depravity:

It being the case that thou, Galileo, son of the late Vincenzo Galilei, a Florentine, now aged 70, wast denounced in this Holy Office in 1615:

That thou heldest as true the false doctrine taught by many, that the Sun was the centre of the universe and immovable, and that the Earth moved, and had also a diurnal motion: That on this same matter thou didst hold a correspondence with certain German mathematicians: That thou hadst caused to be printed certain letters entitled *On the Solar Spots*, in the which thou didst explain the said doctrine to be true: And that, to the objections put forth to thee at various times, based on and drawn from Holy Scripture, thou didst answer, commenting upon and explaining the said Scripture after thy own fashion: And thereupon following was presented (to this tribunal) a copy of a writing in form of a letter, which was said to have been written by thee to such an one, at one time thy disciple, in which, following the position of Copernicus, are contained various propositions contrary to the true sense and authority of the Holy Scripture:

This Holy Tribunal desiring to obviate the disorder and mischief which had resulted from this, and which was constantly increasing to the prejudice of the Holy Faith; by order of our Lord (Pope) and of the most Eminent Lords Cardinals of this supreme and universal Inquisition, the two propositions of the stability of the Sun and of the motion of the Earth were by the qualified theologians thus adjudged:

That the Sun is the centre of the universe and doth not move from his place is a proposition absurd and false in philosophy, and formally heretical; being expressly contrary to Holy Writ: That the Earth is not the centre of the universe nor immovable, but that it moves, even with a diurnal motion, is likewise a proposition absurd and false in philosophy, and considered in theology *ad minus* erroneous in faith.

But being willing at that time to proceed with leniency towards thee, it was decreed in the Sacred Congregation held before Our Lord (Pope) on the 25th of February, 1616, that the most Eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmine should order thee that thou shouldst entirely leave and reject the said doctrine; and thou refusing to do this, that the Commissary of the Holy Office should admonish thee to abandon the said doctrine, and that thou wast neither to teach it to others, nor to hold or defend it, to which precept, if thou didst not give heed, thou wast to be imprisoned: and in execution of the said decree, the following day, in the palace and in the presence of the said most Eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, after having been advised and admonished benignantly by the said Lord Cardinal, thou didst receive a precept from the then Father Commissary of the Holy Office in the presence of a notary and witnesses, that thou shouldst entirely abandon the said false opinion, and for the future neither uphold nor teach it in any manner whatever, either orally or in writing: and having promised obedience, thou wast dismissed.

And to the end that this pernicious doctrine might be rooted out and prevented from spreading, to the grave prejudice of Catholic truth, a decree was issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, prohibiting books which treated of the said doctrine, which was declared to be false and entirely contrary to Holy Scripture.

And there having lately appeared here a book printed in Florence this past year, whose superscription showeth thyself to be the author, the title being: *Dialogue of Galileo Galilei on the Two Great Systems of the World, the Ptolemaic and the Copernican*: and the Sacred Congregation having been informed that in consequence of the said book the false opinion of the mobility of the Earth and the stability of the Sun was daily gaining ground; the said book was diligently examined, and was found openly to transgress the precept which had been made to thee, for that thou in the said book hadst defended the said already condemned opinion, which had been declared false before thy face: whereas thou in the said book by means of various subterfuges dost endeavor to persuade thyself that thou dost leave it undecided and merely probable. The which however is a most grave error, since in no way can an opinion be probable which has been declared and defined to be contrary to Holy Scripture. . . .

Therefore, having seen and maturely considered the merits of thy case, with thy above-mentioned confessions and excuses, We have adjudged against thee the herein-written definite sentence.

Invoking then the Most Holy Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His most glorious Mother Mary, ever Virgin, for this Our definite sentence, the which sitting *pro tribunali*, by the counsel and opinion of the Reverend Masters of theology and doctors of both laws, Our Counsellors, we present in these writings, in the cause and causes currently before Us,

between the magnificent Carlo Sinceri, doctor of both laws, procurator fiscal of this Holy Office, on the one part, and thou Galileo Galilei, guilty, here present, confessed and judged, on the other part:

We say, pronounce, sentence, and declare that thou, the said Galileo, by the things deduced during this trial, and by thee confessed as above, hast rendered thyself vehemently suspected of heresy by this Holy Office, that is, of having believed and held a doctrine which is false, and contrary to the Holy Scriptures, to wit: that the Sun is the centre of the universe, and that it does not move from east to west, and that the Earth moves and is not the centre of the universe: and that an opinion may be held and defended as probable after having been declared and defined as contrary to Holy Scripture; and in consequence thou hast incurred all the censures and penalties of the Sacred Canons, and other Decrees both general and particular, against such offenders imposed and promulgated. From the which We are content that thou shouldst be absolved, if, first of all, with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, thou dost before Us abjure, curse, and detest the above-mentioned errors and heresies, and any other error and heresy contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, after the manner that We shall require of thee.

And to the end that this thy grave error and transgression remain not entirely unpunished, and that thou mayst be more cautious for the future, and an example to others to abstain from and avoid similar offences, We order that by a public edict the book of *Dialogues of Galileo Galilei* be prohibited, and We condemn thee to the prison of this Holy Office during Our will and pleasure; and as a salutary penance We enjoin on thee that for the space of three years thou shalt recite once a week the Seven Penitential Psalms, reserving to Ourselves the faculty of moderating, changing, or taking from, all or part of the above-mentioned pains and penalties.

And thus We say, pronounce, declare, order, condemn, and reserve in this and in any other better way and form which by right We can and ought.

Ita pronunciamus nos Cardinales infrascripti.

Now, is that what is to be commended in this Synod of South Carolina? In one respect—

DR. JUNKIN: Even in the face of the kindly suggestion made by the Moderator, that we do not interrupt the speaker, as I conceive the reading of this paper to be an effort to show the utter contemptibility of the position which I have assumed, and am willing to maintain, I feel that Dr. Woodrow would not respect my Christian manliness were I to allow to go unchallenged the imputation contained in that reading. What I say is this: The argu-

ment of that paper which he has just read is as solid as any we have ever heard read. It contains the logic that runs through every Presbyterian judicial process that is adjudicated in the courts of that Church. The condemnation which rises in the mind of Dr. Woodrow has arisen in the mind of every one of us—a condemnation of the assumption of authority and power by the Romish Church over the persons and opinions of its membership. But in the exercise of an acknowledged right, in the performance of an authorised duty, she says and declares that that which is to her a sacred truth shall not be denied by any one who stands in her schools. I say, in the exercise of that right, and in the meeting of that responsibility, the action of the Romish Church was logically correct and scripturally sound; but I do not mean that to extend to the issue she made over the person of the man. In the principle that as long as she maintained her creed, she had the right to silence those who opposed her teachings by teaching contrary doctrines in her name, did she have the right, with that conviction upon her, to interrupt such teaching? I say she did. I am willing, Moderator, to be branded for many things; but as a fool and a coward, I shall not be without a protest. I say that the school at Pisa was a school under the domination of the Romish Church just as much as the school at Clarksville is under the domination of the Presbyterian Church. Galileo taught in a school in which the domination of his Church was as dogmatic as it is to-day. Now, with that premise granted, I defy any man to show that the action of the Church was inconsistent with the rights of the individual who taught in her name. She simply asserted the exercise of a right which, in that age, was unquestioned, and which is to-day in vigorous exercise in the Presbyterian Church, and I say that the logic of it is as sound as the oak.

DR. WOODROW: It is very important, Moderator, that every utterance should be distinctly understood, and I am glad to know what Dr. Junkin meant. You all see now to what extent he commends this document. There is one particular in which I also think the Inquisition is to be commended: When Galileo was called to appear before a tribunal which claimed jurisdiction over

him, he was regularly summoned according to the Constitution of his Church in the matter; and before that regularly constituted tribunal he had the privilege of defending himself according to the laws of the Church. But as to this matter I will only say farther that it was not I who introduced Galileo into this discussion; but since his name had been introduced, I thought that it was extremely desirable that this Synod should know what the decree of the Holy Office was which had been so strongly commended.

In the next place, Moderator, passing over this, I call attention to a remark made by my colleague [Dr. Girardeau] to the effect that my teaching as to the rights and authority of the Church was one thing at the Seminary, and quite a different thing here. He told you that I maintained on the platform in the Seminary that the Church has no right or authority to teach anything except the gospel. Now, is not that exactly what I said last night? That the authoritative teaching of the Church must be the gospel, and the gospel alone? I say so before the young gentlemen in the Seminary, and I say so before you. As regards authoritative teaching, the Church is, of course, confined to the gospel. But that position is perfectly consistent with what I have further maintained here and everywhere, that whatever will aid the Church in properly accomplishing that duty, it is competent to the Church to do. Will any one deny that fact? Will any one deny that the Church has a right to build a house for the worship of God? Will any one deny that the Church has the right to train and educate young men, or old men, to become preachers of the gospel; and must their training be confined to things expressly commanded in the word of God? But surely it is not necessary to pursue this distinction any farther. The Church, I maintain, in this last sense, has the right to do and teach whatever will aid it in accomplishing its holy purpose; but so far as its authoritative teaching is concerned, that must be confined to the things commanded. I am glad that I have the opportunity of reiterating this principle; because the application of the doctrine will completely cut off all introduction into church courts, whether Holy Offices, or Councils, or Synods, all

decrees in reference to that which is scientific in its character, except so far as that which claims to be scientific may be proved to be contrary to the Holy Scriptures. The question will not be whether such and such a teaching is right or wrong; but it will be confined exclusively to whether or not it contradicts the Scriptures. If it contradicts the Scriptures, then to us it is false; and for that reason we may rightfully in a church court condemn it. And I say that the application of this principle will necessarily cut off the first part of the fourth resolution of the minority report, as that part of it denounces the teaching of Evolution, because it is an "unverified hypothesis." That is, because it is false in science. It does not say whether or not it is contrary to the Scriptures. It undertakes to decide a purely scientific question without even having claimed that it has any connexion with the Holy Scriptures. Oh, Moderator, it will be a sad day when this Synod resolves itself into an association for determining the exact amount of truth in a purely scientific proposition. I would respectfully call to mind the action of this Synod some twenty-five years ago, when a matter involving political questions came up, and there was doubt in the minds of many members as to whether that could be discussed by the Synod. The Synod adjourned and met simply as a company of citizens to consider the subject. I would suggest that, when you take into consideration the first part of that 4th resolution, you adjourn and reassemble as a company of scientific gentlemen, forming a scientific association, to engage in the settlement of this purely scientific question. But I trust that as rulers in the house of God you will not undertake to pass judgment upon a question not ecclesiastical, when your Constitution tells you that you shall "handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical."

DR. GIRARDEAU: I would like to ask if there were a chair in the Theological Seminary designed to teach and indicate the connexion between political science and revelation, and the professor should give his opinion in favor of Democracy, wouldn't that be somewhat an analogous case? I would admit that Dr. Woodrow's position was the correct one, if we had assembled to decide a question of science alone.

DR. WOODROW: I don't think it would make a particle of difference. I showed last night that so far as auxiliary matters are concerned, the Church has no right to inquire into their truth or falsehood. Or, as I illustrated then by the multiplication table which might be taught by the authority of the Church, or by the various kinds of instruction given in that combined institution which is both seminary and college, all under the same organisation, some of the professors teaching one class part of the day and some another; an institution both as college and seminary bearing in every particular the same relations to the constituted ecclesiastical authorities. I do not think that this Synod would have the right to decide the question of political economy, as stated by Dr. Girardeau. The Church's teachings, that is, Christ's teachings, must be confined to things found in the word. But I maintain, if you pass upon this part of the 4th resolution, where it is not shown or even asserted that there is any connexion between science and the Scriptures, you will be deciding a purely scientific question, which Christ has given you no right to decide.

The only thing, Moderator, that you have a right to inquire into, as to any proposition, is whether it is scriptural or not; and it is only so far as any thing agrees with the holy word that you may adopt it, and it is only when it is inconsistent with the holy word that you can condemn it, when sitting as a church court. There is much truth that is not contained in the Scriptures; but with it you have nothing to do. Otherwise, why should not the Church adopt the multiplication table, or some good treatise on algebra, as matters of faith, simply because they are true?

Are there those in this Synod who still desire that it shall be put on record as undertaking to decide a scientific problem, without the slightest opinion expressed as to its agreement or disagreement with the word of God? It is not competent to you, I say again, to decide such a question without going beyond the limits of your authority, and legislating with reference to things which the Head of the Church has not intrusted to you. You have no right to go a single step beyond the boundaries which I have pointed out.

There is one thing, Moderator, which has been used during

the discussion to which it is scarcely worth while to allude; but as no little stress was laid on it in the way of appealing to the feelings, perhaps I should say just a few words about it. You were told that the science of Evolution and all those bad things that were said about it were not fit to be taught in a Theological Seminary, because they would be of no practical use to a minister when he was called to the bedside of a dying saint or a dying sinner. You were asked what comfort or what guidance the dying man would receive from a discussion of the origin of man's body, or any unproved hypothesis connected with the subject. Is this a proper test of what shall be taught in a theological seminary? Then you must put a stop to Professor Hemphill's teachings; for what comfort or guidance will a dying man derive from listening to the conjugation of a Hebrew verb at his bedside? And so with a large part of the auxiliary instructions in every Seminary course. But I beg pardon, Moderator, for taking up your time with this; I have alluded to it only to ask you to think what such an argument is worth.

I have already intimated that in my opinion Evolution—its truth or falsity—is a matter of extremely small importance. I think that, as regards your Christian character, it does not make the slightest difference whether you believe in Evolution or not. I have said directly and by implication over and over again, that the Church may not teach science, even what would be admitted by all to be true science, so far as such teaching would imply that that science is sanctioned by the Church. It makes no difference, as to the doctrines of the Christian Church, whether one believes the Ptolemaic doctrine of the solar system, or whether he believes the earth to be round or flat, or, as I think, whether he regards Evolution to be probably true or an unverified hypothesis. Scientific beliefs, even those which are in some respects of the highest consequence, when they are compared with the doctrines with which the Church of God is concerned, and which alone it is commissioned to teach, are of utter insignificance.

It is for you now to keep the Church from being again dragged down from its sublime and sacred work, as it has so often been in the past. The Church in various ways has uttered its belief on

one scientific question after another during the past; and I think I am right when I assert that every time the Church has undertaken to express an opinion on scientific matters, it has expressed an opinion that was wrong. And what, Moderator, is the sad result? In every land where knowledge prevails, just in proportion frequently to the extent of the knowledge is the extent of the rejection of the Holy Scriptures. How could it well be otherwise? When you go into a church and hear denounced from the pulpit as false those things which you know to be true, are you going to believe the Bible to be the word of God on such authority as that? The authorised interpreter of the word, speaking in the name of the Church, tells you that geology is not true, that astronomy is not true, and that you must reject such things as contrary to the inspired word of God. Is it a wonder, Moderator, that those who know the truth are driven by such teaching into utter rejection of the Bible, and so from hope and down to hell? And by whom? By all, Moderator, who insist on maintaining that there is a struggle, an opposition, an enmity, between that science which is derived from the word of God and the science which is derived from his works. It will be an awful and a terrible thing in the day of judgment to have the blood of such men, Moderator, on our souls. The evils to which I am calling your attention are increasing every day. A larger and larger proportion of the truest and the noblest of our youth are coming every day to understand and to know the truths of natural science; and just in proportion as it is asserted from the pulpit that natural science and the teachings of the Bible contradict each other, just in that proportion will unbelief and its fearful consequences increase. I will venture to say that there is scarcely a community in this State where you cannot find one who utterly rejects the Sacred Scriptures and Jesus Christ for this reason. Can any one say that such an effect has ever been produced by the teachings which have been denounced here as contrary to the word of God?

Moderator and Brethren, you now have one of the grandest opportunities that could be presented of maintaining the pure spirituality and exclusive scriptural character of the Church. As you look backward over the dreary past, you will see that it has

been taught in the Church's name that if you believe that human beings live beyond the torrid zone, you must reject the Scriptures as false; if you believe that the earth is a sphere, you must reject the Scriptures as false; if you believe that the sun does not revolve around the earth but that the earth revolves around the sun, you must reject the Scriptures as false; if you believe that the universe was created more than six thousand years ago, you must reject the Scriptures as false. Will you add to this dismal list of appalling examples your teaching, that if you believe that Evolution is true, you must reject the Scriptures as false?

I beseech you that you abstain from speaking as rulers in the Church of Christ that which the Head of the Church has not authorised you in his word to speak. I beseech you that you will not place deadly stumbling blocks in the path of those who are seeking the way of life in the Holy Word. For the sake of the intelligent ingenuous youth of the land, for the sake of the greater multitudes who will look to them as their guides, that you may not drive to eternal death those whom you would fain win to eternal blessedness, I beseech you that you will not tell them in Christ's name that if they accept the teachings of God's works, they can have no share in the unspeakable blessings offered in God's word. By your love for the souls of your fellow-men, by your loyalty to the King and Lord of the Church and your desire to obey him by keeping within the limits which he has prescribed to you, as you would glorify him by bringing souls into his kingdom, I beseech you as his representatives do not commit him to what he has not commanded, but preach the word, and the word alone.

[The foregoing speech was delivered before the Synod of South Carolina on the 27th and 28th October, 1884. It is published (after revision) from reports furnished by stenographers; but these reports omit much that was said by the speaker, as well as many questions put by members of Synod and short speeches made by them, while Professor Woodrow occupied the floor. But the speech was wholly unwritten, and it has been found impossible to supply the omitted parts from memory. The action of the Synod in the case may be found in the published Minutes.]

ARTICLE II.

THE SCOTCH COVENANTERS.

The history of the Church of Scotland is a record of struggles and sufferings in behalf of religious freedom. The Scotch seem to have been originally endowed, in a higher degree than any of their Celtic neighbors, with natural vigor of intellect, independence of mind, and loyalty to the convictions of conscience. From the dawn of their history they have always evinced a determination to think for themselves. The national character seems to have been modelled after the rugged physical features which mark the surface of their country. Bold mountains, rough crags, and impetuous streams, which defy the skill of man to level or control, seemed to have furnished the type of intellectual robustness and indomitable freedom which constitute the national characteristics. They were born to be free, and every yoke that superstition, despotism, or priestcraft has imposed upon them, was resisted with spirit, borne with impatience, and thrown off at the first opportunity. This inborn love of freedom has evinced itself all through their history, in no way more decisively than in their heroic efforts to defend the right of private judgment and liberty of conscience in matters of religion. Dictation and human authority in that sphere which God has left free from the doctrines and commandments of men have never failed to evoke opposition from a genuine and an enlightened Scotchman. No one is more willing to yield obedience to legitimate authority within its appropriate sphere, no one is more prompt in his resistance when it attempts to assert itself outside of that sphere. Freedom to worship God according to conscience finds its true counterpart in resisting every effort to substitute human in the place of divine authority. "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

This principle was the life-blood of all the Scotch Covenants, and the true definition, therefore, of a Scotch Covenanter is the *advocate of religious freedom*. He was not opposed to civil

authority, he was not the friend of bald democracy, of jacobinism, or red republicanism. He did not wish to substitute the will of the people for the authority of the throne, or elevate the *vox populi* above that of the constitution and the laws. He believed that civil magistracy was ordained of God, and that the magistrate was the minister of God, appointed by him to execute justice in civil affairs. Within that sphere he is to be obeyed and respected with scrupulous care and conscientious alacrity, and so long as he restrained himself within that sphere, the intelligent Covenanter allowed none to surpass him in respect for his office and obedience to his commands. His peculiarity consisted in believing it to be the teaching of the Scriptures that Jesus Christ has established a government for his Church *distinct and separate from* that of the civil magistrate, and that this government is to be administered by officers whom he has appointed in his word. These two governments need not clash, and one must not intrude into the domain of the other, and when the civil usurps ecclesiastical power, the subject must obey God rather than man.

These principles, which are so familiar to us, and which constitute the basis of church government in this country, are a heritage transmitted to us from our heroic Scotch Covenanting forefathers. They were denied in their day and denounced as treason and rebellion. The kings of England and Scotland two hundred years ago claimed to be the head of the Church, that their royal prerogative included the right to govern the Church, to appoint ministers, establish ordinances, discipline offenders, suppress false doctrine, and regulate all matters appertaining to the constitution and control of the Church. These claims were opposed by the Covenanters as unscriptural, and incompatible with the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, and tended to destroy that liberty of conscience wherewith Christ has made his people free. And but for their heroic resistance these false and oppressive tenets would in all probability have prevailed unto this day. They resisted them, moreover, on the ground that they would fasten the yoke of civil despotism on the necks of the people and subject their liberties and lives to the arbitrary will of an earthly

ruler. For civil liberty cannot be preserved after religious liberty is destroyed. The latter is the foundation of the former, inasmuch as when men's consciences are enslaved, it is but a step easily taken to make slaves of their bodies also. So that to the Scotch Covenanters the world is indebted for its first and most successful vindication of these two great blessings—civil and religious freedom. They contended for these blessings as being the birthright of the race and refused to surrender them even at the cost of life. And to-day in the Grayfriar's church in Edinburgh may be seen the monument erected to the eighteen thousand martyrs who laid down their lives in defence of these principles. And we here in free America are now sitting under the vine and the fig tree, whose roots were nourished with the blood of the martyred Covenanters.

The earliest authentic accounts* of the establishment of Christianity in Scotland, ascribe it to the Culdees. These Christian refugees fled from persecution in the various parts of the Roman Empire to find a safe and quiet retreat in the mountainous regions of Scotland. They were so called from an abbreviation of two Latin words—*cultores Dei*, worshippers of God. Owing to the almost incessant wars which prevailed among the tribes of Picts and Scots, they remained in a scattered condition, without system or organisation for several centuries. In the year 563, A. D., Columba, a native of Ireland, and a disciple of the celebrated Patrick, who was himself a Scotchman, established a monastery, or sort of theological seminary, on the island of Iona, of which he was the presbyter, abbot, or permanent president. This was the first ecclesiastical body, approaching in form to that of a presbytery, ever organised in Scotland, and from this time the Culdee Church assumed organisation and began to propagate itself by sending out evangelists to establish churches over the country. They penetrated as far South as England and established churches among the pagan Saxons. But about this time Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome, had *his* attention directed to England, and sent the monk Augustine, with forty missionaries to plant

*NOTE.—The writer acknowledges his indebtedness for many of his facts to *Hetherington's History of Church of Scotland*.

the Latin Church among the Saxons. These men being the representatives of a great and wealthy Church, by pomp, subtlety, and artifice soon gained ascendancy over the pagan Saxons and drew them away from the simple worship of the Culdees. Finding themselves involved in controversy with their rivals, and likely to be supplanted by them, the Culdees returned to Scotland. Soon, however, they were followed by the papal emissaries, whose object it was to establish the Church of Rome in Scotland also; and in the course of time by subtlety, intolerance, and diplomacy, they succeeded in suppressing the Culdee Church altogether. In the year 1176 the Scotch king and clergy yielded up their spiritual liberties to the Roman Pontiff, and Popery became the predominant religion of Scotland. But the doctrines and polity of the Church of Rome did not accord with the freedom and independence of the Scottish mind. The people would think for themselves and soon became restive under the priestly domination of the Romish hierarchy. Accordingly as soon as the doctrines of Wickliffe and Luther began to spread, they found a congenial soil in Scotland. They were eagerly embraced by George Wishart, Patrick Hamilton, and John Knox, who at once threw themselves into the work of bringing about a reformation. It was for the purpose of advancing this reformation that the people of Scotland drew up and signed the *First Covenant* in 1557. In this Covenant they bound themselves to defend the word of God, the gospel, and the sacraments against all superstition and idolatry. They renewed it again at Perth in 1559, and in 1560 the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was organised, and the first Book of Discipline drawn up. In 1581 they adopted the system of ecclesiastical polity, written out and expounded in the second Book of Discipline, which the late Dr. Stuart Robinson pronounced "the profoundest disquisition upon the philosophical principles that underlie constitutional law to be found in any language." They abolished episcopacy and declared the office of a diocesan bishop to be destitute of warrant and authority from the word of God, and a mere human invention. The General Assembly thus organised continued to meet annually until 1621, when it was suppressed

by King James, and this in face of the fact that thirty years before he had eulogised the Church of Scotland, praising God that he was born in such a time and in such a "Kirk," "the sincerest Kirk in the world," and pledging his life and crown to defend the same against "all deadly."

The Church struggled on through various fortunes till 1638, when King Charles I. determined to suppress the Presbyterian Church altogether by forcing the people to adopt episcopacy as the only form of church government that would be tolerated. The Covenanters, perceiving the peril which threatened their Church, determined to bind themselves again in a solemn engagement to defend the cause of Presbyterianism against these arbitrary measures and the intrigues of the king's prelatie advisers.

Another Covenant was drawn up called the *National Covenant*, and the people were summoned to meet at Edinburgh for the purpose of affixing their signatures to it. The heart of Scotland was now stirred to its profoundest depths, and the nation shook like a fig tree when stricken by a mighty wind. The meeting was preceded by a solemn call to fasting, humiliation, and prayer. On the 28th of February, 1638, at least 60,000 people from the country were assembled in the city of Edinburgh, whose hearts throbbed with anxiety and hope. The Covenant consisted of three parts: the old Covenant of 1581, the Acts of Parliament condemning Popery and ratifying the Acts of the General Assembly, and the application of these facts to present circumstances. It was read to the assembled multitude, and all its parts fully explained to them. The Greyfriar's church and church-yard were densely filled with the gravest, most intelligent of Scotland's sons and daughters; and when those in the church had signed it it was taken out into the church-yard and laid on a gravestone, where name after name was affixed to it as long as there was space left to contain a signature. Some wept aloud, some burst into shouts of exultation, some added to their signatures the words "*till death*," some opened veins and signed their names with their blood. It was carried to all parts of the city to afford an opportunity to all to sign it. It was copied and sent to every part of the kingdom, and everywhere it was received with joyful wel-

come, with gushing tears, and prayers to God that this return of the people to their ancient Covenant might be the means of averting the divine indignation and restoring peace to the country. It was regarded as a solemn religious act by which the nation re-dedicated itself to the service of God and the defence of his truth.

Just before this great popular outburst of national feeling the bishops had drawn up a liturgy or book of public worship on the model of the English Prayer-Book. They submitted it to King Charles, and by the advice of his privy counsellor, Archbishop Laud, he issued a proclamation commanding all his subjects to receive it with reverence and conform to it in all their religious services. This the Covenanters could not do without yielding up every vestige of religious liberty, violating their consciences, and proving recreant to all their previous history.

About this time an incident occurred in the Cathedral of St. Giles which showed the determined spirit of the Scotch women and the universal diffusion among all classes of a devotion to the principles of religious freedom. Notice had been given that on a certain Sabbath the public use of the liturgy would be commenced in all the churches. When the day arrived the dean of Edinburgh presented himself in the church and began to read the service. Deep feelings of sorrow and suppressed wrath were manifest all over the congregation. An old woman by the name of Jennie Geddes listened until, no longer able to restrain her indignation, she exclaimed, "Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug?" and seizing the stool on which she had been sitting, hurled it with all her might at the dean's head. Instantly all was uproar and confusion, missiles of all kinds flew from all directions at the luckless dean, and he fled out of the church, leaving his gown and surplice torn to shreds in the hands of the angry Covenanters.

After this enthusiastic signing of the Covenant all over the country, and this local outburst against the use of the liturgy, King Charles saw that obedience to his proclamation could only be secured by force of arms. He accordingly determined to use force and compel the Covenanters to receive the liturgy. They

were unwilling to engage in war against their own sovereign and addressed to him humble and respectful petitions, imploring him not to thrust it upon them. But he was deaf to all petitions and persisted in demanding absolute and unconditional compliance. The Covenanters saw now that nothing was left to them but to take up arms in defence of their religious liberties. With reluctant minds they embarked on the stormy sea of war, after committing themselves and their cause to the God of battles. They raised an army of 12,000 men and put them under command of General Leslie, who advanced to meet the king's forces. He pitched his camp upon the hill of Dunse Law in full view of the king's army. A staff was erected at each tent door, with a banner unfurled on which was inscribed in golden letters the words, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." Morning and evening the drum-beat summoned the troops together for prayer and praise.

When King Charles saw their determined attitude and formidable numbers, he wisely concluded that discretion was the better part of valor, and that it would be more expedient to negotiate with men on whom he saw he could not trample. He therefore agreed that a parliament should be called to consider the matters in dispute, and endeavor to bring them to an amicable settlement. The armies were in the meantime disbanded, but the Covenanters had had their suspicions aroused that the king would not grant them their liberties any longer than he might become able to enforce his proclamation, so they kept themselves on the alert and watched the course of events. The parliament met and after various efforts to adjust the questions in dispute had failed, the king continuing obstinate in his demands, negotiations were broken off and the determination was again made to resort to arms.

In the meantime, however, Charles became involved in trouble with his English subjects. His arbitrary measures had become galling to them, and they refused to grant him the supplies necessary to support a campaign against the Scotch. He called a parliament to provide him the needed men and money to enable him to invade Scotland, but instead of doing so they brought in a list of grievances which they asked might be relieved before

they would furnish him the necessary means for carrying on a war. This led the Covenanters to see that they had sympathisers among the English and suggested to them the idea of drawing up what is known in history as the *Solemn League and Covenant*. This celebrated instrument was drawn up by Alexander Henderson, one of the ablest ministers the Church of Scotland ever produced. It was signed by commissioners from England and Scotland, binding both countries to maintain the reformed religion in Scotland and promote the reformation in England and Ireland. It was also subscribed by the English parliament, and the efforts to secure its objects no doubt led that parliament to pass the act which called together the celebrated Westminster Assembly in 1643, by which the Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Presbyterian Church were framed. The Covenanters furnished that Assembly with some of its ablest men. Among them were Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, Robert Douglass, George Gillespie, and Samuel Rutherford. Thus it will be seen that to the Covenanters must be accorded the honor of originating a measure which culminated in the formation of that illustrious Assembly which did more to settle and preserve the doctrines of reformed theology than any assembly ever held.

About this time the great civil war in England between the king and parliament began, and King Charles found himself between two fires—the army of the Covenanters on the north and the army of parliament, led by Oliver Cromwell, on the south. Cromwell, at the head of his “invincible Ironsides,” soon routed the king’s army, led by the “fiery Rupert,” and the king, reduced to the last extremity, fled in disguise to the Covenanters and threw himself upon their protection. With a noble generosity and a forgetfulness of past grievances, they received him as their lawful sovereign and treated him with all the respect that loyal subjects owe to their king. Though he had endeavored to destroy their liberties by forcing upon them a liturgy which they abhorred, and forced them to take up arms against him, they did not consider themselves thereby absolved from allegiance to him. They were willing still to encounter every danger in his defence, only asking that he would sign the Covenant and grant them

religious freedom. They urged him to do this as the means whereby he would rally around him the brave hearts and strong arms of his Scotch subjects, who would do all in their power to reinstate him upon his throne and aid him in subduing his rebellious English subjects. But the infatuated king refused, hoping that he might still retain his despotic prerogatives, reunite his alienated subjects, and continue to rule the Church as well as the State. The Covenanters, finding that they could not prevail upon him to ratify the Covenant, and that they could not support him in his designs without violating their vows, delivered him up to the English parliament, by whom he was tried, condemned, and executed in January, 1649. Against this unnecessary and cruel deed they remonstrated long and earnestly, but in vain, and by it the English parliament violated the Solemn League and Covenant which they had bound themselves a few years before to maintain. The parliament under Cromwell desired the destruction of monarchy and the establishment of republicanism in its place, but the Covenanters were attached to monarchy, only wishing that it be restricted within scriptural limits. As soon as they heard of the death of Charles I., they immediately proclaimed his son king under the title of Charles II. They sent commissioners to him in Holland, where he had been residing, and brought him to Scotland, crowned him, and remained true to him until driven into exile by Cromwell.

Cromwell now carried everything before him and was proclaimed Lord Protector of England. This deep-thinking and far-seeing man had great respect for the Covenanters. Though by no means a Presbyterian, while in Scotland he attended their churches and listened to the preaching of some of the Presbyterian ministers. Those brave men did not hesitate to pray for the exiled king even in the presence of the Protector, whom they called a *usurper* to his face. He saw, however, that they were honest, earnest men, true to the principles they held, and instead of being offended by their frankness honored them for their consistency.

Now began the darkest and most calamitous period in the history of the Covenanters. The iron hand of despotism became

strong, and these heroic men were called upon to lay down their lives in defence of their principles. In 1660 Charles II. returned in triumph to England. The dreaded Cromwell was now dead, and the people were seized with a spirit of extravagant loyalty and determined to restore monarchy to a higher pitch of glory than it had ever attained before. After the restoration the king determined, among the first things to be done, to suppress the Covenanters and establish Prelacy in accordance with the wish of his royal father, Charles I. This was in 1661. Strange to say, he chose as the instrument for effecting his purpose a man whom the Covenanters had chosen before to represent *them* and plead their cause before the court. This man was James Sharpe, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, who became one of the most cruel and unscrupulous persecutors of all whose names are recorded in the annals of the Church of Scotland. He was an ambitious ecclesiastic who did not hesitate to sacrifice truth, honor, or religion whenever they lay in the way of personal preferment. He belonged to that looser class of Covenanters who passed at the time under the name of Resolutioners. In opposition to the Protestors, they were in favor of admitting to places of honor and trust all classes of men except those who were excommunicate and profane. These Resolutioners were governed by secular and prudential views of expediency rather than by strict religious principles. Sharpe had gained some notoriety by his success in previous negotiations in the time of Cromwell, which he managed with such dexterity before the Protector as to draw from him the remark, "That gentleman, after the Scottish way, ought to be termed *Sharp* of that ilk."

He was sent to London by the Covenanters to negotiate with the king in their behalf, but instead of doing so used all his influence for their destruction. At his suggestion and by his advice, the king issued a proclamation calling a Scotch parliament, which revoked all the acts passed during the previous thirty years in favor of Presbyterianism, and thus effectually suppressed the Church of Scotland. This, of course, threw the Covenanters upon the defensive, which at once inaugurated the work of persecution. The first victim was the Marquis of Argyle, a

distinguished nobleman, who was regarded as the most powerful supporter of the Covenant. It was he who set the crown upon Charles's head when he returned from Holland, and now the ungrateful king in turn placed upon *his* head the crown of martyrdom. The next victim was the Rev. James Guthrie. His offence was that he denied the right of the king to judge in matters purely ecclesiastical. At his trial he defended himself with so much eloquence, knowledge of law, and strength of argument as to astonish his friends and confound his enemies. Said he to the judge: "My Lord, I beseech you, ponder well what profit there is in my blood. It is not the extinguishing of me or of many others that will extinguish the Covenant. My blood will contribute more to its propagation than my life or liberty could do, though I were to live many years." When on the scaffold, he exclaimed with his dying breath, "The Covenants, the Covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving." Thus died the first martyrs for the Covenants of Scotland, and in their deaths opened up a stream of noble blood that continued to flow in increasing volume for twenty-eight years. But, as Mr. Guthrie said, the flow of martyr blood did not quench but rather enriched the growth of those principles of religious freedom that had rooted themselves deeply in Scotland's heart.

Another parliament about this time passed acts annulling all kinds of church power but that which acknowledged itself dependent upon the arbitrary will of the sovereign; and thus was the Church made the "creature of the State," and the crown of the eternal Redeemer was transferred to the brow of an earthly king. The Solemn League and Covenant and the Covenant of 1638 were declared no longer binding, and an act was passed compelling the people to sign a declaration condemning the Covenants, upon pain of forfeiting the privileges of merchandising and trading. That dreadful engine of oppression, the Court of High Commission, was reëstablished to serve as an obsequious tool for the execution of every arbitrary mandate that might issue from the throne. This was a mixed court of bishops and laymen, first organised in 1610, abolished in 1638, and now renewed in 1664. Never was a more tyrannical court organised, unless it

was the Spanish Inquisition itself. It was regulated by no fixed laws or forms of justice, and was armed with the united terrors of both civil and ecclesiastical swords. It could call before it all persons accused of immorality, heresy, treason, or any imaginary offence, and inflict upon them any punishment it saw proper. To furnish it with power to enforce its decisions, the military authorities were put under its control and required to execute its orders. The churches of the Covenanters were seized, their ministers sent into exile, and curates appointed by the Privy Council were sent to occupy the pulpits thus forcibly vacated. The people of the various parishes were ordered to attend upon their ministry upon pain of being reported to the High Commission as rebellious and seditious. The curates found themselves hated and despised, and were left to perform divine service in the presence of empty benches. Irritated by this neglect, they became willing informers against the people and their ministers, whom they reported to the Commission as refractory and disobedient. The Court soon found its hands full, and dealt out fines, imprisonment, banishment, and torture with a liberal hand. They employed the soldiery, who, like swarms of Eastern locusts, devoured the country and reduced the people to starvation.

These intolerable oppressions at length drove the suffering people to desperation, and they began to retaliate by taking vengeance on the soldiers when opportunity presented itself. This exasperated the Commission, and led to the employment of greater force and more violent measures. Then began a system of wholesale butchery. In this bloody work no man gained greater notoriety than James Graham, the Earl of Claverhouse. This man, by his zeal in executing the orders of the Commission, his skill in exploring every retreat where an obnoxious Covenanter might conceal himself, and his cruelty in subjecting him to torture or a violent death, earned for himself the infamous title of "Bloody Claverhouse." Being expelled from their churches, the Covenanters began to hold religious meetings in the fields, under the broad canopy of heaven, in the hope that there they might enjoy the instructions of their beloved pastors. Lauderdale and Sharpe, however, persuaded the king to issue a proclamation prohibiting

“field conventicles,” as they contemptuously styled them, as being the rendezvous of rebellion, and the enforcement of this order was especially intrusted to Claverhouse, who obeyed his instructions with unrelenting fidelity.

These cruelties provoked a band of determined men to resolve upon the assassination of Archbishop Sharpe, their real author and source. This desperate measure they accomplished in the exercise of what Lord Bacon calls “wild justice,” having waylaid and shot him as he travelled along the road in his carriage. “Thus perished,” says the historian Hetherington, “that deeply guilty and most miserable man, whose life had been one tissue of unbounded perfidy and remorseless cruelty, having been the cause to his suffering country of a greater amount of ruin than ever was inflicted on it by any other human being.” While this was an act of murder which the suffering Covenanters could not, and did not, justify, yet were they required to atone for it by a long series of bloody retaliatory measures. The bloody Claverhouse was now authorised to avenge the death of Sharpe by any measures which his ingenuity could devise or his brutal soldiery accomplish. At the head of a strong detachment, he swept across the country like a demon of destruction. Torture, rapine, and murder marked his path. Those who fled were hunted and shot down in the fields; those whose age or sex rendered them incapable of flight were tortured, abused, and butchered by their own hearthstones.

In an old volume published in Glasgow in 1796, entitled “A Cloud of Witnesses for the Royal Prerogative of Jesus Christ,” containing the last speeches of many of the Scotch martyrs, there is a long list of names of those who were slain or banished, a list of large sums of money extorted from the people, and an account of the time, place, and circumstances under which many were killed by the bloody Claverhouse. Among them are the names of many ministers, private members of the Church, male and female, old and young, who suffered during that reign of terror. It is a quaint old volume, from which the author modestly withholds his name, but it is fragrant with the sweet odors arising from the dying testimony of many of God’s faithful wit-

nesses, who counted not their lives dear unto them so that they might finish their course with joy.

These calamities continued to fall upon the Church of Scotland throughout the reign of Charles II. and James II., his brother, until William of Orange came into possession of the English throne—from 1660 to 1688—twenty-eight years. During that time an accurate computation shows that 18,000 persons suffered death, slavery, exile, or imprisonment in the effort to destroy the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and establish Prelacy on its ruins.

When this dark and stormy period between the Restoration and the Revolution came to an end by the accession of William and Mary, the abdication and flight of James II., and the dissolution of the Court of High Commission, the Covenanters obtained the peaceful enjoyment of their religious liberties. It would not have been strange had they now turned and inflicted terrible retribution on their prelatic persecutors. But no retaliatory steps were taken. With a forbearance and magnanimity that do them infinite honor, they allowed their enemies to go their way and live in peace without striking them a blow in revenge for the sufferings they had endured at their hands. They simply expelled the curates from the churches they had seized and occupied so long, and restored them to their own pastors, and then marched the curates to the boundaries of their respective parishes and sent them away without harm or molestation. No plunder, no bloodshed stained the hands of the Covenanters. They acted like men who had been chastened by the hand of God; and when he was pleased to remove the chastisement, they resumed their accustomed course of life with gratitude to God that he had at length turned his anger away and now comforted them. Such magnanimity and high-souled forbearance are a bright illustration of the heavenly and divine character of the principles for which they had struggled so long and suffered so much.

The principles which the Covenanters maintained at such fearful cost and with such unyielding pertinacity were simply these: *The Lord Jesus is the sole King and Head of the Church, and*

hath appointed therein a government distinct from that of the civil magistrate, and this government is to be administered by officers whom he has appointed in his word. In matters religious the conscience is free from the doctrines and commandments of men, and subject to the commands of God alone, who is supreme Lord thereof. It was for these they counted not their lives dear unto them and poured out their blood like water, and indeed these great truths are worth all the sacrifices endured to maintain them. They secure a complete disjunction between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, and assign to each a separate supreme tribunal for the exercise of their functions. They render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's. So long as these principles are recognised, an absolute despotism is impossible. They leave the conscience free, and while conscience is free, man can never be made a slave. James VI. understood this when he gave expression to the celebrated aphorism, "No bishop, no king," by which he meant that if the king be not clothed with supreme ecclesiastical power, whereby he becomes the chief bishop, he is no king at all, he is robbed of the most costly jewel in his crown; if he be denied the right to rule men's consciences, he is *ipso facto* deprived of the power to rule their bodies. Indeed, James V. and VI., both the Charleses, and James II. of England, were all at heart Papists. They aimed at establishing absolute despotism, but they saw that their cherished purpose could not be realised in connexion with a free Church, and hence their persistent efforts to destroy the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, in which the principle of religious freedom was a fundamental tenet. Their desire was to lodge all power in the will of the sovereign, thus clothing him with *divine rights* as God's vicegerent on earth, from whom no appeal could be taken; but this can never be done until the people are forced to yield up the freedom of conscience and render the implicit obedience of slaves. They strove therefore to lay the foundation of despotism on the only secure basis on which it can ever rest, which is the *enslavement of the conscience*. Men can never be made slaves in the fullest sense so long as their consciences are left free to obey God in matters of religion. Hence the English

people, and through them the whole Anglo-Saxon race, must thank the Covenanters for the free toleration and the religious liberty they now enjoy under the British constitution. They were the men who resisted the despotic yoke which the royal house of the Stuarts endeavored to fasten upon the people of England by insisting that the framers of that celebrated instrument should give religious freedom a place in the fundamental law. And while mankind shall continue to value liberty, they will not cease to acknowledge the world's indebtedness to the heroic Covenanters of Scotland.

Some writers and speakers have endeavored to maintain the position that the Puritans were the original champions of religious freedom, and that one of their offshoots, the Baptists, under Roger Williams, are entitled to the honor of having first promulgated that doctrine in this country. But he has read history to but little purpose who does not know that Puritanism, in its essential features, was the predominant religion in Scotland many years before Williams was born. Williams was born in 1606, but Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, and John Knox, more than a half century before, had preached the doctrines out of which Puritanism sprang afterwards in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Puritanism was a protest against the papal character of the Anglican Church, whose contention was that that Church, in its efforts at reform, did not separate itself sufficiently markedly from the Papacy; but the *grounds* of that protest had long before been laid by the ancestors of the Scotch Covenanters. Williams was a Puritan, and imbibed his doctrines of religious freedom from his English Puritan ancestors, who in turn had derived theirs from the ancestors of the Covenanters. So that the principles of Puritanism are to be traced back to *those men* by whom they were delivered to the Covenanters themselves, and by them disseminated in England. Hence the championship of this great cause must not be taken from the Covenanters and given to some of their descendants. While, therefore, we honor Roger Williams and the Baptists for their labors in this behalf, the verdict of history is that they were indebted to the early Scotch Covenanters for their instruction,

and became only the disseminators of what *our* early Scotch forefathers had taught them.

But it need not be conceded that the Baptists were even the first to inculcate this great doctrine in America. In the martyrlogy of the Covenanters, already referred to, we find that many of them were banished in 1666, some to Barbadoes, some to France, some to Virginia, some to the Carolinas, and some to New Jersey. It is not to be supposed that when they reached their new homes in this western world they would conceal the very doctrines for which they had suffered the loss of all things.

Such is a brief and imperfect sketch of the struggles and sufferings of our early Scotch ancestry to maintain Presbyterianism as a form of church government. A system which has undergone such crucial tests, which has survived so much opposition and such determined and powerful efforts to destroy it, which, phoenix-like, when crushed beneath the heel of despotism, has sprung again to life and vigor—such a system must be of God. Had it been of men, it would long ago have come to naught. It is the true scriptural apostolic form of church government. It lays as its foundation-stone the imperishable truth that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Supreme Head and King in the Church; that he has appointed for it a government that is *jure divino*; that this government is *joint*, and not several, to be administered by a *plurality* of officers appointed in his word. This government moves in an orbit distinct from that of the civil magistrate, and when the two authorities conflict, man is to obey God rather than men. With these divine truths imbedded in the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, the gates of hell will never prevail against it.

E. O. FRIERSON.

ARTICLE III.

THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND
THE FREEDMEN.

As we cannot place a name at the end of our article that will draw readers, we were strongly tempted to devise, if possible, an attractive title to place at the beginning. But we fear that no title would be attractive that suggests the subject under treatment, and as we are too conscientious to adopt the *ruse* of the patent medicine advertiser, we must go before the public with our real purpose disclosed and with a title that will perhaps invite many to turn away. Should any one venture thus far down the page, we promise him this much, that if he will go with us to the end, he will at least find something said which it will require little mental effort to understand. We have very decided views, and they are very decidedly expressed. That he may know where he is going in case he does go with us, we will say in the outset that in our judgment the Southern Presbyterian Church has done very little for the religious instruction of the negro since his emancipation, is now doing very little, and without a change of method is not likely to do any better. For twenty years we have been chiefly occupied in talking about what we ought to do, why we ought to do it, and in resolving that we will do it. There are strong reasons, which we propose to mention, for thinking that this will be our chief occupation during the next twenty years if we continue in the line of our present policy. This may be thought a hard saying—a very grave indictment. Perhaps it is not so grave as it at first seems. There is no field of missionary labor that is so trying to the Southern Church, and no one in which the obstacles are so peculiar and inveterate. But let us see if the indictment is true.

What precisely is the amount of work done by the Southern Presbyterian Church for the negro since his emancipation, we can only judge by results. If these are meagre, doubtless the work that produced them was small. The cause bears a direct ratio to the effect. The Secretary of Home Missions reported to the General

Assembly in 1884 that there are in our bounds thirty-three organised colored churches, with about twenty houses of worship, twelve ministers, three licentiates, and eighteen candidates. This may seem a pretty fair showing. To organise on an average one and a half churches *per annum* is doing something. But whence came the material out of which these churches were constituted? The writer has used great diligence to enable him to answer this question. He has no knowledge whatever of seven of these churches; does not know where they are; to what Presbyteries they belong. He takes it for granted that they are somewhere, because it is so stated in the Secretary's report. In reference to most of the others he can speak with some authority. Nineteen were organised by members from white churches; five were organised out of material gathered independent of the white churches, and about two others there is some doubt, though the strong probability is, from their location and antecedents, that they were colonies from white churches. Suppose we assign one to each of the two classes designated above. Then we have twenty colored churches formed by colonies from white churches; six formed of material gathered from other sources; and seven about which we know nothing. Let us, however, guided by the ratio observed between the two classes, distribute these seven, giving five to the former class and two to the latter. We shall not be far from the truth if we say that twenty-five of our colored churches were set off as colonies from white churches. Now we think it will hardly be questioned that these twenty-five represent either work done before the emancipation of the negro, or work which had no special reference to the negro. Many of the older members of these churches were brought into the white churches before the war; many of the younger members are children of the "old issue," and still other members were gathered into the white churches by efforts that were not aimed primarily at them. They sat in the gallery and fed upon "the crumbs of the children's bread." So that we have only eight churches to show as the unmistakable fruit of work done for the emancipated negro. This is not a very large showing, and if no discount were to be made, it would hardly invalidate our indictment. But

there is one significant fact yet to be noted which tends to show that perhaps these eight churches are largely the outgrowth of influences set in motion in *ante-bellum* days. The fact is this, that from year to year the history of the work shows that our progress is with diminishing speed. The explanation which at once offers itself is that all the old material prepared in those days when masters used some influence to determine the church preference of their slaves, is about used up. If this is the true explanation, then our future will show less fruit than the past has shown.

There is one other indication of the amount of interest felt by our Church in work for the freedmen. For years we have had, or tried to have, what is called a *Colored Evangelistic Fund*. How many churches contributed to this fund last year? Exactly *two*; and the amount contributed was exactly \$27.24. The greatest number of churches reported as having contributed to this fund in any one year was twelve, and in that report it is said, "Franklin Street church, Baltimore, gave nearly two-thirds of all that was received from our own bounds." One man not connected with our Church has given more to this cause than all the Southern Presbyterian Church. The total amount collected in the last seven years is \$2,013.78. It is true that this does not represent all the money that has been expended in this work. Many Presbyteries have raised money to prosecute the work in their own bounds; and the Committee of Home Missions have appropriated, by direction of the General Assembly, quite a considerable aggregate from the Sustentation Fund. Still, it means much as indicating the spirit of the Church that an effort should be made to raise a general fund for the prosecution of evangelistic work among the colored people, and that only \$2,013.78 should be collected in seven years. This shows that however much interest individuals here and there may feel, the Church at large has little heart in the work. Such was the impression made upon the mind of the Secretary of Home Missions, who was intrusted with the management of this fund. To the General Assembly of 1881 he reports: "Most of the Presbyteries have taken no action looking to the development of this branch of

work, and comparatively little interest seems to be manifested in it." The next year his language is of like import: "Most of the Presbyteries have taken no action in regard to this branch of work, nor are any particularly encouraging facts noted at any point. Greater zeal in behalf of this important field seems to be much needed."

There is, however, one other direction in which we are putting forth effort in behalf of the negro. We have an institution for training colored ministers. We have made quite a pet of this institution in a certain very inexpensive way; and have solaced ourselves with the idea that its work was atoning for any neglect of which we might be guilty in other directions. The General Assembly of 1881 went so far as to say that the work of educating a colored ministry is all that it is practicable for our Church to do. The people will not attend the preaching of white ministers. They refuse help that is offered in this form, and so all that remains is to reach them indirectly. This opinion was carried up to the General Assembly in Presbyterial narratives. To the question, "What are you doing for the colored people?" the Presbyteries, with remarkable unanimity, answer, "Nothing, and the reason is, they have churches and preachers of their own, which they prefer." In one Presbytery exception was taken to this reason, and it was urged that their preference for their own churches and preachers no more excuses us from labor in their behalf than the similar fact in the case of the Chinese. The exception was overruled, and the Presbytery voted that the reason was satisfactory. It seemed so to the General Assembly, and that venerable body uses the following language: "The colored population seem to have passed, for the present at least, beyond our reach. They prefer their own preachers and services. In some sections they are reached by Sunday-schools, and in a few cases we have colored churches. But it is manifest that we can influence them now only by helping to train their ministry." Here is the representative judgment of the whole Church. The little that we are doing to evangelise them is regarded as the full measure of what we can do; and all that remains is to educate ministers of their own color for them.

Our next duty, then, is to inquire how much has been done in this line? The Tuskalooza Institute was opened on the 1st day of November, 1876, with one Professor and two students of our denomination. The number of Presbyterian students who have been in attendance in each successive year is as follows: First year, two; second year, three; third year, four; fourth year, five; fifth year, eight; sixth year, eleven; seventh year, sixteen; eighth year, twenty-three. Up to the spring of 1882 only four Presbyterian students had gone out from the Institute; and these had all been taken away by their Presbyteries before completing the course. Of these four, one died in a short while after leaving school, and another after preaching for a time acceptably in Savannah, "turned Methodist and fell from grace," leaving only two who are still in the service of our Church. Since 1882 four other Presbyterian students have gone forth, all of whom are doing well. So that at present we have six colored Presbyterian preachers in the field, who have enjoyed the benefits of our "Institute for Training Colored Ministers." None of these is a full graduate, two of them were in school three years, and the others but two years. Several will have completed the whole course at the end of the present session.

Let us now look at the course of study and see what kind of an education is given. Here is a list of studies presented by the Rev. A. F. Dickson in his first report to the Executive Committee. He says: "In making this first annual report of work done and doing in the Assembly's Colored Theological Institute, I give you first a schedule of studies pursued. The letter F appended indicates that we have finished with it; A, that (for some reason) we have suspended work on it without finishing."

I. SENIOR STUDENTS.

Bible reading with special reference to pulpit reading; Greek Testament and Grammar; Natural Theology—Lectures and Questions (F); Analysis of Larger Catechism, collated with the Confession (F); Alexander's Moral Science, read and studied (F); Alexander's Evidences of Christianity, read (A); Lectures on Homiletics; English Composition—skeletons, etc.; Hodge's Commentary on Confession of Faith, lately begun; Pastoral

Theology, with Pilgrim's Progress read; Exercises in Reading and Recitation of Hymns.

II. JUNIOR STUDENTS.

Bible reading as above; Arithmetic, written and mental; Writing; English Grammar; Spelling and Defining; Catechisms, Larger and Shorter; Alexander's Moral Science, read aloud (F); Alexander's Evidences, read aloud (A); Exercises in Reading and Recitation; Pilgrim's Progress, read aloud with view to Pastoral Theology.

With the profoundest veneration for the memory of the great and good and now glorified man who drafted this course of study, we must yet be permitted to say that *such* a course of study is something "new under the sun," Solomon to the contrary notwithstanding. The idea of preparing a mental *pabulum* by taking about equal parts of the very extremes—the beginning and end—of a liberal education, is, to say the least, novel. Who are to be fed on this wonderful *pabulum*? babes, boys, or full-grown men? It seems equally suitable or unsuitable for either class. Here is the description contained in the same report that contains the course of study: "The students come here entirely unprepared for education *as ministers*. Some, *on entering*, can barely stumble through the simpler verses of the Bible. They know nothing of writing, nothing of arithmetic, nothing of grammar." When we put the course of study side by side with those for whom it was framed, it presents about the same incongruity as would be presented by "killing the fatted calf" to feast a toothless babe. Whether Dr. Dickson modified this course before his death, we do not know. In the year 1882, the course of study is given as used by Prof. Rankin: "The Bible, Story of the Bible, Shorter Catechism, Pilgrim's Progress, Alexander's Moral Science, Dagg's Manual of Systematic Theology, Plumer's Truths for the People, Blackburn's Church History, Barrow's Sacred Geography and Antiquities, Companion to the Bible, by the same author, Harvey's Pastor, English grammar, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and writing." Think of a simple-minded negro, taken from a home where father and mother can neither read nor write, where he

has never heard from their lips a grammatical sentence, and never a word of two syllables pronounced correctly, where there were no ideas to be picked up that were worth picking up, and where the mind, that abhors a *vacuum*, was under the necessity of gathering rubbish that would be in the way of the entrance of light. The object is to make a Presbyterian preacher of that negro, and there are only two years in which to do it. Now a Presbyterian preacher means, and has meant for centuries, and must continue to mean, a man who has pursued a liberal course of study. No exception is to be made in the case of this ignorant negro; and so his dark mind is stuffed with the rudiments of English and of mathematics, and then, while these rudiments are lying in a crude, undigested state, church history, theology, exegesis, homiletics, sacred antiquities, etc., are crowded in on them. The attempt to teach so much in so short a time is bound to prove a failure. Take a genius of high order and start him where the average pupil starts who enters Tuscaloosa Institute, and with all his past mental development in a wrong direction, put him through that course and he will come out with his knowledge a loose jumble that will be well-nigh worthless. It may seem very impertinent in the writer to set his judgment up against that of the eminent men and beloved brethren who framed the course of study. But the writer's theoretical judgment has been confirmed by facts that have come to his knowledge; and he speaks with thorough conviction when he says that it is misleading to call the process at Tuscaloosa "*educating* negro preachers." True, the Institute was established with the avowed design of giving only half a loaf; and the writer may be reminded that he is saying nothing to the point unless he is prepared to assert that a half loaf is no better than no bread. He is prepared to express the opinion that what is given at Tuscaloosa is not a half loaf, it is not bread at all, it is dough, and that, not so far advanced as Ephraim, who was "a cake not turned," it is dough in the batter state. To a mind that is not impressed with the idea that our standard of ministerial education is binding by divine authority, the course of study at Tuscaloosa must seem irrational in the extreme. Who would ever think of trying to make a physician

or a lawyer by mixing up the rudiments of English with a professional course of medicine or law? How would it sound to mention as text-books belonging to the same year Holmes's Spelling Book and Draper's Anatomy, or Mental Arithmetic and Blackstone's Commentaries? Is it any more incongruous than to mention such elementary school-books as companion studies of church history and systematic theology? The course seems to have been arranged with the purpose of giving a spoonful from all the dishes that would serve to feed and nourish from childhood to maturity an ideal preacher. Strong meat and hot-water tea are mixed together, and little children must be fed on the mixture. The result would be life-long dyspepsia if enough of the nourishment could be forced down to produce any result at all.

The men sent out from Tuscaloosa are not educated; and, notwithstanding the course has now been extended so as to cover four years, those who are to be sent out in the future will not be educated. It will be all the worse for them and for those subject to their influence if they are imbued with the idea that they are educated. "A little learning is a dangerous thing." It may generate conceit, inflate vanity, and convert a docile pupil into a dogmatic teacher. It is the judgment of the writer that the Church is trying to impose on itself, and is perhaps achieving a fair degree of success. It is persuading itself that it has an "Institute for training colored ministers"—an Institute that furnishes a palpable proof of a generous interest in the religious instruction of the negro—an Institute that is relieving the Church to a very large extent from the obligation to put forth effort in other directions for the good of the negro—an Institute, in a word, which pretty well covers the whole ground of our responsibility. Our Church is furnishing in this an illustration of the truth that it is very easy to believe what one wishes to believe. Were we not exceedingly credulous in the direction of our wishes, we should, perhaps, be troubled with a suspicion that our present attempts to educate a colored ministry are farcical, and that much of our earnest and plausible talk is not far removed from pretence.

The writer would feel deeply grieved if what he has said should

be regarded as showing any want of respect for the venerable and ever to be venerated man whose name is inseparably linked with the history of Tuscaloosa Institute. He is a man whom the Church delights to honor; and he has done what he could with the paltry resources at his command. The writer has ventured to speak his mind freely because the responsibility for Tuscaloosa Institute is spread out over the whole area of the Southern Presbyterian Church. The Institute belongs in the fullest sense to the whole Church, and is held up to the world as representing the full measure of our obligation to the colored people. The last General Assembly declare "that it becomes us as a Church to support Tuscaloosa Institute, established by the Church for the purpose of discharging the duty we owe to the African race in our midst." In the light of other deliverances of that venerable court, this language plainly implies that it is through the Tuscaloosa Institute the Church is to fulfil its whole mission to the negro. If the Church make the Institute so prominent, and burden it with such a great responsibility, there would seem to be no impropriety in subjecting its work to a searching analysis.

We are now through with our review of the Church's past record. Does not this review show that our Church is not pervaded with a lively interest in the religious enlightenment and elevation of the freedmen? It is not questioned that some interest is felt, but it is not general, and it is not very vigorous. We are actually doing less for the negro race than for any other whom it is possible for us to reach. We send more money to Brazil, to China, to Greece, than we expend on these heathen at our doors. Let us now inquire why this is so. It is common to hear remarks which indicate that our first duty is to the colored people; that our duty to them is first, not only on the principle "first come, first served," but especially because we are to some extent responsible for their condition, and further, because we owe them a debt of gratitude for past services. We were nursed by them in infancy, played with them in childhood, and fed upon the fruit of their labor in after years. We have reaped of their carnal things, and should now sow unto them spiritual things. Surely we should give them the preference over the distant heathen to

whom we owe nothing but the debt imposed by the ties of a common humanity. Such is the line of remark frequently indulged in. But is it true that our comparative neglect of the negro, to which it seems we must plead guilty, is to be charged against us as a sin of ingratitude? Is our interest in the negro a measure of our Church's piety? If the writer thought so, he would try to see things in a different light. He does not think so, but believes there is an explanation of our want of interest in work for the freedmen, which, if it does not excuse our Church, is at least a great palliation of our sin. 'The Southern Presbyterian Church is perhaps as much interested in the negro race at large as any Church. In proof of this we might refer to the great desire which has long been cherished, and which will doubtless soon find practical expression, to establish a mission in Africa. When such mission is established, it will enlist as much sympathy as any of our missions. But there are peculiar relations existing between the emancipated negroes and the Southern white population which inevitably tend to damp the Church's ardor in behalf of the African *in the midst of us*.

1. *The social relation.* Both races stand on the same platform of legal and political rights and privileges. While the negro as a rule is not aspiring, yet when the law protects him as in public houses and public conveyances, he stands his ground, and it is noticeable that an ever-increasing number prefer to pay full fare and ride in first-class cars. Free schools put within the negro's reach the smattering of an education, merely enough to elevate him in his own esteem and obliterate in his mind the difference between the two races in point of culture and refinement. To be able to read the newspaper, even though the long words must be slowly spelled out, puts one in the educated class and fits him to do justice to any position in society. Gradually he comes to feel that all that bars him from social recognition is prejudice, ignoble and unjust, against his color. This begets envy and ill-will. On the other hand the white people of the South have no practical use for the negro, except in the capacity of servant. When he accepts the position of servant as the only one to which his endowments and accomplishments entitle him, he makes an

unexceptionable servant, and is appreciated to the fullest extent. But there is little room for him in this Southern land in any position above that of servant. We have an abundance of gentlemen of leisure. Our learned professions and mercantile pursuits are well filled, and the only extensive vacancies are in the cotton and tobacco fields. Hence, the negro in his upward social tendency meets with little encouragement. It would perhaps not be going beyond the truth to say that his advances are resented. In the eyes of the white race, broadcloth and kid gloves, silks and jewelry, are the least becoming of all apparel on a dark skin. They have no thought of ever throwing open their parlors and giving access to their bed and table to the negro; and consequently when he outgrows the barn yard and the kitchen, all pleasant intercourse ceases. The negro is under us socially, and there he shall stay while it is in our power to keep him there. Northern abolitionists and high dignitaries of the English Church may preach to us in language as earnest and eloquent as they can command on "the duty of higher to lower races," but all the same negroes will not stand on our social plane if we can help it. This is a settled fact. Let us not be afraid to face it, and stand or fall by it. Social equality we cannot, will not consent to. But we see at a glance how this must interfere with our work among the negroes. We have one hand on their heads holding them down socially; how much can we lift them up religiously with the other? Which hand puts forth most power? Which will we be most reluctant to remove? If to lift them up religiously it should be necessary to remove the social pressure, will we do it? If to hold them under socially it should be necessary to withdraw the religious uplifting, will we do it? Perhaps we should not answer for the whole Church, but we believe we should answer correctly if we were to say that the white people of the South deem it a matter *first* importance to maintain their present social ascendancy, and they cannot take an active interest even in religious work, if that work threatens to disturb this ascendancy. Reflect what would be the result if such social relations should be maintained by our missionaries towards the heathen for whom they labor. Suppose when a Chinaman visits one of our

brethren, he should be sent around to the kitchen, given a plate of victuals in the back yard, and invited to the hay loft to sleep. Such treatment would not predispose the almond-eyed heathen to accept the gospel at the hands of the "foreign devil;" and what is more to the point, the conviction on the part of the missionary that his first business was to maintain a position of social supremacy would poorly qualify him for earnest efforts for the religious elevation of the Chinaman.

2. *The political relation.* The negro is a citizen, dignified with all the honors, privileges, and responsibilities which belong to that character: The way is open to places of the highest official preferment. He would be more or less than man if he did not covet the emoluments of office; and when he learns that in order to obtain these, it is not necessary that one be qualified to discharge the duties of office, but only that he consult the taste of the ignorant and degraded majority, it is inevitable that he should strive for them. This brings on conflict. The white man wants the same prize. One or the other must be defeated. The races are arrayed against each other. It is not mere prejudice against a black skin that makes the whites combine. As a general thing it is the preference for intelligence over ignorance. But their combining naturally leads to a combination of the blacks. Now, it may be asked, what has the Church to do with politics? Has not the Southern Presbyterian Church in particular insisted with intensest earnestness on the non-political character of the Church? Is not this one of the grounds on which it resists all overtures from the Northern Church looking to organic union? True, the Church, in her corporate capacity, has nothing to do with politics, but the individual members of the Church have, and are in duty bound to have, something to do with politics. They cannot look on with indifference and see a race of ignorant, degraded, recently manumitted slaves, under the lead of unscrupulous demagogues, climbing up into political supremacy. They would deserve the degradation to which they would be reduced if they did not put forth their most strenuous efforts to avert so dire a calamity. Who that knows the danger to which they are exposed can blame them? The unprejudiced

Northerner sympathises with the feeling of abhorrence with which the Southern mind contemplates the possibility of having a former slave, or what is worse, a white renegade, for a political master. Let it be borne in mind that in many of the Southern States the two races are pretty equally matched in numbers, and consequently at every election the battle for supremacy must be fought over. Our elections—municipal, county, State, and national—are of such frequent recurrence that there is hardly any cessation of hostilities. From the first of January to the last of December the races are pitted against each other, and the antagonism grows more and more bitter. He is not to be hastily set down as an alarmist who suggests the possibility of fearful collision between the two races at an early day. There are two ways in which this political friction hinders work among the colored people. *First*, it engenders suspicion in the mind of the negro. He doubts the sincerity of the white brother, who is a political enemy, when he comes to preach to him the gospel of love. *Secondly*, it is a poor preparation of mind and heart for work on the part of the white brother. It takes an unusual amount of grace to keep him warmly interested in the spiritual welfare of those who are leagued in unrelenting warfare against what he believes to be his political interests.

3. *Northern influence.* This magnifies both the other troubles. The North freed the negro and clothed him with the right of citizenship. Northern politicians in Church and State, in religious and secular journals, never tire of boasting of the great achievement. They feel that the great war of subjugation waged against the South was well worth all the blood and treasure which it cost, because it furnished the occasion for striking the fetters from four millions of slaves, and for lifting men from the condition of chattels to the high dignity of citizenship. They are ruling out of history all other issues involved, all questions of constitutional law, of State sovereignty, and holding up to the world the one fact that the war freed and enfranchised the negro. On this fact they base a claim to the world's admiration. Even if they did not make such a parade of the boon conferred, it would be natural for the negro, and excusable in him, to look upon the

North as his benefactor. As a matter of fact he does cherish a lasting gratitude, and turns to the North to find there a political ally against his Southern master. He has unbounded confidence in the friendship of his liberator, and takes without suspicion his political creed from that quarter. All this is natural, and if the matter stopped here, the South would have little cause for reasonable complaint. The North hugs itself with sincere love and admiration for what it has done, and we can expect nothing else than that it should seek to guide the new political influence that it has called into existence. But when even religious journals of the North pervert the plainest facts of history in order to make the South responsible for the negro's present degraded condition, there is abundant ground of complaint. In a recent issue of the *New York Observer*, a writer, after describing the negro's condition in his native land of Africa, proceeds in the following strain: "In the land to which he was sold as a captive he has been treated worse than a beast. He has been taught that to think is a crime, to read is a severe penal offence, and to make himself a man, is a breaking of the law of nature and of God." This language is designed to make the impression that the negro's degradation is due to slavery. Only a short while since we felt called on to expostulate with the *Philadelphia Presbyterian* for admitting to its columns a communication charging in express terms the present ignorance of the negro to his former slavery. The same charge was recently made by a writer in the *Interior*. Here are the three leading journals of the Northern Presbyterian Church circulating the statement that slavery degraded the negro. They give to the statement the endorsement of their high authority. Yet every body knows, if he knows enough to entitle his opinions to a moment's consideration, that such was not the case. From the inauguration of slavery up to the date of emancipation the trend of the negro was unfalteringly upward. No one acquainted with the facts of the case doubts that. We are not defending slavery. It might be very wrong, and still the fact be as stated. The master's motive may not have been a desire for the slave's elevation. It may have been his duty to set the slave free and elevate him by

other methods. But results prove that the means which the master used to make the slave profitable were efficient in lifting him far above the low savage state in which he had previously existed. If it suited the purpose of Northern journals to give currency to truth, Southern writers would take pleasure in furnishing it to them free of cost. They might have such as the following from the recent book of Atticus G. Haygood, D. D., President of Emory College, Oxford, Ga.: "There are now (1881) nearly one million of the colored people in the communion of the various Christian Churches in the United States. Half this number were brought into the Church in the days of slavery; and though many so-called philanthropists saw in that institution only the hand of Satan, the old plantations were nevertheless to thousands of God's chosen places for their regeneration; it was doubtless his will that they should remain in slavery that they might become possessors of a higher and nobler freedom—freedom from the dominion of sin." The man who penned these lines lives where the history of slavery was wrought out, and he draws from the stores of that history, and not from the fancies of a heated imagination. He further says: "Seeing that the greatest fact in African slavery in the United States is the Christianising of hundreds of thousands of them, I conclude that Christianising them was the grand providential design in their coming to this country." It does not suit the purpose of our Northern friends to recognise this "*greatest* fact in African slavery in the United States." It is more in harmony with their feelings to say that African slavery made *beasts* of the negroes, than to say that it made *Christians* of half a million of them; and they consult their feelings regardless of history. Up to the date of emancipation the negro was slowly but surely mounting upward. Since that date there is grave doubt on many well informed minds as to the direction in which he is tending. During the existence of slavery his low, depraved will was under control of a higher power, which, for selfish purposes, if you will, restrained it from many hurtful forms of vice. Now the restraint is taken off and liberty is used for other than virtuous ends. Such being the state of the case, it is unjust in the North, cruelly unjust, to their South-

ern brethren to instil into the mind of the negro the belief that whatever is unhappy in his present condition is due to the tyranny of his former master; that all that makes him to differ in social and intellectual standing from his white neighbor is due to the barbarity of that white neighbor. It is very easy to induce the negro to believe this; and then when he reflects that this white neighbor relaxed his grip on him at the point of the bayonet, it is easy to persuade him that the same barbarous spirit still dwells in the breast of his white neighbor, and that he would, if he could, put him back in bondage. Thousands of the negroes firmly believe this, and it suits scheming politicians to encourage the belief. They hold the negro to his party fealty by filling his mind with fears of being remanded to slavery in case the South gets possession of the national government. It is easy now to see how hard it is for the whites, who, despite the social and political antagonisms that are thus constantly stimulated, are willing to devote themselves to the work of evangelising the negro, to win their confidence, and get near enough their hearts to influence them for good.

4. These unfriendly social and political relations which exist between the two races keep the Southern Presbyterian Church in such a timid apprehensive frame that up to this time it has merely tacked its small following of colored churches on to its skirts as a loose fringe. It has not incorporated them into its own organic structure.¹ It ordains colored preachers under special provision, and does not apply in their case the great bed-rock principle of Presbyterianism—the parity of the ministry.

¹It is true, as our correspondent says, that our Church “does not incorporate a colored membership into its own organic structure.” For various reasons it could not and would not do this. But, on the other hand, it is hardly fair to say it “tacks them on as a loose fringe.” The reader will find in Minutes of our Assembly for 1869 the details of the plan adopted for commencing and carrying out the organisation of an African Presbyterian Church. The idea is to help the colored Presbyterians to have churches of their own, officered by their own men, and growing into Presbyteries, Synods, and a General Assembly of their own. It is the belief of our people that this is what the colored people wish and ought to have.—EDS. S. P. REVIEW.

Although the General Assembly of 1882, in what is known as the Park case, declared that their ordination, though irregular, did nevertheless place them on the same plane, and entitle them to the same privileges with white ministers, yet the Church has practically ignored that action. Many of the colored preachers and churches are not reported to the General Assembly. Their names are not found in the Minutes of that body; and it is perhaps the exception, and not the rule, if either church or preacher is mentioned on the floor of any Presbytery. Their relation to our Church is anything but intimate, and if it may be described as vital, it is vitality of the lowest order. "The spider's most attenuated thread is cord, is cable" to the tender tie that binds them to us. But there is wide-spread uneasiness lest this should result in harm. Strange as it may seem, the General Assembly of 1883, in answer to overtures on the subject, "*Resolved, That the Synods be advised and instructed to organise the colored ministers and churches under their care into separate Presbyteries as speedily as they can do so consistently with a wise regard to stability and growth, and that these Presbyteries should be formed into an independent Synod by the General Assembly as soon as the way may be clear.*" Even before this action of the Assembly, the Synod of Virginia, by far the most potent synodical factor in the Church, had taken the matter under serious advisement. At its meeting in the fall of 1882, it appointed a committee to consider the feasibility of forming an independent colored Presbytery within its own bounds. That committee met in the city of Lynchburg in the ensuing December, and found, after careful investigation, that there was just a sufficient number, *with not one to spare*, of colored preachers in the State of Virginia to form a constitutional Presbytery. They also discovered that these three preachers lived so far apart that it would hopelessly bankrupt their churches to meet the necessary expenses incident to a meeting of the proposed Presbytery. They reported the facts to the Synod, and recommended that we brave the danger a while longer and wait for further developments. It is not to the present purpose to discuss the reasonableness of our timidity. Its influence, whether reasonable or unreasonable, will



tell just the same on our work ; and, to say the least, it furnishes little ground of encouragement to believe that we are going to do more in the future than we have done in the past. It is morally certain that our labors in behalf of this people are not going to be very vigorous when we do not wish more of them in our Church than will barely serve as a nucleus for an independent organisation. We have shown in the plainest manner that even now we are afraid that too many may be gathered into our communion. Will we expend much effort to bring in others when we are gravely considering how to get rid of those we already have? Is it not manifest that our zeal for their spiritual good is subordinate to our concern for the safety of our white Church? We have evidently reached a point when, for some reason invisible to weak eyes, our venerable leaders think this safety is imperilled, and this must greatly abate whatever ardor was before felt in the work of evangelising the negroes. We are holding ourselves in readiness to shake them off just as soon as it is possible to do so without destroying their organic existence.

We come now to inquire whether there may not be "a more excellent way." Is it not a discredit to our Church to pursue such a timid and inefficient policy, where interests so momentous are involved? Can we not establish a relation between the colored people and our Church which will be more satisfactory to both parties, and productive of more good? Our present relation serves only to remind the negro of our fixed purpose to keep him in a position of subordination. We are not only careful to hold him at arm's length, but our attitude shows him that as soon as he gets strong enough to stand the shock we intend to push him a little further away. We have shown him that the knife is in readiness to sever the cord that now binds him to us just as soon as he has vitality enough to stand the operation. The writer should have spoken with more reserve in condemnation of our past and present policy, if he had not been prepared to offer what, in his humble judgment, is better. Whether actually better or not, what he has to offer is simply this: that we turn the *management* of the whole work over to the Northern Church, and that we co operate with that Church in the way of sending

young men to their schools to be educated, and contributing of our money to their support. As already noted, we have, through our General Assembly, committed ourselves to the opinion that our work is limited to the one item of educating a colored ministry; and it will not be questioned by those informed on the subject that it is substantially all that we are now trying to do. Can we not do this work much more efficiently by availing ourselves of the facilities afforded by our Northern brethren? In answering this question affirmatively, we will submit a few considerations:

1. The Northern Church has better schools. We might speak of the three universities, Lincoln, Howard, and Biddle, to all of which the Northern Church sustains a more or less intimate and influential relation. The organisation, character, condition, and prospects of Lincoln were set forth to the Synod of Virginia at its recent session in Wytheville, Va., by one of its distinguished professors. This brother made no request for himself or the university, except an opportunity to present the fact that it was doing a work in which the Synod might well take an active interest. He offered such convincing proof of the eminently orthodox character of the faculty, of the painstaking fidelity of the large and able board of directors, of the high standard of scholarship aimed at, of the warm religious atmosphere which pervades the institution, and of the blessed results achieved in Christianising students, and sending forth earnest and well-equipped young men to preach the gospel both in this country and Africa, as completely won the confidence and enlisted the sympathy of all who enjoyed the rare privilege of hearing him. The Synod showed its confidence in the men at the head of Lincoln and in the work done by them in a practical way by at once proceeding to elect an *alumnus* of that institution to the responsible position of Synodical evangelist to the colored people. The enthusiasm which the speaker had awakened was manifest when seven hundred dollars were asked for the support of this evangelist. In almost less time than it takes to tell about it, the whole amount was pledged by the representatives of some of the wealthier churches of the Synod. Lincoln University is amply provided with schol-

arships, upon which they are constrained to place men from the Methodist and Baptist Churches, because men from the Presbyterian Church are not forthcoming. It is known that the authorities there would gladly take all our candidates, educate them free of expense to us, and then, if we so desired, return them to us to be used at our discretion.

Passing by Howard University, about which our information is scant, we would speak more particularly of Biddle, the only one of the three situated in the South, and the only one under the direct management of the General Assembly, North. This institution is situated at Charlotte, N. C. It has a property in buildings and grounds valued at \$70,000. Its faculty is composed of thirteen professors, assistant professors, and tutors in English. The course of study embraces an elementary and a preparatory course in English, a classical and theological course, in all covering a period of thirteen years. Now, if this school does not offer better facilities for acquiring an education than our Institute at Tuscaloosa, then facts have lost their meaning. It takes the pupil at any stage of his progress and opens before him the road to a liberal and professional education. It does not try to cram systematic theology into a mind that has not yet opened sufficiently to admit the three Rs. It does not try to point out the somewhat abstruse principles of hermeneutics to him whose mental vision is not yet trained to distinguish any "method in the madness" of English grammar. It proposes to begin at the beginning, and lay a foundation before erecting a superstructure. Its idea is to carry up the walls before putting on the roof. The men at the head of this institution are worthy of our Church's confidence and esteem. Those who know them best are loudest in their praise. Of this institution, Rev. Drury Lacy, D. D., of blessed memory, said: "I am prepared to vouch for its importance, both to the country and the world; and I firmly believe it is doing a greater work for missions, foreign and domestic, than any mission at home or abroad. If the Northern people wish to do good with their money, they cannot give it to any more worthy object than Biddle University." We could multiply testimonials of like nature from brethren of our

Church who are in a position to know whereof they affirm. Here, then, is a school of high order, fully equipped, ably manned, and with ample accommodations. The brethren there are doing the very work which we wish done. They teach Calvinistic doctrine and Presbyterian polity in the use of the very text-books that we ourselves would select if the matter were referred to us. It is not exhibiting any lack of loyalty to our own Church to say they are doing this work far more efficiently than we can possibly do it with our present facilities, or with any facilities which we are ever likely to command. Let us apply the golden rule: if we were in quest of an education, into which institution, Biddle University or Tuscaloosa Institute, should we prefer that the hand of benevolence should usher us? That brother's thirst for knowledge is not very ardent who, knowing the comparative merits of the two schools, would give the preference to Tuscaloosa.

2. This recommendation is in the interest of economy. It is not wise to multiply agencies beyond the demands of the work to be accomplished. During the eight years' existence of Tuscaloosa Institute, it has cost about \$230 *per annum* to keep a student there. At Biddle the cost is only \$90. We are not for estimating the value of all church work in dollars and cents. In fact, we have no sympathy with those who think that the first duty of the Church is to study economy of administration. But if the cheapest of two articles is also the best, it is putting great contempt not only on commercial prudence, but on common sense, not to practise economy. We can keep five students in Biddle for what it costs to keep two in Tuscaloosa. Moreover, we release two ministers from professorial chairs to occupy vacant pulpits that are calling aloud for their services. We are neither so plethoric of purse nor so overstocked with preachers that we should exert ourselves to be prodigal. If there were any reason to believe that our prodigality was promoting the interests of our Church, or ministering in the most efficient manner to the good of its objects, we should say nothing against it. But it is clearly not our purpose to advance the interests of our own Church, as we have already announced our purpose to separate the colored

people entirely from us; and it is even more clear that our prodigality, instead of ministering in the most efficient manner to the good of those who are the objects of it, is really making victims of them by giving them the least valuable of two benefits, either of which it is equally in our power to give them. As we do not propose to make the colored people permanently a constituent element of our Church, it is hard to see any selfish end that we are to serve by educating a colored ministry. Every consideration would seem to be eliminated except the interest of the colored people themselves. If then we conserve their interest more effectually at a cost of \$90 at Biddle than at a cost of \$230 at Tuscaloosa, surely it is allowable to put in a plea for economy.

3. When one of our pupils comes out from Tuscaloosa Institute, we cannot license him to preach without violating the Constitution of our Church. We must utterly disregard our standard of ministerial education, and in deference to a black skin open the door wide enough for illiteracy to come in. And yet it is hardly proper to speak of these illiterate men as *coming in*; for even after licensure and ordination, they are hardly in far enough to feel any protection from the cold. They are not in far enough to hang up their hats and feel at home. By licensure and ordination they are introduced into a newly-discovered territory of ministerial rights and privileges. They can preach to their own color and bear rule in the congregational presbytery. But this is the limit of their prerogatives. While the white presbyters have complete jurisdiction over them, they have no more voice in directing the affairs of the white churches than if they belonged to another denomination. They are called *Presbyterian preachers*, but they have few marks of the class. They are not educated; and they are not eligible to a seat in any court above the Session. It is rather a careless use of language to speak of them as being in our Church; they are merely tacked on; and we take pains to tack them on very loosely, so that we can easily rip them off. It is not necessary to do more than to point out this anomalous relation to show that we cannot direct their labors and help them on to great achievements in the service

of the Master. We have very little to do with them, and will suffer them to have nothing to do with us. The attitude of the Northern Church is altogether different. It incorporates the colored element into its own organic structure. When a candidate comes out from Lincoln, Howard, or Biddle, they try him by the same test as in the case of the student from Princeton or Union; and when they license and ordain him, they admit him to the same rights and privileges. It is only a little while since a colored preacher moderated the Presbytery of Baltimore. The Synod of Atlantic has a majority of colored ministers, and they enjoy full and equal rights with their white brethren. Owing to this attitude of the Northern Church, there is never any difficulty about a field of labor when they have the man. There are vacant churches scattered all over the land calling for him; and a limitless field of evangelistic work lying beyond. A fund of about \$100,000 is annually raised to furnish all needed assistance; and the work is thus carried systematically and constantly forward.

4. The Northern Church has the confidence of the negro, and can influence him much more powerfully for good. It is in sympathy with him, and the negro knows it, and in consequence will listen to its teachers with a much more docile spirit. We are aware that objection may be made to the views we advocate on the ground that the Northern Church will take advantage of the negro's confidence to instil notions obnoxious to us. It may be thought by some that we cannot afford to turn the negro over to that Church to be moulded by an influence that is hostile to us. To this it is sufficient to reply that we could not if we would keep the negro from under Northern influence. That influence is rapidly extending all over the South. Even now the Northern Church has congregations in nearly every Southern State, listening every Sabbath to its preachers. What little we are doing will not have a perceptible effect in staying the spread of their influence. The danger is that the *kind* of work we are doing by being brought into contrast with theirs will hasten rather than retard its spread. Already the knowledge of the superior advantages afforded by their schools, and the more sympathetic

relations which they sustain to the students has reached the inmates of Tuscaloosa Institute and become a disturbing element. Moreover, what will become of the independent Presbyteries and Synods which we propose to form? Can any one, after five minutes' reflection, believe that they will remain independent and isolated any longer than it will take the Northern Presbyterian Church to make proposals of union? Of course these proposals will be made, for the Northern Church is particularly fond of forming such unions, and has proved in an unmistakable manner its desire to gather into its sheltering fold the freedmen of the South. When these proposals are made, does any one suppose that the negroes will have so little discernment as not to perceive that they have everything to gain by acceding to them? That such will be the destiny of our independent Church in case we ever gather sufficient material for its organisation is made further evident by the fact that some of the colored churches that once belonged to us went that way without waiting for us to set them free. The only difference between giving them to the North now and waiting for them to give themselves, is that in the mean time we are fastening on them our poorly equipped preachers, and spoiling material which the Northern Church could use to much better purpose. We may further add that the least objectionable channel through which the dreaded influence can spread, is through such an institution as Biddle University. The brethren with whom the negroes are there brought into contact are not politicians. They have no scheme of self-promotion to advance by stimulating the negro's prejudice against his former master. They have come down into the midst of us on a mission of love, and their great aim is to lift the negro from his present low moral and intellectual plane into a region of sunlight and purity. If, in admitting the negro to friendly and intimate social intercourse, they exalt him in his own esteem, it is not for the purpose of exciting hatred against the Southern whites who refuse him social recognition, but it is for the purpose of inspiring those sentiments of self-respect and that pride of character which are essential elements of a true and noble manhood. If we are to be hurt at all by the influence which emanates from that institution,

the evil will certainly not be aggravated by our manifesting a friendly and fraternal spirit. We are not to be understood as questioning the wisdom of our Church in refusing to fuse with the colored people. It may be that our social and political relations are such that we ought not to do it. Yet it seems evident that the Church which does this is the one that will do most to lift the negro up to a higher plane of intelligence and Christian morality. The Northern Church does this, and can afford to do it with far less danger of social embarrassments springing from it. If it is wise to turn our efforts into the channel where they will do the most good, it is true policy for us to reach the negro through Northern agency.

5. This plan further commends itself to the writer, because there is no other way in which we can so well give practical expression to the spirit of fraternity. The negro was the bone of contention. He was the innocent occasion of a great breach that has been sinful and shameful, and that is not yet closed. We have recently extended to each other the hand of Christian fellowship. If, indeed, a more brotherly spirit pervades our two Churches, in what way could we so becomingly exhibit the fact as in joining heart and hand in a work which has for its object the rescue of the poor negro, over whom we have quarrelled so long and so bitterly? He made the chasm that separates us; let us use him to bridge it. He drove us apart; let him now draw us together. Possibly those who are always looking at the end before making a beginning are opposed to coöperation for the very reason that it would draw us nearer together. Many of our most useful and eminent brethren think that the two Churches are as near to each other now as is safe and healthful for our Church. But we believe and the belief awakens no feeling of sadness, that the conviction is gaining ground among us that we can well afford to cherish a much more fraternal spirit towards our brethren of the Northern Church; and that no harm will result from our getting nearer together than we now are if we are drawn by cords that are at the same time drawing us nearer to Christ. Possibly it may hereafter appear that our Northern brethren have followed more closely than we in the foot-steps of

the divine Master, in that they have gone down into the pit after their fallen brother, and with their heart beating against his heart, have put under him the hand of Christian sympathy and love, while we have stood above, fearing to do more than throw him a rope, lest his touch should pollute us. In view of this possibility, let us beware how we make a virtue of our persistent estrangement.

R. C. REED.

ARTICLE IV.

"THE SIX DAYS."

Half a century ago the news came to Princeton that Benjamin Silliman had espoused the doctrine of the "Demiurgic Days." Boys and men of that date can remember the shock. The College felt it less keenly, but the Seminary appeared dazed. Yale seemed to have struck a blow at the very heart of inspiration.

Time passed, and Arnold Guyot, out of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, came first to Cambridge, and then to our Jersey village, and, after Dr. Alexander and Dr. Miller were in their graves, recited a belief much more extreme than Silliman's, and, strange to say, found that twenty years had entirely brought over the minds of Presbyterians. At least that was received with respect which had been treated with horror, and the writer can well recall how the venerable of that after date, incomparable judges as we all supposed of what was safe and even rigid in scriptural gloss, smiled upon the Swiss exegete, and accepted as almost a divine light what his lectures exhibited.

One feels like what the children call a "loony," or as though he were doing a shameful thing, like picking a pocket, if he say those older professors were right, and Arnold Guyot and the eminent gentlemen who followed were and are most dangerously wrong.

What is really the fulcrum of the "Higher Criticism"? Un-

doubtedly the first pious giving away of literal inspiration. Scriptures are like the set up bricks in a boy's play; one thrown down sweeps the whole of them. There are scriptures like the queer things in nature. Adam and his rib, Eve and the serpent, the garden and the forbidden apple, Noah and the flood, Babel and the metamorphosis of nations, Elisha and the bears, Jonah and the fish, Jesus and the swine, well held in hand by a devout confidence in God, are like the drones in a hive—horribly foolish or almost grotesque realities (so we might object), yet easily believed in when we see them to be a fact, and quietly held in place as of the God who paints the sunset or spreads the firmament of a glorious creation.

Guyot, in meddling with one, really swept the list. Convince us that the "days" are cycles, badly interlapped and fancifully distinguished from each other, and we will go on to tinker anything. We will make the Serpent sin, and the Rib a pristine evolution from the past, and the Garden high agriculture, and the Tree great worldliness, and the Fall, as Mr. Beecher seems to regard it, a most important rise. We will make the Flood partial, drowning not the Mongolian swarms, but only a few families. Give us the license of that one evening in Princeton, and we will upset the whole Bible. Bob Ingersoll's flights are not so dangerous as perhaps one hour among the good, where, as in the great Papal Church, trusted counsel moves its finger against the basis of the gospel.

Let us, however, justify such bold talk by a glance at Dr. Guyot's scheme. It is before us in a book labored upon in the author's last months, and finished with heroic resolution in the pains and weaknesses of his last hours.

The writer translates Moses as announcing in his first verse the creation of La Place's nebula; in other words, "the heavens and earth" (Gen. i. 1) were the universal mist as it sprang out of nothing, and as it lay new-born in the enormous spaces around us. The second verse simply tells of its emptiness; by which we are to understand that it was alike, and in its unmeasured reaches homogeneously mixed together. The third tells of its gravitation, by which there would ensue that squeeze inwardly

which would result in heat and light. We will not stop upon the detail. The author seems to imagine an original creation of the mist, and afterward of its gravity and motion inward as the work of the first day.

But why not *create* it heavy?

The main point, however, is that the attraction inversely as the square of the distance was the work of the first day, resulting in that natural creation of light which began the luminousness at the heaviest pressed centre of this enormous nebula.

Motion, light, and heat would not be the only consequences, but motion circularly; that is, the pressing mass would not only move in, but begin to eddy, and the maelstroms of in-rushing mist would whirl off independent nebulae, which means, Dr. Guyot thinks, "the waters under the expanse," that is, *our* nebula, being "separated from the waters above the expanse," that is, the ten thousand other nebulae making up the whole universal matter of the heavens. So much for the second day. Then the third day is but the repetition of this in the more ultimate detail. What the second day did in whirling cosmic nebula off into many, the third day did in whirling each whirled off mist, as condensation went on, into stars and planets: This is the meaning, Dr. Guyot thinks, of the waters under the heaven being gathered into one place. That is, while the second day witnessed the separation of nebula from nebula, the third day followed each nebula as it condensed (and among the rest ~~one~~2 nebula as it whirled off) into the nuclei of systems, and, as our system broke itself off, then into sun and planets. This day reaches over enormous periods, for the great whole breaks itself into lesser nebulae, and each nebula breaks itself into single systems, and each system whirls off planets and leaves a sun, and each planet hardens into crust and separates its seas, and gets ready for life, and this day also gives life—that is, part of its announcement is the breaking out of vegetable being. Let it be understood, this is the gloss that we people are to follow who would like to get back to our boyish faith, and to believe that these times were seven ordinary days, and find ourselves eagerly groping after more literal interpretation. The rest of the week

is more simple. The fourth day is the cooling of the terrestrial crust till it ceases to be luminous, and sun, moon, and stars are thus made visible in the heavens. The fifth day brings the creation of the lower animals, and the sixth of mammals, and among them of man. Then the seventh is this long day of humanity, when God ceases to create, and when the world is busy upon more divine and spiritual engagements of its being.

This is the most ripened cosmogony, and anything that we believed when a boy must give place to it. It overlaps the different days and makes plants out of a hot earth anticipate the appearance of the sun, though Guyot is ready for that. He says the order is general and not specific. And with that corrective to our thought he evidently died singularly enamored of these texts for their palæontological perfectness.

Now, in answer, let us present our own view, old-fashioned as men now think it:

"In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth;" that is, ages back, how far no one knows, and whether all together or at intervals we cannot begin to determine; God created all things that exist, and our poor planet among the rest.

"And the earth was without form and void;" how long before it does not say, or why, we are not told; but we have reason to suppose that *catastrophe* is the true geology, and that the appearances we see in the rocks betoken successive re-peoplings. Palæontological remains show enormous intervals in this. And as we have to admit creation, where is the hardship of there having been many? And why, after long continuance of one mode of life, is it not easiest to imagine that God cleared the decks and started afresh with higher conditions? Then verse second shows the *tabula rasa* on which a new story began. And as a miracle saves us from being minute, why is it not sufficient that God, having a world to restock, determined to do it in a week, just as he put clay upon an eye, just as he took a rib out of the man, just as he put Noah in an ark, when he could have saved all that trouble at a stroke, and given a woman to the man, and survival to his friend, and a negro to the East, and diffusion to our race, without the "rib," and without the "ark," and without the

"tower," and, indeed, in fifty ways utterly different and more easy? When miracle is in the field, how possibly can we make a criticism?

Now the chaotic state may be explained by anything. God may have stopped the earth and on the first day spun it round again upon its axis. How can we tell? Is it not infinitely discreet to know that it was desolate and dark, and, as it is perfectly sober to believe, without seed of either plant or beast?

Then the first day is simple. Earth was a black Stygian Egypt, in its mephitic wrappings. Any of a hundred causes might have produced this, and naturally would, if the earth was a creative ruin. A mere rest from its undulations might have given light a holiday. If there were miracle, why hesitate?

Now all the texts can be explained upon a like idea:

1. God said, Let there be light, and Stygian folds were lifted from the face of nature. How, who can dream? Roofed as by a London fog, the world still shut out the sun, and still slumbered in an impenetrable mist; but the *blackness* had disappeared. The evening and morning could be distinguished, and this change, singularly intelligible in its result, is all we have a right to imagine in the work of the first day.

2. The work of the second day is still simpler. The waters in the cloud no longer blacken down upon the waters in the sea, but are lifted. There is a clearness, that is a firmament more glorious than the wet earth itself, which supports, as on this day we write, the vault of vapor. In other words, the first day thinned the vapor till distinct luminousness could shine in. The second day lifted it till there was a vault of cloud. To ask more time is absurd. Which was the easier, to clear the atmosphere in a day, or to raise Lazarus from the dead?

3. Then, "Let the waters be gathered." How? How foolish even to guess. It may have been by drying, or, if the atmosphere is a mere film, it may have been by annihilating. Who shall say that the quantity of matter is the same since its original creation? Suppose a couple should discuss the question whether the "twelve baskets full" (Matt. xiv. 20) added to the weight of our planet! If God saw fit to raise the land, as he

did Java two years ago, and to sink the sea, to split the cherry, so to speak, of the divinely supernatural, and to say that it would take more time to carry the waters to their place, is really to say that Christ could walk upon the sea, but hardly could dry it up; or that the same divine Creator would still its tempest, but hardly bring the ship to land without passing with it over the miles of separation!

Such reasonings are preposterous. Given the smallest miracle, who can bound it? With the utmost modesty as to the detail, the simplest hermeneutic for the third day is to make it the settling of our geography, either by annihilating many fathoms of the sea, or by lifting our present land. He that made our planet could toss it like a juggler's ball. He could bring it into being and put it out again at each beating of a pulse. He could shape it as on a potter's wheel. And it is a small thing to imagine that in this reinaugurating of life six thousand years ago he might welcome the lordly race with just such a scene of six days magnificence.

The rest of the third day begat plants.

4. The fourth swept away the clouds so that the stars appeared.

5. The fifth created animals, that is the lower of them.

6. The sixth created mammals; and, last of all, man. Our idea is that the work was immediate, and that God took twenty-four hours simply for a form to signalise our Redeemer's planet with the pageant of a week; "for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it" (Ex. xx. 11).

Dr. Guyot's rape of this fine chapter receives its worst check in the direction of the dictionary. Here the strain is enormous. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," that is, the nebula, or as he reasonably proposes, the original material of the stellar universe. "And the earth" (v. 2)—just think now! The only excuse for using the word "earth" in the first verse is to paint as it looked, and to picture our home as having part with the rest of the "heaven." "And the earth," Dr. Guyot now says (v. 2), means "*matter*"! That is "the heaven and the earth"

(v. 1) means the nebula, and "the earth" (v. 2) means the matter of the nebula! "The deep" means the same thing! and "the waters" precisely the same! "The waters" are not necessarily liquid, but may be gaseous, and are not necessarily gaseous water, but gaseous anything, or indeed gaseous everything, that whole universe of mist that comprised the cosmos in the original creation. That is, "the earth" means the original gas, as it was desolate and empty, and "the waters" means the same matter *qua* gas, and "the deep" the same thing on account of its immensity, and "the heaven and the earth" the same, when there is no need of mentioning both in the first verse, except to distinguish them; when "earth," if it could mean "matter," never means so again; when "waters" never means gas; when "the deep" never means either, but when "waters" and "deep" and "earth" are immediately and always after used for just what men use them for now, and what we have just used them for in the adverse interpretation. If that is not a stretch for the Lexicon, we have never felt any. Dr. Guyot is not prudent in translating. He tells us בָּרָא means to *create*. It means originally to *cut*. He seems to think it is not used so. It *is*, in the majority of its instances. He says: At least it is used only of God. He is mistaken. It is used also of men in the prophet Ezekiel (xxi. 19). He says: It is used for three *notabilia*, the creation of matter (Gen. i. 1), the creation of animals (v. 21), and the creation of men (v. 27). It is used with discriminating emphasis for neither. The linguistic choice is singularly accidental. And the alternative words are strewn along chiefly for euphony. Any one of them is used for any one thing anywhere in Scripture, and neither the origin nor use of the word can be relied on the least for any argumentation.

Such is a specimen of the linguistics on which the science of the gloss is based. The science itself is worse. That "the evening and the morning were the first day" would be just waste text if the first day were whole long ages of a luminous squeeze. "And he called the light day," would be just nonsense, if in the very next sentence success in whirling off vapor were all that that term answered to. "The day" is versatile in sense and that in a sin-

gle chapter, but not in so intolerable a vagueness as that so common a noun should slowly subside from ten million of years to the ordinary term of the earth's rotation. Such things are pardoned in science, but, alas, if we talked that way in defending religion!

Now the old scheme took all the words literally. "The earth" was the earth, and "the heaven" was what seemed to men, at the time this narrative was written. "The waters" were what they have been always called, and "the deep" the same, and Moses might have been upon better rhetoric than to talk of "the face" of either, if "the Spirit" or eminently "the wind" of God, or still more "the darkness" were pervading the bosom of a nebula.

In after verses the agreement would be still better. Days of miraculous will would flash the flora and the fauna upon the planet. Why not? And there are unobserved notitiæ: "Every plant before it was in the earth, and every herb before it grew" (ii. 5). How poorly that agrees with long processes! It deals in sudden springing into being, for listen to it: "God had not caused it to rain upon the earth," that is, there had been no previous seasons. And though there were full specimens created, they were not the results of cultivation, for "there was no man." Afterward (v. 6) "there went up the vapor" and watering began, but before it had been universal miracle. There is not one reason to deny that if God made the first universal mist, as even Spencer might imagine, he might make and remake; if he pleased, add to or take away; indeed, it would be odd if he did not take liberties with his works, and after the revolution of millions of years come upon this old hulk, if he pleased, and choose it for the drama of a six days' rehabilitation.

The writer admits that Christians are at fault when they insist too angrily upon a perfect revelation. The writer needs no Pope or Bible to anchor him in the last resort to the system of the gospel. He holds with the infidels to the supereminence of our moral proofs. And yet, while he blames his brethren for giving up these moral evidences to the foe, he believes in both Church and Bible. The Church, broadly considered, is infallible (which

means nothing more to him than that there are men always that will be saved, and may be relied on, hence, to teach a vital Christianity). So, on the other hand, the Bible is perfect, as is attested most of all by its moral teaching, and this is his exact position when he asserts that we sell the book when we go back in our Silliman complaints, and give Princeton a praise for writing the tract which most completely reasons things away.

JOHN MILLER.

ARTICLE V.

OUR FOREIGN MISSIONARY POLICY.

There is manifestly a difference of opinion among earnest men as to our Church's policy for conducting foreign missions. There is also an extensive dissatisfaction with the provisions made in our Constitution for ordering and pushing this urgent work. The reasons for this dissatisfaction have frequently been presented to the Church, are familiar to ministers, and pertain more to what is not said, than to what is said, in our Book. Propositions are pending, and movement is now on foot, for making additional provision to meet questions that have recently sprung into positions of importance.

This, therefore, seems to be the time, if ever, for the writer to lay before the Church some opinions towards which his mind has been inclining for several years, and which have now become convictions. The object of this article is not polemic, but didactic; a sincere effort shall be made to regulate its style by its object.

We purpose calling attention to certain fundamental principles of Presbyterianism, and then severely following them out to practical results. This course should give us the best methods of conducting foreign missionary work. For the fundamental principles of Presbyterianism, if scriptural, must lead to the best methods of "preaching the gospel to every creature." Careful

study of these principles will doubtless suggest to the reader, as it has done to the writer, important changes in both our Constitution and our plan of work, changes more important than any yet proposed, but not dangerous to the health and vigor of the Church. It is claimed by some, and conceded by others, that some amendment should be made to our Constitution. The only question between them and the writer is, What amendment or amendments shall be made?

Before proceeding to speak of changes particularly, we would submit two or three remarks upon the general subject of amendments. 1. No amendment should be made which is inconsistent with fundamental principles of Presbyterianism as expressed in our Constitution. 2. Any amendment may be made which is consistent with these fundamental principles, provided they add something to the strength and certainty with which the Church prosecutes her missionary work. 3. Any custom that has worked reasonably well in a past condition is to be venerated and not lightly changed; but if under new conditions a change is proposed which offers reasonable certainty of results better and larger than the old, the adoption of the new method is not irreverence towards the old.

It is unnecessary for this article to discuss what all concede, the Church's call into the foreign field. It may, however, remind the reader that the providential call which is borne from across the seas and the continents, is bursting upon us with an urgency akin to that from Macedonia, which fell upon the ears of the Apostle to the Gentiles. Hence the importance of equipping the Church most thoroughly for responding most vigorously to the loud demand.

What are some of the fundamental principles of Presbyterianism that should guide us in efforts to determine the most vigorous policy that can be adopted for our foreign missionary work? We answer:

1. The unity of the Church, as a body whose head is Christ. See Confession of Faith, Chapters 25, 26, 30, 31.

2. "The Church is governed by various courts in regular gradation which are all nevertheless Presbyteries, as being composed

exclusively of presbyters. These courts are Church Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and the General Assembly." Form of Government, Chapter V., Section 1, Pars. I., II.

3. "All church courts are one in nature, constituted of the same elements, possessed inherently of the same kinds of rights and powers, and differing only as the Constitution may provide." Form of Government, Chapter V., Section 1, Par. III.

In these statements it is expressly declared that all church courts, viz., Session, Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly, are the same in nature, in elements, and in inherent powers and rights, that any difference in them is made by the provisions of the Constitution. Whatever one court may inherently do, any other court may inherently do. If one may ordain officers, each of the others may ordain officers. If one may organise churches, so may all the rest. If one may send out evangelists, so may all the others. If one may exercise discipline, so may each of them. If one may conduct foreign missions, so may all.

4. But, "for the orderly and efficient dispatch of ecclesiastical business, it is necessary that the sphere of action of each court should be distinctly defined." Form of Government, Chapter V., Section 1, Par. IV.

Here is our warrant for distribution of power among the courts; and the rest of this Chapter is occupied in making the distribution among them.

Observe that this distribution is declared to be necessary upon *grounds of order and efficiency*, not upon any specific warrant or requirement of God's word. The ordinary judgment of the rulers of God's house is the arbiter of the necessity for the particular distribution already made, or proposed, in the interests of order and efficiency.

It will not be denied that, when the Constitution was originally framed, no provision was distinctly made, or policy prescribed, for conducting missionary operations outside of the Church. When it was adopted by the Presbyterian Church in this country, the Church was not awake to the importance of foreign missions. When our standards underwent revisions, still no ample provision was made for enlargement beyond its then present borders.

The spirit of conservatism still reigned, and only the most general provisions were made for preaching the gospel and founding the Church in "the regions beyond."

In the distribution more power was put into the hands of Presbytery than of any other court. The power of organising churches and ordaining and installing pastors and evangelists, and of setting them apart to particular work, and original jurisdiction over ministers, was lodged in Presbytery to the exclusion of other courts. This power, and whatever is distinguishing, belong to Presbytery, and not to other courts, in virtue of the distribution of powers made by the Constitution. Presbytery has no reserved powers. It has no more of reserved powers than any other church court. Its powers in our system are granted and limited by the Constitution as those of each of the other courts are. Under this distribution Presbytery has no power or right to organise a church, or to conduct any work outside of her own geographical limits. She is shut in by her geographical lines as a member of the Presbyterian Church, and may not constitutionally go beyond them. And this confinement is necessary for "order and efficiency."

In like manner, and for like considerations, the Session and the Synod are confined within their proper geographical lines, over which neither may constitutionally pass.

The General Assembly is the bond of union between all these, the highest court with certain powers of review and control. To this court, which is the symbol of the Church's unity and the vehicle of its combined strength, is distributed the only power for extending the Church's territorial conquests and limits. To this court, and to this *alone*, is distributed the power "to concert measures for promoting the prosperity and enlargement of the Church; . . . to institute and superintend the agencies necessary in the general work of evangelisation; to appoint ministers to such labors as fall under its jurisdiction." Form of Government, Chap. V., Sec. 6, Par. V.

Again: "The General Assembly shall have power to commit the various interests pertaining to the general work of evangelisation to one or more commissions." *Ibid*, Par. IV.

These two quotations from our Form of Government constitute the whole provision made in our Book for prosecuting the great work of foreign missions! These provisions are pitiably small in comparison with the dignity and the urgent importance of the work.

From what has been just said of the distribution of power it is evident: 1. That neither the Session, nor Presbytery, nor Synod has any constitutional power whatever for conducting foreign missions. 2. That all the constitutional power given to any court for conducting foreign missions vests in the General Assembly. 3. That this provision is too general and indefinite to indicate suitably the work to be done in the foreign field. "Enlargement" and "general evangelisation" are the most specific words used to indicate the work, and it must be admitted that these are too indefinite to determine the dignity and policy of the work. The difficulties multiply when we remember how exceedingly limited is the original jurisdiction of the General Assembly. The conclusion of this matter, then, is that while any church court may inherently "concert measures for the enlargement of the Church," yet constitutionally the General Assembly is the only Presbyterian court that may do it.

We go further and declare our strong conviction that the General Assembly, which is "the bond of union, peace, and correspondence among all its congregations and courts," is the only body through which "enlargement" in foreign countries can *logically* be made, and the only one *capable* of overcoming the practical difficulties in the way of directing work, supporting laborers, and establishing gospel ordinances permanently and successfully in foreign and remote lands. Sessions obviously cannot do it except in very rare cases. Presbyteries cannot do it to any considerable extent. These are usually too weak, and the work is too great. Even Synods are ordinarily too feeble to conduct this work on a large and sure basis. If Presbyteries, for example, should attempt to conduct foreign missions, they would very soon be obliged by weakness to form some scheme of voluntary co-operation. They would be forced to institute some council, or waste their energies and resources in desultory efforts.

If all should enter into such alliance, which is not probable, their voluntary council for direction and supply would soon be forced to invest itself, or receive investiture from the co-operating bodies, with all the powers that are now so stingily bestowed upon our Assembly; or the whole scheme for foreign work would fail, egregiously fail. Presbyterians have not much faith in "voluntary associations." It is far better for both "efficiency" and "order" that the General Assembly shall conduct the work. We therefore conclude that the General Assembly is *the only body* that *may legitimately, or practically can,* successfully develop the power of the whole Church, and vigorously push forward the work of foreign missions.

But the power at present given to the Assembly is as vague as it is comprehensive, and its statements are as insufficient as they are brief. The General Assembly has power to "concert measures for enlargement," and "to institute and superintend the general work of evangelisation." This is all. It has no power to ordain or set apart ministers to this work whose conduct is confided to it. It has no power in the Constitution to organise a church or appoint ministers over any foreign church. It has no power of discipline directly over the missionary it sends out, and whose labors it directs and whom it supports, albeit the work and the field and the support lie beyond the territorial limits of any Presbytery. It has no power to ordain evangelists in the foreign field. The Assembly's jurisdiction is over the work; the Presbytery's jurisdiction is over the workman. The Presbytery has sole and exclusive power to ordain, to set apart, and to exercise discipline over the minister and to delegate to him what ecclesiastical power he possesses.

There is a generally felt want of some additional provisions in our Book determining the nature and extent of the powers of an evangelist in the foreign field. This article is a plea for a broader and more important amendment than that which is proposed and now pending before our Presbyteries defining the powers of the evangelist. It is a plea for amendments that shall invest the Assembly with the *whole* power necessary for "instituting" and vigorously conducting our foreign mission work, so as in some

fuller measure to meet the increased demands of this work, and to respond to the urgent call that comes from the benighted nations for the "light of the Gentiles." We would limit the exercise of these powers to the foreign missionary work, but we would give to the General Assembly the whole and exclusive original jurisdiction over the work and the workmen necessary for instituting and conducting the work of missions abroad.

What good and sufficient reason, either ecclesiastical or practical, can be given for the present division of responsibility and confusion of jurisdiction between the Presbytery and the Assembly? We believe that there is none; and that the considerations usually advanced for maintaining the twofold jurisdiction are much more apparent than real. The strongest objection that can be urged against such a redistribution of power as is proposed is that, to give original jurisdiction to the Assembly in cases of discipline is to take away from the accused the right of appeal, which is regarded by us as one of the bulwarks of personal liberty. We confess that this objection, if it lie in full force against our proposition, would be very strong. But we doubt if its force is as strong as it appears at first to be. For what is the object—the ultimate object—of appeal or complaint? It is principally to obtain the judgment of the highest court of the Church, as representing the most impartial sentiment of the whole Church. Now would not the judgment of the Assembly in the exercise of original jurisdiction over one of its servants and children be impartial, deliberate, and ordinarily as satisfactory as it is in cases taken up to it by appeal or complaint? We think that a body, composed of officers from all parts of the Church, and representing the whole Church, would be impartial and disinterested. A missionary arraigned before the Assembly would appear and plead before the same arbiter that decides appeals and complaints. Justice, we think, would not suffer. And since the recognition of the principle of "commissions" has been distinctly made in our Book, the practical difficulties in the way of the Assembly's exercising original jurisdiction are removed. Moreover, when a commission should be called to act in such cases, its proceedings are "subject to the review of the court appointing it;" thus is broken the force

of the objection to giving the Assembly ecclesiastical and original jurisdiction over the missionary. If the force of this strongest of all objections to giving the Assembly power over missionaries is so greatly reduced, we need not pause to consider others.

We therefore proceed to commend the proposed enlargement of the powers of the Assembly and their extension over the workman as well as over his work.

1. The change is thoroughly consistent with the fundamental principles of Presbyterianism, which are, that all church courts are one in nature, have the same inherent powers, are constituted of the same elements, and differ only as the Constitution distributes powers among them. If Presbytery may inherently exercise judicial power over ministers, so may the Assembly. If Sessions may exercise discipline over members, so may the Assembly. The only reason Session may exercise exclusive power over members, and Presbytery over ministers, is, that the Book distributes these powers to them. The only reason the Assembly may not exercise original jurisdiction over them is that this power is not distributed to it. It is competent for the Church to make any changes in the distribution of power among the courts which are commended to her judgment by considerations of "order and efficiency."

2. But do these considerations commend such changes as have been herein advocated? We believe that, after mature and unbiassed reflection, a sound judgment will answer, yes. It is necessary to avoid confusion of jurisdiction, and to give unity and vigor to our foreign operations. The Assembly is now the constitutional repository of all the power we impart to any court to "institute and superintend" this work; but the power of ordination and separation of the minister, and ecclesiastical and judicial control of him, personally and ministerially considered, is distributed exclusively to the Presbytery. Our Form of Government declares that "for the orderly and efficient dispatch of ecclesiastical business it is necessary that the sphere of each court should be distinctly defined." A distinct definition of the sphere of two coöperating bodies is necessary to "order," but that "efficiency" shall be promoted to the highest possible extent it is

necessary that the distinctness of definition shall be based upon some practicable perceptible difference. Now, practically it is impossible to preserve the distinction between the man and his work—between the jurisdiction of the Presbytery and that of the Assembly. It is impossible for the Assembly to pass full judgment upon a man's work without also reaching judgment upon the man's ministerial character. In many cases these are so intimately blended as to become inseparable. In cases of discipline, neither the Presbytery nor the Assembly, nor indeed both together, can reach a full understanding or pronounce an intelligent judgment upon the case; because one has to do only with the man, and the other only with the man's business; when the man's moral character in many cases is to be ascertained by the way in which he has transacted or failed to transact his business as a servant of the whole Church in the foreign field. The Assembly cannot investigate or judge of his moral character even while in its commission. The Presbytery has jurisdiction over the man, but it is impossible for it to procure witnesses or testimony from a distant land by which to try the missionary, and if it could procure these, by some means unprovided for, still, in the circumstances of the case, it would be poorly qualified to judge of the due weight of the evidence. The mode of process, as determined by the general principles of the Book and the demands of equity, would necessarily consume much time, and, if either party to any cause were litigious or refractory, the postponement would be indefinite, or so protracted through years as to lose all the wholesome effects of discipline. Besides, in the present arrangement Presbytery must ordinarily receive its information through the Assembly, or its representative, the Executive Committee. Thus the ordinary conditions of discipline would throw the Assembly into the odious position of voluntary informant or prosecutor. Presbytery has no constitutional power to put either the Assembly or its Committee into such a position, nor has it the power even to require either to appear before its bar in the trial of any cause. Fortunately our Church has had but little experience of these practical difficulties; but we are endeavoring to enlarge our missionary operations in the "open

doors" of the nations of the earth. We hope to increase the number of our missionaries. This will increase the probabilities that cases requiring discipline will occur. And if such cases shall subject our Constitution to the test, all these elements of weakness will be seen, and our present policy for foreign work will be seen to impair both the "order" and "efficiency" of our Church. Authority must act simply in order to give efficacy to any policy. "Division of labor" is desirable in all large enterprises; but division of responsibility makes babel and impairs efficiency, unless the division denotes a clear practical difference.

The change proposed simplifies, while it preserves, the fundamental principle of the inherent equality of all courts. It is proposed placing in the hands of the Assembly the power of ordaining and separating ministers to the foreign work, of organising churches in foreign fields, of original jurisdiction over the missionary, and of delegating to foreign evangelists whatever power the Assembly may see fit to confer for ordering and promoting the work of missions, rather than placing the power of "instituting and superintending" foreign work in the hands of the Presbytery. The Assembly is selected as the repository of *the whole power* for foreign work because, both logically and practically, it can do the work better than any other court. The Presbytery is not selected as such repository because, in fact, it is materially unable to prosecute the work of foreign missions on any broad and certain basis. By adding the powers above mentioned to those already given the Assembly, this representative of the whole Church will be amply qualified for prosecuting, directing, and controlling the whole work of foreign missions.

3. It is simple and proper that the body which "sets apart" and sends out and sustains and directs the labors of a minister shall exercise entire control of him while in its commission. It is complex and improper that one body shall set him apart and exercise ecclesiastical control over him, while another sends him out, sustains him, and directs his labors.

4. The foreign missionary is regarded and treated as the representative and servant of the *whole* Church, and not of a single member of that Church. If it be possible, and we think that

we have shown that it is, for him to be subject to the government and discipline of the highest court of the whole Church which he represents, it will be desirable; and the whole arrangement for ordering his services and conduct with efficiency will become harmonious. This idea, if realised fully in our practice, will exert a wholesome influence upon the missionary and the Church.

5. It rarely, if ever, happens that where several missionaries are thrown into coöperation in the same foreign field, they all belong to any one Presbytery. This creates ecclesiastical difficulties in the way of their using joint powers. Any number of ministers and elders, belonging to different Presbyteries, coming together, do not constitute a Presbytery. Their action, though taken jointly, has not the force of a judgment of any court. How, then, is it possible for any number of foreign evangelists, belonging to different Presbyteries, coming together in consultation, to give the force of an ecclesiastical judgment to what they do or resolve to do? Presbyteries cannot give them any such power, for the Presbyteries themselves do not possess it. The writer recently spoke of the plan for giving the Assembly the entire control of missionaries in the presence of one of our most judicious foreign missionaries. This brother replied, "I do not know about that, for I have not thought of it. But I have long thought that all missionaries in the same field should be required to join the same Presbytery, so as to make it possible for them to coöperate with some authority." In this missionary's remark we see the felt want of ecclesiastical unity, and a testimony to the weakness of our present complex arrangements. It is not now competent for even the Assembly to throw the missionaries together into the form of a "commission." For each one is in the field clothed with such ecclesiastical powers only as his Presbytery gives him; and his Presbytery can give him no powers to form a "commission" with members of any other Presbytery.

6. The proposed change is the only way for solving the vexed problem of the powers of the evangelist in the foreign field. As the result of this change, the evangelist, or evangelists, will bear to the General Assembly the same relations that the home evan-

gelist, or evangelists, bear to the Presbytery. He will exercise just such powers, and under such conditions and limitations, as the Assembly prescribes. These powers he will exercise severally or jointly as the Assembly directs, and to any extent which may be determined by the representative of the whole Church. Clothe the Assembly with power to organise churches, to ordain and instal officers over churches in the foreign field, to ordain and set apart foreign evangelists, and to do whatever is necessary to establish the Church in those fields; and then the Assembly can invest its evangelists with these powers—all powers necessary to planting and nurturing a foreign church. We do not forget that some regard the evangelist as an extraordinary officer, called of God and not of man to his work. But we do not suppose that these brethren regard the evangelist as independent of all responsibility to church courts. They would doubtless admit that his labors are subject to the direction of some court, and that he must sustain some ecclesiastical relations to some court. Hence we see not why these brethren should object to giving the control of evangelists to the Assembly on any logical necessities of their theory. And certainly those who hold that the evangelist is an ordinary minister set apart to a particular service, as the writer does, will not feel that it violates any fundamental principle of Presbyterianism to give the Assembly original and entire jurisdiction over him.

Before dismissing this subject, we would remark that we would require the Assembly to formally "set apart" every evangelist sent out, whether previously ordained by Presbytery or ordained by the Assembly, as Saul and Barnabas were "separated," or "set apart," at Antioch, with fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands (Acts xiii. 2, 3). Its Committee of Foreign Missions might have *ad interim* power to do this.

In conclusion, what has been said, we think, shows that some change in our foreign missionary policy is needed; that the changes herein proposed are consistent with fundamental principles of Presbyterianism; that they would promote the "order and efficiency" of our foreign work; that they give simplicity and vigor to our plan of operations. We would simply remind

the reader that "the field is the world;" and that it is ripe for the harvest. The spirit of missions is in the Church; the condition of the world demands the most vigorous action on our part: the bright promise invites us to put on all our strength. The adoption of the policy herein indicated would mark a new and bright era in the prosecution of foreign missions.

ABNER C. HOPKINS.

ARTICLE VI.

THE ATTENTION THE BIBLE HAS RECEIVED.

We do not affirm that this book is read as universally, as frequently, as carefully, or as devoutly as its merits demand. We are well aware that in many instances it is an overlooked, neglected, underrated, and even a disparagingly spoken of book, and in some quarters prohibited by the authorities. The time was, if it be not so even now, when this volume was recorded in conspicuous characters on the "Index Expurgatorius" of the Romish Church. Nevertheless we expect to show that of all productions this has received in one way and another, in one generation and in another, more attention than any other book; that it has been read more, studied more, has had more time, more laborious research, more critical acumen, more systematic mental effort, more Oriental, linguistic, and theological learning, spent upon it, than any other book, come from what quarter of the globe it may, from what age it may; let that book be classical, historical, literary, dramatic, romantic, scientific, or political.

And this we affirm in the face of such authors as Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Johnson, Goldsmith, Butler, Hall, Bunyan, Sir Walter Scott, the old classic or American authors, or such specimens of the chaste, of the beautiful, and of the sublime, as you may happen to admire, and we to overlook. We persist in claiming for the Bible a precedence over the aforesaid productions, and indeed over all uninspired authorship.

I. This fact will be made apparent when we shall have shown the cost, the almost indefatigable labor, the drudgery connected with the getting up of the original manuscripts and in the subsequent multiplication of copies up to the invention of the art of printing, and even after that period. We moderns have inadequate conceptions of the whole business connected with the ancient mode of writing. We require to be informed that wood, stone, the inner coating of the bark of trees, tables of lead, the leaves of the Egyptian papyrus and the palm tree, the skins of animals, and vellum, which is a highly manufactured skin, were the materials. Through what ordeal was Moses taken when it became necessary for him to put on record the contents of the Pentateuch? Where was his writing apparatus? They were such as we have already indicated—crude, intractable, inconvenient, and unsightly. We who are accustomed to the telegraph, the power printing press, stenography, and the modern facilities for the taking of records and for the communication of intelligence, would be startled with the idea of writing down Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Numbers on the skins of animals and the other materials used for that purpose in those olden times. How few of these old Hebrew words made up of large, outspreading, cumbrous letters could be recorded on one skin? The market could scarcely supply him. It would require the skins or writing apparatus of a whole province.

No two things could be more different than an ancient and a modern book—the former a great roll of hides, connected with whangs and bearing a resemblance to tanned leather exposed to sale on the shelves of a tanner's counting-house or sales-room; the latter a compact volume, neat, trim, and perhaps in a form convenient to be carried in a gentleman's coat pocket. For information upon this subject, we would refer to the Cambridge Roll, or Indian copy of the Pentateuch, which was brought to England about the beginning of this century by Dr. Buchanan, missionary to India; which Roll was written on goat skins dyed red and was forty-eight feet in length. Some of the Roll was missing, and the calculation was that if all of it had been there, it

would have been ninety feet in length. This Roll was obtained from the black Jews.

What Moses had to contend with, every subsequent author up to the age of printing had to contend with, abating perhaps the advantages which the later authors had in the improvement of the materials and a better supply of them in the market. As time passed on, the same process had to be repeated as other revelations required to be recorded. A multiplication of copies became necessary. What a laborious process! Think of the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament, from Genesis down to Malachi, embracing the somewhat lengthy documents of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, recorded on the aforesaid crude materials and the copies of them multiplied to such an extent as to allow one for each synagogue, one for each prophet, one for each priest, and perhaps a few for distribution among the common people. So much for the Old Testament.

The same process was repeated in getting up the New Testament and in keeping a supply of copies. When we reflect upon the number of manuscript copies of the Hebrew and of the Greek Scriptures (there being no other in the Oriental and European libraries), we are impressed with the amount of physical and mental labor connected with the production of such manuscripts on the part of the original authors and of the copyists. Would the most skilful penman, who holds the pen of a ready writer, be willing, furnished as he is with our modern facilities, to engage to copy off the Old and New Testaments much within a year? What, then, would be the labor and the time necessary to write off on sheep skins and goat skins, on plates of lead, or leaves of papyrus, the whole Bible in the clumsy characters of the Hebrew and the intricate letters of the Greek? If these facts be taken in connexion with what has been done since the fourteenth century in the way of multiplying the copies of the aforesaid book by the art of printing, we will be the more seriously impressed with the statement that this is not an altogether neglected book. Two publishing institutions—the British and Foreign Bible Society, organised in 1804, and the American Bible Society, organised in 1816—have contributed

largely to this purpose. We have not the exact figures with regard to the first, but there is no risk in saying that millions of copies of the Sacred Scriptures have been printed and circulated by that Society in Britain and foreign countries within the last eighty years. As to the second, the American Bible Society, we can scarcely estimate the amount of agency, human, mechanical, pecuniary, including the divine, that has been employed in the same line. When we shall have considered the pecuniary contributions in one way and another, at one time and at another, made to the institution—such as \$300,000 by private subscription to build the Bible House in New York—the working force in the establishment, amounting to 400 persons, with all the necessary mechanical apparatus and labor-saving machines which are capable, if pressed up to the maximum of their capacity, of bringing out annually two millions of Bibles, or about 6,000 copies for every working day—we say, when we shall have considered the number of volumes issued by the Society since its organisation in 1816, which is nearly twenty-eight millions, spreading them out over the face of the earth, we will be persuaded that the Bible has received some attention.

Now, in addition to what these mammoth establishments are doing in that line, there are numerous presses all over Christendom engaged in the same work on a smaller scale contributory to the same good results.

II. That the Bible has received attention is made apparent in the versions or translations into which it has been rendered. The Septuagint comes first, it being a translation of the Old Testament into Greek some three hundred years before Christ, and is called the work of the Seventy, and is generally attributed to Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, who had it done to replenish the library at Alexandria.

Nearly everything that common fame or tradition relates in reference to this translation and the translators is discredited by Prideaux, who professes to have examined the subject and admits as “historical verities” that a translation was made by some one and at some one’s suggestion. But let the number engaged be seventy, or seventy times seven, or only seven, the amount of labor neces-

sary to execute it was none the less. We who were never actually employed in such a work as this, may be presumed to have inadequate conceptions of the toil, and of the exhausting fatigues, physical and mental, connected with it. We raise no question as to whether these translators did their work through evangelical motives, or whether they were indulging in a purely literary curiosity. It is enough for our present purpose to know that they did their work cleverly enough to deserve some commendation from posterity and from their contemporaries; that is to say, they performed the drudgery of turning the Hebrew of the Old Testament into Greek.

There, too, are other versions: the Syriac, the Ethiopic, the Egyptian, the Arabic, and the Vulgate—the latter of which became a favorite of the Church of Rome.

Passing over other translations of greater or less merit, which were made about the time of the Reformation and afterwards, we come to that of KING JAMES, which is our Bible. The plan of conducting this translation embraced forty-seven translators appointed by the king: seventeen at Westminster; fifteen at Cambridge; fifteen at Oxford; these companies again being divided into two. So that they had six distinct companies of translators. Each man in each company was required to translate separately each chapter in course, then when the company came together, they were to compare what they had done and agree on a common translation. When one company had thus agreed, it sent its work to each of the other companies to be critically reviewed by all. If any company, upon reviewing the work of other companies, found anything doubtful or unsatisfactory, they were required to note the places and their reasons for differing, and send it back to the company from which it came. If that company did not concur in the suggestions made, the matter was to be arranged at a general meeting of the chief persons of all the companies at the end of the work. Every part of the Bible was fully considered, first separately by each member of each company to which it was assigned, then by the whole company together, then by the other five companies, severally, and lastly by the general committee of revision. By this arrangement every part of the Bible was most

closely scrutinised at least fourteen times. Perhaps no age could have furnished abler linguists. The Hebrew, the Greek, and the cognate languages, the Arabic, Syriac, Chaldaic, were almost as familiar to them as household words. The Bible neglected while all this was doing in reference to it!

But other versions are making. Agreeably to the managers of the American Bible Society—high authority upon that subject—the whole number of languages and dialects into which the Bible has been translated is two hundred and sixty or thereabouts; to which we may add, as recent efforts in that direction, the revision of the New Testament, and the revision of the Old Testament, which is the product of fourteen years sitting in Jerusalem Chamber, London, on the part of a corps of distinguished biblical scholars.

The inexperienced have but little conception of the difficulties connected with the translation of the Scriptures into one of these barbarous, unsystematised languages—there being no grammar, no dictionary, no book, or pamphlet of any kind furnishing a clue to what may have been the structure or principles of those languages. The translator has a difficulty of mountain magnitude upon his shoulders. He has no pioneer, no assistant, no board of counsellors. He is his own grammar, his own dictionary. There are no scholars, no teachers, no authors to consult; but in their absence, he must make the best he can of observation, of intercourse with the natives, to discover if he can the *usus loquendi*, so that in due time he may turn a hitherto colloquial into a written language in the form of translated Scriptures.

III. The attempts that have been made to furnish a pure text, an expurgated edition of the Bible, have contributed largely to the amount of attention that book has received. With the exception of the autographs of the sacred writers, it is not pretended by biblical critics that there ever has been a perfect copy. The sources of error are so numerous, the liabilities to mistakes in the transcribers are so great, that it becomes perfectly credible that there should be so many various readings. In some copies there are interpolations; in others, omissions; in others, a con-

jectural criticism by which great liberties have been taken with the text—right words erased and wrong ones substituted. Thus, from one cause and another, a severe task is imposed upon scholars who would disentangle this intricate web to ascertain the sacred text. As a specimen of how much time, how much physical labor, how much exhausting mental toil, how much money, have been spent upon the Bible in this direction, we refer to Dr. Kennicott's "*Vetus testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, 1776–1780." To get up an expurgated edition of the Hebrew Bible, it became necessary that a subscription of nearly ten thousand pounds be raised, to which subscription his majesty liberally contributed, and that a corps of assistants be sent out over England and the Continent exploring the libraries of the Universities of Paris, Milan, the Vatican at Rome, Berlin, hunting up and reading old worm-eaten dusty manuscripts bound up in cobwebs, and which had not perhaps been disturbed for hundreds of years. Just think of a dozen or more old Hebrew scholars being engaged from morning till evening and from Monday morning until Saturday night, for the space of nine years, in doing what? In reading elegantly printed pages, in luxuriating upon romances and literary productions, or in conducting scientific investigations in their own languages? In no such congenial occupations. They were engaged in what would seem to the bulk of mankind to be as purely a literary drudgery as could well be conceived, and that was in standing about the alcoves of antiquated libraries, in unfolding old rolls of manuscripts, in trying to decipher the clumsy and almost illegibly formed characters, and on the discovery of what was conceived to be a mistake or an error in the text, to collate other manuscripts equally forbidding, to rectify that error—a process well calculated to put out a man's eyes and to destroy the vital forces. Be it known unto you, the merry-making sons of men, who eat the lambs out of the flock and the calves out of the midst of the stall, who drink wine in bowls and anoint yourselves with the chief ointments; be it known unto you, the daughters of music, who live delicately and who rejoice in the sound of the viol, that these are the labors and this the experience of our biblical critics.

Just here we beg leave to introduce to you these hard workers, these close thinkers, these profound scholars, these self-sacrificing biblical critics, who are among the most unrewarded men who ever served the Church. Well, some six hundred Hebrew manuscripts were at one time and at another collated by these scholars on the Continent and in Britain, being, as we said, nine years employed in it. So much for the Old Testament.

Substantially the same process has been repeated with the New Testament. The Bible neglected! Hear, Mill spent thirty years with his edition, and discovered thirty thousand various readings. Griesbach devoted his whole life to biblical criticism, collecting three hundred and fifty-five Greek manuscripts to bring out an expurgated edition, and, if possible, to improve upon the "*Novum testamentum Græce*" of Elzevir, which has for a long time been regarded as the "*textus receptus*."

IV. Now, all this research, all this running to and fro, all this expenditure of time, means, and learning, were put upon the text to ascertain what it ought to be. It remains to show whether anything has been done in the exegetical or hermeneutical lines to ascertain the meaning of the text. It would not be fair to say that that department of biblical literature has been altogether neglected, when we are informed that seventy-four authors, European and American, have written upon hermeneutics specifically; that is to say, they did not exactly enter upon the work of expounding the Scriptures, but expatiated upon the principles or rules which ought to regulate men who undertake to do that work, laying down the canons of interpretation. In addition to all that has been done in this line of things in clearing up the way for the proper understanding of the sacred text, how much more has been done towards and in the way of expounding it; and therefore we have of commentators Henry, Scott, Gill, Doddridge, Burkitt, Clarke, Pool, MacKnight, Luther, Calvin, Patrick, Whitby, Barnes, Brown, Chalmers; there being in English and Continental languages as many as ninety-two on the whole Bible; on the Book of Job, seventy-one; on the Psalms, eighty; on Romans, eighty-two; while there are numerous works of the kind on other single parts of the Bible.

The Bible neglected with all this authorship on hand! Who can tell how much time was spent, how much hard study was endured, how many midnight lamps were trimmed, how much breaking down of vigorous constitutions was realised, in these three hundred and twenty-five commentators, or rather in these one thousand and five hundred?

V. There, too, is all that class of authors on systematic theology, such as Melancthon's *Loci Communes*, which reached seventy editions before the end of the century; Calvin's Institutes, Ridgely, Brown of Haddington, Boston, Hill, Dick, Pictet, the exhaustive Hodge, Breckinridge, Watson, Dwight, Anderson, Thornwell, and many others, who, treating theology as a science, have aimed to locate subjects according to their logical relations, putting one here and one there and another elsewhere, under such heads and divisions as will render such subjects the more intelligible and the more manageable. This is hard intellectual work, requiring profound and original thought, all of which was especially evinced by Calvin in his Institutes, by the authors of the earlier formularies or confessions of faith, such as the Augsburg, the Helvetic, the Belgic, the Westminster—the latter of which, the product of five years and six months consultation and prayer, is confessedly upon the whole the masterpiece of systematic theology in the judgment of the Reformed Churches. Put all this down to the account we are attempting to make up with respect to the attention the Bible has received.

VI. Apologetics or attempts made in defence of Christianity have called forth a large share of attention in the same direction. We are aware of at least eighty-three works on the evidences in the English and foreign tongues, besides innumerable pamphlets and articles that are every year appearing in reviews and other prints, in addition to the unpublished lectures which are delivered in churches and theological seminaries. Christianity is a besieged fortress, and is attacked from all quarters by infidels and heretics of every grade, from the coarse and vulgar, who pour forth their spleen, up to the polished Gibbon, to the keen sarcastic Hume, to the pretentious sciolists of the nineteenth century. To meet these attacks requires men of ability and of varied learning; and

we have them in Lardner's *Credibility*, a work of wonderful research; in Campbell, the celebrated Scotch critic; and in numerous polemical discussions. It must no more be said that the Bible has been neglected, even in this department, when we have on special subjects, in addition to those that are general, no less than one hundred and forty-six on miracles, and one hundred and thirty-six on prophecy.

VII. The harmonies of Scripture have elicited attention, and that attention has been given by Fuller, Lightfoot, Townsend, Le Clerc, Blount, Macknight, Doddridge, Newcome, Horne, Carpenter, and others who have handled the discrepancies in the Bible in such a way as to show that they do not, after all, affect the credibility of the Bible narratives, or in anywise overthrow the claims of the Old and New Testaments to be received as inspired documents. No dull and uninformed mind could ever manage such a subject, and hence how much credit is due to Paley who brought out "the undesigned coincidences," and worked them up into an argument in support of the genuineness and authenticity of the Pauline Epistles.

VIII. The amount of authorship on particular subjects may be referred to in support of the statement that the Bible is not an ignored, or altogether neglected, book. In quoting our authorities, we are not to be understood as vouching in every instance for the scholarship or orthodoxy of the writers. It is enough that we produce the evidence in support of the allegation that much laborious and protracted study has been spent upon certain specific biblical subjects.

To those, then, who are laboring under a painful impression that these lively oracles are dwindling down into their alleged insignificance, and that they are passing away into a state of deserved neglect, we would furnish the following specifications:

On the subject of the Trinity in English and Continental languages, there are one hundred and twenty-four books; on the atonement, one hundred; on the authenticity of the Scriptures, one hundred and thirteen; on antinomianism, seventy; on universalism, one hundred and fifteen.

A Mr. Samuel Agnew, of Philadelphia, has made out a list of

the titles of works on baptism, which amounts to nearly four thousand, possessing himself two thousand and seven hundred ; on a future state, sixty-seven ; on the Pentateuch, fifty-two ; on hell, eighty ; on the Sabbath, one hundred and nineteen ; on the Lord's Supper, Romish and Protestant, thousands ; to reconcile Paul and James, thirty-nine ; on justification, including, of course, Owen and Hodge, one hundred and thirty-four ; on the genuineness of 1 John v. 7, forty-eight.

Whether the verse that reads thus, "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one"—is genuine or spurious is a matter of dispute among the learned. Think of forty-eight authors equipped in their critical armor, fighting on the old battle ground, dealing with a class of weapons that only one in a thousand knows anything of. Sharp and long has been the conflict. These critics who regard themselves as the custodians of the sacred text, have fought over this passage with almost as much zeal as a patriot would evince in the defence of his country, some of them attempting to rule it out as spurious, others to rule it in as genuine. Here, then, we have as many as forty-eight authors battling away on one passage.

IX. There are the sermonisers who are distributed all over Christendom, some in metropolitan situations, others in rural districts, some in the highways and hedges, and others serving as pioneers in the cause of civilisation and of Christianity ; while most of them may be presumed to be students of God's word, hunting out texts to preach upon, and texts to prove their doctrine by.

How many are at this moment poring over these sacred pages in quest of truth and in quest of illustrations in behalf of that truth. What a winnowing and sifting to separate the wheat from the chaff ; what a blowing up of the refiner's fire to detect the reprobate and to separate it from the pure metal ; what a digging down into the mine of revelation to reach the hidden treasures ! Would any one undertake to say how often the old gospel texts have been preached upon ? How frequently have ministers in their zeal to secure instructive sermons, been induced to overhaul such passages as "Bring forth fruits meet for repent-

ance," "By grace ye are saved," "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son," etc.; and all this at the risk of their being regarded as ignoring the claims of novelty and of their being indifferent to the fact that the aforesaid and similar passages have been expatiated upon a thousand times.

X. There are the devotional readings, which may be said to prevail all over Christendom, from the very occasional perusal on the part of indifferent Christians, up to an Irish friend of ours who has actually read the Bible through from Genesis to Revelation one hundred and ten times! How many are there of the pious in the churches with whom it is a custom to peruse a portion of the lively oracles every day, it being their meat and their drink so to do. What a spectacle presents itself! Looking out over the community you will see the blind poring over the contents of the Bible by means of raised letters; the aged and dim-sighted availing themselves of the artificial lights of the fireplace to do the same, while the youth of the families, in one way and in another, are endeavoring to master their biblical lessons, and to make a favorable presentation of themselves before their teachers and parents.

Thus we have shown that the Bible has received a large share of attention from a variety of sources—from the sceptical, whose ambition it is to overthrow it; from the inquisitive, who aim at an accumulation of knowledge, caring very little as to the moral bearings of such knowledge; from critics, whose business it is to detect the sense by the laws and usages of language; from commentators, who so open up the Scriptures that they may be more easily understood; from persons under conviction of sin, inquiring what they must do to be saved; from the pious, who would have their inward and spiritual exercises properly regulated. It is evident that that attention has been given by good men and bad men, by men who love the Bible and by men who do not love it, by the learned and by the unlearned, by men who are fortified by a philosophy falsely so called, and by men who appreciate the wisdom which is from above, beyond the wisdom which is of this world.

It deserves this attention, for it is the oldest book in the world,

which is strictly true of the Pentateuch and of Job, and perhaps some others. They are older than Homer, or Thucydides, or Herodotus, and consequently have been longer on hand, have been longer before the public mind, and have not, like many other publications, gone out of date, or become obsolete, or been altogether lost sight of.

On the score of circulation it has gone far in advance of everything else in that line. Wherever there are books, it is one of them, whether you search the shelves of the obscure citizen, or the alcoves of some university, or some richly endowed metropolitan library. It has wonderfully circulating properties. It cares not for the prohibitions of Popes or of infidel statesmen, or of Mahometans. It goes bounding over human and satanic obstacles into the regions beyond up to the headquarters of the man of sin, working its way into the snows of Siberia, into the plains of Tartary, the table lands of the Himalaya mountains, the jungles of India, the islands of the South Seas, and stops not until it has made the circuit of the globe.

It deserves attention in view of the source from which it comes, not from the frenzied hallucinated brain of mortals, but from the Spirit of the living God, who conveys to men the revelation of divine truth through inspiration. "God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son."

As to the contents of that book, they challenge comparison with those of any other, and indeed with those of all other books put together. On the score of sound morals, of valuable history, of a rare literature, and of a revelation of divine and of eternal truths, it will weigh down whole libraries of standard authors, and by its electric lights make dim or obscure all inferior or rival lights.

The pious are attracted towards it, because its entrance gives light, makes the simple wise, for it contains the words of eternal life. The aspirants for literary honors betake themselves to it, for it furnishes the highest styles of composition. The sceptic who is certain about nothing and doubtful about many things, makes the effort to overthrow these oracles as the opponent of his

views. This book has received the favorable consideration of such a man as Sir Isaac Newton, who entertained such views of its awfulness and sacredness that he read it upon his knees; of John Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress* has given him a world-wide celebrity; of Bacon, the author of the inductive philosophy, concerning whom it might be asked could he be ignorant of the word of God after enunciating the following creed: "I believe that the sufferings of Christ, as they are sufficient to take away the sins of the whole world, so they are only effectual to those who are regenerate by the Holy Ghost who breatheth where he will of his free grace, which grace is the seed incorruptible, quickeneth the spirit of man, and conceiveth him anew a son of God and a member of Christ."

As running in the same evangelical channel we may quote Sir Humphrey Davy, an eminent chemist, standing high in the scientific circles of the British metropolis and President of the Royal Society of London. He testifies: "I envy no quality of the mind or intellect in others; not genius, power, wit, or fancy, but if I could choose what would be most delightful, and I believe most useful to me, I should prefer a firm religious belief to every other blessing, for it makes life a discipline of goodness, creates new hopes when all earthly hopes vanish, and throws over the decay and the destruction of existence, the most gorgeous of all lights, awakens life even in death, and from corruption and decay calls up beauty and divinity, makes an instrument of torture and of shame the ladder of ascent to paradise, and far above all combinations of earthly hopes calls up the most delightful visions of palms and amarantha, the gardens of the blessed, the security of everlasting joys, when the sensualist and the sceptic view only gloom, decay, and annihilation."

It remains for us to remark that when the Bible shall have risen to its deserved appreciation, it will be in every language in every dialect, in every house, in every court, in every cabinet, ruling down all corrupt systems of jurisprudence, all corrupt civil compacts and constitutions, all false systems of philosophy, of religion, or of codes of morals, all demoralising literature.

Its voice will go over the earth and its words to the end of the

world; it will dictate the decisions of imperial courts; it will bring all human legislation into harmony with itself; it will be the law book of nations, the umpire of all human controversies; it will be acknowledged as the book of books. Almost without a figure it will be a sign upon the hand as frontlets between the eyes of the house of Israel; it will be written upon the posts of the house and of the gates; it will be talked of by the children of men as they sit and as they walk by the way, as they lie down and as they rise up.

J. BOYCE.

ARTICLE VII.

THE SELF-EVIDENCING LIGHT OF THE BIBLE.

A remark made by the Rev. Narayan Sheshadri, of Bombay, in the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, is worthy of notice. Especially will it strike a mind familiar with the external evidences of Christianity. He said that he had been led to embrace the Bible as God's word, not by any of the arguments contained in Butler or Paley, but by the study of the contents of the Bible itself. This at once raises the question of the relative value of a system of external or internal evidence. This we shall not discuss further than to remark that the interior demonstration of the Bible's divine origin is of incomparable moment, as it is this internal proof that rescues the sinner from sin and Satan; the historical evidence rescues from infidelity only. Saving faith is the fruit of internal rather than external proof. The external leads to the internal, conducts to the open temple door; within, the inquirer bows in adoration and worship.

Neither of these pillars of our faith is to be disparaged. Both are invaluable to the cause of truth.

We call attention to this phase of the subject: The sufficiency of the internal evidence to prove the divine origin of the Scriptures. Does the Bible carry its own self-evidencing light, and do its contents show it to be heaven-born?

We cannot but think that too little attention is paid to this department of evidence. The exclusive study of the external evidence gives a cold mathematical appearance to the defence made by the friends of the Bible. Mathematical forms of demonstration applied to spiritual truth in external support lead unconsciously to a lurking scepticism. To the internal, the missionary gives almost entire attention, as being the most available and powerful over the heathen mind. Not one converted heathen in a thousand, if asked why he believes the Bible to be God's word, would point to prophecy or miracles. The unanimous verdict would be: We believe the Scriptures to be of divine origin because of the system of salvation therein revealed. We had a religion transmitted to us by our ancestors, the wisest of men; but how dark and black a system was that compared with the bright scheme of salvation presented in the Bible. Here we learn that we are sinners, that God gave his Son to die for us, and that through faith this salvation becomes ours. Now, what but the wisdom of God could have devised such a scheme as this?

Such is the heathen's, or, as Dr. Spring calls it, "the poor man's argument." This argument is valuable also in that it gives an answer to an oft-repeated cavil of both the infidel and Papist. They object that the faith of the unlearned Protestant is nothing worth. It is but blind prejudice and imitation of the more learned. They maintain that on the Protestant theory he can have no intelligent faith, because he cannot investigate the vast amount of evidence, or master the extended and intricate discussion concerning the rule of faith.

Standing on the vantage ground of correct internal evidence, we reassert the Protestant doctrine that faith cannot arise without evidence, but we show that the humblest peasant possesses an argument to establish the claims of the Bible against every assailant. The Bible is self-evidential, and upon this rock all their objections make shipwreck.

Two centuries ago, men of learning gave greater prominence to this method of argument. That the Bible carries with it a self-evidencing power, we find to be the great argument of Calvin, Turretin, Witsius, and Baxter. The army of infidels found

this line of Christian evidence impregnable. Led by that instinct which unbelief has ever displayed, it proceeded to marshal its forces against the hitherto unassailed line of external evidence. Around this point the battle has since raged, and internal evidence has been overlooked. Let us remember, however, that we have a watchful foe, and keep the whole front of evidence well manned and our minds well stored with its arguments.

The lowly peasant woman, by the dim light of the coals on her hearth, in honesty of heart reading her Bible, finds sufficient proof that its claims are reasonable, as much as the student poring over his ponderous folios by the midnight lamp. Should the sceptical scholar cavil and puzzle that honest soul, she would open the door of her hut and point to the firmament paved with stars, and ask, "Are yon heavens man's workmanship, and could other than God ordain yon moon and stars?" "No," the sceptic responds, "man could not have done that. In their very light is evidence of divine power and wisdom. But what has that to do with your Bible?" "Look out," she answers, "into the night of the spiritual world and behold those stars of truth which this Bible has made to rise upon our sin-darkened race. Does not the light which they shed point to a divine author? Are they not above man's power, and do they not display divine wisdom and mercy?" Such is the simple, yet unanswerable argument with which the unlettered poor seal the lips of the learned sceptic.

Light is self-manifesting—its own best evidence. "Whatsoever doth make manifest is light." Truth, like light, is self-revealing. In nature, the finger-prints of Deity are clear and distinct. How much more should we expect in that word which he has magnified above all his name, traces of his hand so clear as to carry conviction, so unequivocal as to set forgery at defiance. If the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork, may we not much more expect his revelation—his glorious gospel—to reflect the brightness of its author? If the taper, when kindled, makes itself manifest, how much more the sun which God has lighted!

At the very outset, we are arrested by a striking peculiarity of the Bible—that it appears as its own witness—that it challenges

unhesitating obedience and implicit faith. It comes not reasoning, but revealing; it comes not persuading, but commanding. Its words are: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned." "He that believeth on the Son is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already." Does not such language assume that the Bible is its own witness; is self-proving; has within itself sufficient evidence that it is the truth of God? Was it not a just conclusion of the woman of Samaria, "Come, see a man that told me all that ever I did; is not this the Christ?" She neither knew him nor anything of his past history, yet from his words, picturing her past life, she at once concludes that he is the Messiah. The contents of his message was to her a clear credential from the court of heaven. May we not as conclusively argue: "Come, see a book that told me all that ever I did; is not this the word of God?" Nothing can be more evident than that the Bible assumes that it authenticates itself, and that there are proofs written upon the very pages of the Holy Scriptures which abundantly evince them to be a direct revelation from God.

This confirms an *a priori* conclusion of the reason, viz., if God had revealed his will to men, that revelation itself must carry evidence of its divine origin. We would expect such a messenger to appear in its own self-evidencing light, and instinctively look for marks to indicate its celestial birth.

An extensive and interesting argument for the inspiration of the Scriptures may be drawn from "the majesty of its style." Such writing, even if possible by man, would not be expected when we consider the intellectual character of its writers and the age in which they wrote. They were not, for the most part, men of extraordinary talents or learning. They were many of them plain shepherds and humble illiterate fishermen, yet they write with a majesty unknown to man before or since. They wrote on themes of boundless extent and illimitable grandeur, and yet they never fall below their lofty subjects. These volumes of wondrous perfection and beauty were produced in the very infancy of letters, some before letters had an existence; yet for beauty, majesty, and power they stand in acknowledged pre-

eminence. The poetic grandeur of Homer is bombast when contrasted with the unapproachable sublimity of many parts of Scripture; the beauty of the pagan classics is effeminaey when compared with the unadorned beauty of the Bible. Human language has never been cast in moulds of loftiness, beauty, or glory, to come even within reach of Job, Isaiah, Ezekiel, or Habakkuk.

Note also that the rhetorical and poetical beauties of the Bible are incidental, not for display. The purpose of every line is glory to God and peace to man; yet is it all the grander and more beautiful because casual and unsought. It is the beauty of the bow, painting the clouds, not that of the stained glass, vainly emulating it. The style of Scripture never labors, never strives, but bent on blessed ends, glows with all the transcendent beauty and unstudied power to be expected from its lofty theme and all-wise Author.

We are thankful that God made the Bible not merely instructive, but attractive; not merely true, but enticing. "It is a pearl of great price, yet the casket is of exquisite beauty and workmanship. It is the sword of the Spirit and of ethereal temper, yet there are jewels on the hilt and beautiful tracery on the scabbard. The coin is of purest gold, and the scrip which contains it is of a texture more curious than the artists of earth could fashion." We rejoice in its heavenly doctrine, yet we are delighted with the majesty of its style—its fragrance and music, its brightness and symmetry.

Mortal man has never equalled David's sublime song of thanksgiving: "He bowed the heavens and came down, and darkness was under his feet." There is no phenomenon of nature more awful than a thunder-storm, and with what touches of terror it is described in the twenty-ninth Psalm, a sacred vitality and power being given it by the presence of Jehovah in each successive peal:

"The voice of the Lord is on the sea,
The Lord of glory thundereth,
The Lord is on the mighty sea."

Infinite intelligence alone can conceive the terrific awe expressed in the fourth chapter of Job. Here the obscure outlines

and vague presence suggest the supernatural in a most thrilling spectacle. "In thoughts from the visions of the night . . . a spirit passed before my face, the hair of my flesh stood up; it stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof. An image was before my eyes, there was silence, and I heard a voice saying, Shall mortal man be more just than God?"

The flame of the Holy Ghost seems to burn on the apostle's lips as he cries, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" and it is with the passion of an heavenly inspiration that he pronounces that matchless apostrophe: "O Death! where is thy sting? O Grave! where is thy victory?"

Never was there such quiet peace and chaste beauty as we find in the simple prose-idyl of Ruth, and the holy romance of Esther. Thus might we hold forth pearl after pearl from this classic of heavenly composition. The Bible never aims at fine writing, yet has incidentally done more to supply the world with powerful and happy diction, and literature with noble thoughts and images, and the arts with memorable subjects, than all the other books that have been written. If not an absolute conclusion, it is at least presumptive evidence that the humble penmen of the Bible were under the guidance of an infinite intelligence.

The consent of all the parts—the wondrous harmony of sentiment and purpose of all the books of the Bible—is an astonishing and standing miracle. They were written, fragment by fragment, during the course of fifteen centuries. Sixty treatises, by thirty different writers, make up this divine Scripture. These thirty authors differ in education, learning, passion, and prejudice. They lived under different forms of society, spoke different languages, and were taken from every rank in life. They were of the most opposite standing, temper, and talents—legislators, kings, judges, priests, warriors, farmers, shepherds, peasants, and fishermen. None can read this book without being struck with the reality and nature of this agreement—in the great system of facts revealed—in the wondrous number of truths set forth, and that, too, on the most difficult of all subjects. The historian's pen ever records the same facts and truths sung by the prophet's lyre. The most wonderful part is that this agree-

ment is concerning subjects which have been held in perpetual agitation by strong passions of men, and about which a depraved will ever keeps men in wide and wild extremes. The more we scrutinise the building as a whole, the more we find stone fitted to its fellow-stone—the entire fabric from the foundation to its top-stone fitly framed and cemented together, so that we involuntarily exclaim, “Truly this is the architecture of God!”

Witness also the beautiful harmony of the Old and New Testaments, setting forth the same moral code, one perfect system of truth, one root and offspring of David, the same bright and morning star, the same fount and tree of life. These two lamps of eternal truth do not bewilder by cross lights, but shine along the same pathway of salvation, pointing forward to the same crown of glory.

What wonderful unity amidst variety! It is a concert of music, amongst whose many voices each voice is not only perfectly melodious, but all are blent in one perfect harmony. Whence this agreement? Could the restless human mind settle upon this vast amount of unchanging truth? No! Divine inspiration alone is a cause adequate to the effect produced.

Moreover, examining the cardinal truths which the Bible presents, we find that the representation which it gives of the divine existence, providence, and moral law, abundantly prove a divine origin.

The first internal proof of the Bible's divinity is the view which it discloses of the Lord God Almighty. The first demand of the reason is the existence of God—an uncreated Creator—an intelligent First Cause. The Bible recognises that the primary and highest purpose of revelation is to give a knowledge of the most High. Giving a definite and satisfactory account of the great First Cause, the Scripture goes beyond the unaided powers of human reason. Unlike the popular and philosophic theology of the Pagan world, it reveals a full-orbed Deity, with a circle of perfect and infinite attributes, of omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence, making him capable of his grand work; yea, more, a God of truth, righteousness, goodness, and holiness, and so worthy of admiration and worship.

What a God is the God of Scripture! It speaks as no other book of boundless goodness, inflexible justice, the richest grace, and spotless purity and holiness. Pagan lands, with their mechanical, sentimental, and pantheistic views of the divine nature knew no such Deity, and the archetype is nowhere to be found in the history of human thought. What descriptive words instinct with deity! "God is light;" "God is love;" "They cease not day nor night crying, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory." Do we not retain enough of our pristine capacity to recognise this as a living portraiture of him that contrived all things by his wisdom, beautified all things by his goodness, and upholds all things by his power?

The next most important and intimate conclusion of the intellect, as Dr. McCosh has fully shown, is God's relation to creation in providence. Most of the heathen philosophers represented the Deity as inactive and indifferent, dwelling in lofty seclusion, and looking down with sovereign apathy on the world he had made. How different is God as revealed by himself, and manifesting himself in a superintending and all-pervading providence, caring for all, over-ruling all, and sustaining all. In these blessed Scriptures we learn that he who wings the archangels, guides the stars in their orbits, takes up the isles as a very little thing and metes out the waters of the ocean in the hollow of his hand, decides the sparrow's death and numbers the very hairs of his people's heads.

The Bible explains the insoluble mysteries which the reason discovers in the divine government, physical and moral. How is it that these unlearned penmen announce as familiar truth the great principles and laws of the divine government, presenting us the necessary relation between character and destiny, the power of the inner life, and the influence of disposition and motives? Who taught them to harmonise free-agency and sovereignty? God only could reveal the nice adjustment of these balance-wheels in the moral machinery of the universe. The master mind alone could reconcile these seemingly paradoxical truths, which have ever shrouded the noblest created intellects in darkness.

Moreover, the morality of the Holy Scriptures proves them to be divine. The fundamental question in ethics and morality is, What is virtue? Wherein consists its nature? The Bible in its answer goes deeper than a "mean between extremes," "a living according to nature," or "benevolence to being in general." Leaping far beyond the thoughts of an Aristotle or Zeno, it lays its finger on God's eternal nature, and announces that there is the fountain of moral obligation. It reveals a moral code, resting upon this truth, absolutely without a taint of sin. By its spirituality and perfection every man under heaven is condemned, yet every conscience echoes "Amen." Are there not here duties which no corrupt man could have conceived, and are they not worthy the invention of a divine mind?

Read the moral law, those ten words, and say if other than God's finger wrote them. See how wonderfully comprehensive; how it extends to the heart, and lays its hand upon the principles and motives.

Simple and comprehensive, yet it omits nothing, confuses nothing. Its moral code is as universal as it is spiritual. It is adapted to all men, of all classes; it embraces at once the clown and the sage, the monarch and the peasant, the freeman and the slave. Like the atmosphere, it always and in every place encompasses us.

Here we have set forth the principles of a morality more wise and complete than all human wisdom ever devised. It contains the nucleus, the germ, of all moral obligation. Uttered by the voice of the almighty Law-giver, it is stamped as his own, and given a sacredness and authority suited to its high preëminence. Built upon a firm and solid foundation—the natures and relations of God and the creature—it has remained uninjured by the hand of time as for ages it has swept over the mighty fabric of human laws. Where did Moses get that law? Unlearned, save in the follies of Egypt, whose religion under the debasing influence of polytheism shows puerility and impurity, the opposite of the Bible, whence comes he with this strangely wise and perfect law? Unless written by the hand of God, we have in it a miracle of wisdom.

View, then, the moral rectitude of the Bible in the moral law, the holy character of God, and in the solicitude it shows for holiness in its dispensation of mercy. Is such a book the product of the human mind? Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? What arch-deceiver or impostor ever conceived such laws of purity or inculcated such lessons of holiness? Nothing is further from man's invention than the Bible's theory of morals, at once so lofty and untarnished that it is difficult to say whether it attracts most by the loveliness of its spirit, or transparency of its rectitude.

The discovery which the Scriptures make of the real state, nature, and necessity of man, and the only way of salvation which it unfolds, indisputably establish its claims to a divine origin.

It throws a light upon human history unattainable from any other source; but when once revealed, confirmed by a guilty conscience. This book does what no other book or philosophy has ever accomplished in explaining that insoluble mystery. How a guilty and polluted creature comes to have a place in the creation of an omnipotent, benevolent, and holy God. Its simple explanation is, man was upright, but he has sought out many inventions. Holy and happy he sprang from God's hand, but by his fall a universal and native sinfulness becomes a law of his nature. See how the heart is probed and all the workings of our inner conscience revealed. It penetrates all the intricacies of the inmost labyrinths, lights up the dark recesses of the deepest caverns of the heart, and holds up to the inner man a mirror that flashes conviction upon the mind, so that man stands self-revealed and self-convicted.

How the Scriptures unite with the conscience in testifying to the emptiness and vanity of all earthly objects! How it reveals the thousand evidences of the evanescence of the present existence! The Scriptures with a divine insight make known man's fearful looking for of judgment; his shrinking from that immortality which should be his honor and glory; the deep longing of the human race for moral renovation; of the rankling of an unappeased conscience; of a tremulous hope that dares leap the dark

chasm of the grave and rising to an unseen world, look for a throne of celestial glory. Throwing a ray of light into the night of time, it shows us man a temple in ruins, yet grand, noble, and sacred in its very desolation. Now could other than Omniscience portray these delicate workings of the heart?

The Scriptures answer these yearnings and give a full discovery of the only way for man's salvation. This salvation may be expressed in a brief formula: The redemption of man for the glory of God. Did ever reformer or philanthropist presume to suggest such a scheme? Did ever the ceaseless longings of our misery dare hope for such deliverance? Hear its grand proposal! Deliverance from guilt by justification, from corruption by sanctification. How blessedly, how perfectly adapted to man's necessities! How worthy of heaven! Examine and compare all the religions of the world with the Bible in these discriminating particulars—their conception, execution, and spirit. See their cold and remorseless selfishness in wonderful contrast with the love and infinite tenderness of the gospel. They invite us to leave the blaze of the scorching sun only to give us repose under shades that induce the sleep of death. They look for the elements of restoration where from the nature of the case they cannot exist—in ruined nature itself; leave God's justice unsatisfied and send the corrupt soul to a "pandemonium of sensual vice immortalised." Having a natural heart, the highest ideal was the Elysium of mythology—a flowery abode of sensual joy and pleasure, a paradise where feasting and revelry rule the hour, and black-eyed houris repose in every bower, and whose perfumed air vibrates with licentious melodies.

But the blessed gospel goes to the foundation of the much-needed work, engages the wisdom, love, and omnipotence of God to conceive, develop, and consummate a plan to satisfy divine justice and restore man's ruined nature. It meets those two great requirements, a provision for vindicating the divine government, and means to rectify man's heart and nature. An everlasting salvation is brought in, and a perfecting hand laid upon the four indestructible principles of the human soul. The reason is addressed, and a troubled and perverted conscience rectified and

pacified. It sets forth a pacified conscience and a pacified God—both pacified according to the law of their nature. Here is a balm for every wound, an expiation for his guilt, strength for his weakness, a justification infinitely complete, and a regeneration progressing in sanctification, changing the soul into the glory of the Only-begotten.

Moreover, the scope of this whole plan is to give glory to God. That is not an earthly idea. Until revealed by this heavenly messenger, man never conceived that his chief end was to glorify God. The glory of his own attributes is the great end and motive of the divine action. It is a salvation which exalts by abasing the creature, and tells us that God doeth “all things for himself.” Though the irresistible tendency of the heart, none of its penmen exalt themselves. They place themselves in the dust and exalt him to the highest throne of heaven, and declare that “of him and to him and through him are all things, to whom be glory for ever and ever.”

Must not such a salvation so adapted to man, so worthy of God, have been heaven-born? This beautiful and holy structure could only have sprung from the hand of the Holy One, who is the author of the new heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Does it disclose the heart or the hand of the impostor? Is it merely a mockery, a fictitious pardon, to trifle with the misery of the prisoners confined in this dark world? Surely, it cannot be the jeering laughter from the heart of a fiend, in wild delight over his deluded victim, but rather a smile of celestial love, blessing the children of men.

The crowning and consummating demonstration that the Bible is of God, is to be found in the history, character, and work of Jesus Christ. After pointing the sceptic to the various lights in the dome of truth, we cannot fail to call attention to the central orb which sheds such a soft and gentle radiance over the human heart. This is the crowning light and the crowning argument.

Examine Christ's social position. It is not at all such as Jewish ideas and traditions would have suggested. The Evangelists, in common with their race, expected in the Christ a great temporal monarch, yet the Jesus whom they really portray claims

no earthly throne, levies no armies, and rejects every scheme of worldly ambition. He is of poor parents, born in a manger, works as a carpenter, and after a short public career dies as a common malefactor. Historical reality overruled and corrected Jewish preconceptions, or the Evangelists would never have thus portrayed their hero.

Investigate the teachings and miracles of Je-us. His discourses, infidels being witnesses, are the best and noblest that ever fell from human lips. They disclose truths regarding God and man which had ever eluded human discovery, and are yet unattained by the wisest in lands not lighted by the gospel. Every parable is an inexhaustible mine of truth. They assert their high lineage and stand out in contrast, like shining angels, among the discourses of men. It is impossible that words like these, so sublime, so original, so suggestive, so pregnant of heavenly meaning, can be the production of a few unlettered Jews.

Consider, too, the miracles of Jesus, the complements of his teaching. They are not the mere displays of supernatural power, but relieved by a divine purpose, they all present themselves miracles of mercy, benign interpositions in behalf of the sick, the blind, the dying, the bereaved, and endangered. They are such as to attest and authenticate the mission of Jesus, and also to unfold the beneficent object of his mission. Can we believe that miracles so grand, so benign, so rich in truth, and so in keeping with the method of divine working, are of no higher origin than fraudulent invention?

Let us also look into the character of Jesus and the constitution of his person. The Gospels set him forth as God and man in one person. The conception of such a personality, so constituted, could never have occurred to his biographers without a previous actual embodiment. What a stupendous attempt, to delineate the life and character of one who was perfect man and perfect God in one mysterious person; to narrate the birth, words, and actions of one who must not belie the truth of his Godhead or of his manhood! Yet see, in reality, what beautiful juxtaposition of the divine and human. A helpless babe, he lies in a manger, yet heaven rings with his natal anthem sung by angels.

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A man, he sleeps in the fisherman's bark; yet a God, he speaks to the winds and waves, "Peace, be still." A man, he weeps at the grave of Lazarus; yet a God, he commands, "Lazarus, come forth." As man, he cries on the cross; yet as God, he opens the portals of the kingdom of heaven to the dying penitent.

And how perfectly are his person, character, and offices adapted to our necessities! Prophet to remove ignorance; Priest to expiate guilt; King to rule and subdue enemies. Salvation must be by atonement and regeneration. Christ can make atonement, for he has authority over his life, and that a life worth the sins of the whole world. He can regenerate, for he possesses divine power to baptize the hearts of men with the Holy Spirit.

The perfect and lovely character of Jesus is such as to support the truth of his claims. He was a perfect model of moral excellence, and presented a nature intensely and sublimely holy. This unique character could not have been produced by the spirit of the age, nor have been a result of forces then in action. This would be a colossal effect from an insignificant cause. His character could never be produced by natural causes, yet when once revealed, it is the ideal of all ages. He was spotless incarnate innocence from the cradle to the grave, holy, harmless, and undefiled, a lamb without blemish. Unscathed, he has borne the criticism and inspection of the centuries. His is not mere passive purity as that of the marble statue, but breathes the breath of virtuous activity. In him the principles of beneficence, pity, and compassion body themselves forth in palpable action. He went about doing good. His ambition was to bear away the sorrows of others. From first to last, he was tried in the fiery furnace of the most intense suffering. Though guiltless, Pilate condemned him; the traitor declared that he had betrayed innocent blood. Who has not noted his sublime silence under suffering and wrong, and when those blessed lips are opened, it is only in a prayer for his murderers, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

His character is made up of features altogether unprecedented, whether viewed separately or in combination. There is nothing in the whole range of previous history to be compared with the

benevolence of Jesus. His is a benevolence so extensive as to reach all men of every clime or creed, so tender that it stooped to perform the humblest acts of kindness, so active that it foregoes no opportunity of doing good, so superior and lofty that ingratitude cannot turn it from its path of blessing.

Observe his humility. Is he the greatest of characters? He is at the same time the humblest and the gentlest. Wherever we find him, on the roadside or in the temple, in the huts of the poor or at the banquets of the rich, when stilling the waves or blessing little children, he is clothed in the same beautiful garments of humility.

So might we name the various traits of his character until we had gone round the whole circle and viewed what the Gospels reveal—a character absolutely perfect. Gaze upon it. How it grows in beauty, in symmetry, and in moral excellence! The human race has been progressing ever since the days of Jesus, and society has outgrown the ethics, tastes, and forms of thought then prevailing; but the character of Jesus, far from failing before advancing intellect, has attracted to itself additional love and admiration as the ages rolled on.

Heathen writers have described no such character. Poetry and romance have been unequal to the portrayal. What spotless integrity, love, and faithfulness! What irresistible beauty of character! Are we to suppose such virtues the work of an impostor? Can night with its darkness be the parent of light? Is death the author of life? Then may we believe the character of Jesus Christ to be the invention of man. Can it be a fiction? Then must we believe that a company of impostors and liars composed the noblest and most beautiful model of truth. It is impossible that the loveliest image of virtue that ever commanded the admiration of the wise and good, should spring from the most loathsome vice. Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? An effect must always have an adequate cause. No such cause can be found for the character of Jesus Christ, or for the “many other incomparable excellences and entire perfection” of the Holy Scriptures, save the inspiration of the Spirit of truth. The whole Bible, but especially the life of Jesus, like the Phidian statue of

Minerva, has the name of the divine artist indelibly sculptured throughout in living and eternal characters. They are their own sufficient witness.

A. R. COCKE.

ARTICLE VIII.

CO-OPERATION IN THE FOREIGN MISSION FIELD.*

It was the suggestion of an honored brother, who made an address on Coöperation in Foreign Missions at the last meeting of the Council, that at this meeting special topics of that subject should receive separate consideration. The suggestion was good. The wide-spread work of foreign missions, with its agencies at home and abroad, presents many points at which coöperation is required. To view all these points, even in a cursory way, would exceed the limits prescribed to this paper. We think, therefore, that a practical end will be better reached, if we adopt the suggestion, and we accordingly undertake ~~now to discuss~~ only this one topic—the coöperation of missionaries among the heathen.

Even here we wish, for the time, to restrict our view. At the last Council there was one point connected with this topic which attracted special interest. It is a point which carries with it matters of deep practical concern, and which now presses for consideration in more than one mission field. It is the relation of the missionary to the native Presbytery. On all sides it is seen now that the method of coöperation among missionaries depends largely on the settlement of this point. Stated in the form of a question, the point is: Shall our missionaries be combined with the native presbyters in forming a Presbytery, or shall the native presbyters alone form the Presbytery? It is apparent that if the missionaries combine with the natives in the Presbytery, the missionaries from various countries will coöperate inside of one ecclesiastical organisation. It is equally plain that if the natives alone

*NOTE.—A paper prepared for the third General Council at Belfast.

form the Presbytery, the missionaries will retain their connexion with their respective home Presbyteries. All the Presbyterian missionaries in a field would thus coöperate by bringing the native converts and the native churches into one purely native Presbytery. Which of the two plans shall be preferred? It is this question we shall aim now to discuss.

Among all interested in this matter there is a universal agreement on two points.

First. All would make it their aim that there shall be but one Presbyterian Church in each mission field. No one would wish to extend to the native churches the lines of separation which exist among Presbyterian bodies at home. For us all, the *terminus ad quem* is the same—one purely native Presbyterian Church, self-governing and self-supporting.

Second. All hold that it is a prime duty of the missionary to train the native churches to govern and support themselves. His relation to the infant church among the heathen is, in the tender language of the Apostle Paul, that of a nurse who cherisheth her own children. He should train the young church to stand and walk alone. In doing this, it is plain that at some stage of the training the leading strings must be thrown away. The church must be allowed to guide itself; and here the question arises, at what stage of development should the native church be left so far to itself? At this point we find a divergence of views. On one side it is held that as soon as a presbyterial organisation is effected in a heathen land, the churches should be under the care and control of the native presbyters alone. On the other side it is held that after the presbyterial organisation has been made, the missionaries should unite with the native presbyters in governing and caring for the native churches. We ask again, which plan shall we prefer?

On a question so important as this we might expect that the missionary work of the New Testament would throw some light. And so it does. The conduct of the first missionaries in this matter is plainly held up before us. As soon as a presbyterial organisation was effected in the native church, the church was at once left to the care and control of the native presbyters alone.

When the missionaries "had ordained them elders in every church and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord on whom they had believed," and "passed" on to other work. A missionary in Crete, under the direction of the Apostle Paul, organises the native church, ordaining elders in every city, and thus at once leaves the native presbyters to manage their own affairs, while he rejoins the apostle at Nicopolis. To these first missionaries it was well known that the young native churches under native presbyters would be exposed to great dangers. They saw that "grievous wolves" would enter in among them, "not sparing the flock." They knew that among those very native presbyters some would "arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." They found by experience that there were cases of the grossest immorality in which the native presbyters failed to exercise discipline. And yet, with all this before them, they committed to the native presbyters alone the administration of the native church; they commended these presbyters to God and to the word of his grace, assuring them that thus they might be built up; and the missionaries turned to other work.

With this precedent before us, furnished by men who were inspired of God to lay the foundations of his Church, we can give but one answer to the question which we now consider. What was done at Ephesus and at Antioch should be done at Tokiyo and at Shanghai. We are of those who believe that it is always wise and safe to follow an inspired example, even though we may not see clearly the reasons by which the example is justified. But in this case the reasons are not far to seek, and they have the same force now as in the days when the missionaries of Christ first went forth to the Gentiles. Let us see what these reasons are.

It is plain, in the first place, that if the missionaries unite with the natives in their presbyterial counsels, the tendency will be for the natives to lean on the superior knowledge and intelligence of the missionaries. This must have an enfeebling effect on the natives. To develop their strength they must be made to look directly to God and to the word of his grace. The organisation of a Presbytery on mission ground in our day implies that the gospel has already been preached there a number of years; that the Bible

has been translated ; and that native Christians have been taught the value of prayer. And now to throw the native presbyters directly on their dependence on the Spirit and the word of God, is the true way, as the apostle expressed it to the Ephesian presbyters, to build them up. This does not mean that the missionary is no longer to have any care for the native church. Though the Apostle Paul had committed the government of native churches to native presbyters, there was an important sense in which the care of all those churches came on him daily. So it should be with the missionary now. He should watch the development of the native churches. From time to time he should visit them. He would find that the very weight of responsibility resting on the native presbyters would incline them to listen to his suggestions and counsels ; and by his prayers and exhortations, by his warnings and rebukes, he might do much to confirm the churches in a true faith and a holy life. So it was that Paul and his missionary colleagues went about at times confirming the churches.

And here we must notice what we conceive to be a fallacy on the part of those who favor the union of the missionaries and the natives in a Presbytery. It is said that the presence and the counsels of the missionary in the Presbytery do good ; that they make the management of church affairs safer. There is a sense in which we admit this to be true. When a little child is beginning to walk with uncertain step, an over-anxious mother may stay by its side all the time, and hold it up wherever it goes. There is a sense in which the constant support of the mother does good, and it is safe. But surely, this is not the way to develop and improve the child. There was a time not far back in the history of missions when the foreign missionary acted as pastor of the native church, though there was a native on the ground qualified to act as pastor. Undoubtedly the preaching of the foreign pastor did good ; unquestionably his administration of the church was safe. And yet it is now recognised as an axiom in the science of missions that the foreign pastor should step out and give place to the native pastor. It is conceded on all sides that only thus can the native church become vigorous and self-

reliant. And just so in presbyterial affairs. We have received letters now and then from brethren, admitting that the native presbyters in certain fields are able to manage their own affairs; yet adding that the presence of the missionaries in the Presbytery makes things safe, and their counsels do good. Safe and good, we grant; but hindering greatly the progress towards the *terminus ad quem*. Let the missionaries go out of the Presbytery. Let the native presbyters be left to God and to the word of his grace. Perplexities may arise in the Presbytery. Mistakes may be made. Scandals even may occur. So it was at Corinth, and so it was at Ephesus. But through all these failures the native presbyters and the native Christians under their care will be built up, and the end will be reached—a strong, self-supporting, self-propagating native Church.

But there are other considerations too important to be overlooked. A Presbytery purely native will exert a more wholesome influence among the native population than a Presbytery in which foreigners are members. Among the native Christians there are matters in which they may mistrust the judgment and the counsel which emanate from the foreign missionary. They see that he is raised above the social difficulties which surround them. They know that he is not exposed to the temptations which they are called to meet. They doubt whether he appreciates fully the embarrassments and difficulties by which they are beset. The Japanese Christian who is enjoined by the foreign missionary not to sell mulberry leaves on the Sabbath, may feel that the missionary does not understand the pressure of the market and the urgency of the need when the silk-worm is preparing to spin. The Chinese Christian who is exhorted by the missionary not to bind the feet of his little daughter, may think that the foreigner cannot appreciate the social disadvantage at which the Chinese woman is placed if her feet are of the natural size. The Hindoo Christian may question the ability of his foreign teacher to comprehend all the difficulties of caste. And so in various matters reaching out through the business and social relations of the natives, a judgment influenced by foreign presbyters must come with diminished weight. A judgment in these matters

which comes to a people only from presbyters of their own race, men who move in the same social sphere with themselves, awakens no such mistrust, and, if just, comes with a satisfying power.

And thus in respect to the natives who are not Christians. In China, in Japan, in all the great mission fields, there are high-toned natives who hold aloof from Christianity on account of the foreign influence connected with it. But let it be seen that in the government and care of the native church foreign influence no longer controls, that the administration is purely native, and a repelling force is at once removed. It is clear, too, that this withdrawal of foreigners from the Presbytery must tend to remove any jealousy or suspicion on the part of the civil government towards the church. Take as an example the mission in Mexico. An esteemed brother in that field, whose views we had asked on this subject, writes: "The Romanists and some of the secular papers accuse us of having come here to prepare Mexico for annexation to the United States. If we organise the church and decline to hold on to it ourselves, but turn it over entirely to native control, it will be one of the best refutations of these slanderous accusations." And in every mission field the tendency of this course will be in the same direction.

We have said that the missionaries of the New Testament, as soon as a Presbytery was organised, passed on to other work. It should be observed that the missionaries of our day, by pursuing the same method, will make the most effective use of their strength. The native presbyter, as we have seen, has one advantage over the foreigner in the administration of the native church; the foreign missionary, on the other hand, has an advantage over the native in evangelising the heathen. It is the foreigner who easily attracts an audience. In the street chapel, at the city gate, the heathen stop and throng about him. They are curious to hear a man of another race speak their own tongue, They want to hear this foreign doctrine, as they regard it, declared by one who must know all about it, for he has crossed the sea to tell it. They listen to the word preached by the missionary; they put their questions; they buy the Bibles and tracts which he sells. In evangelising the heathen masses, a foreign

missionary will bring the gospel to far more people than the native preacher or native colporteur can reach; and so he uses his strength to the best advantage, when, with a few native helpers about him whom he daily instructs and encourages, he goes forward to sow broadcast the good seed. It is true that he does not, as did the missionaries of the New Testament, go on to other lands. In that one land where he is, he sees before him vast unevangelised districts. These are to him the "regions beyond." He reminds the native presbyters that he is ever willing to be a servant to them and to the native churches, as far as the great duties before him will allow; but his main work must be among the heathen. He cannot, therefore, be associated with them in their Presbytery, and he must commend them to God and to his word, while he goes forward, with those whom they designate to go with him, to tell the glad tidings to their countrymen beyond. We can hardly imagine anything better fitted than this to put a right spirit into the native churches and to hasten on the evangelisation of the whole land.

But let us recur now more directly to this matter as it affects the coöperation of missionaries of different Churches. When missionaries have united with natives in presbyterial organisations, various anomalies have presented themselves; and when coöperation has been undertaken, the magnitude of the anomalies has increased. We have seen in one mission field the Form of Government of the home Church translated and made the rule for the native church, and among a people who have not a single book in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, it has been enjoined that every candidate for the ministry shall write and present a Latin essay, and be examined as to his knowledge of the original languages of the Bible.¹ We have seen in another mission field not only the weighty symbols of the Westminster Assembly, but in addition the symbols of the Synod of Dort, laid upon the native church, the young Presbyterian organisation being required to bear a burden which hardly any home church would venture to assume.

¹ Happily, the Form of Government allowed some parts of trial to be dispensed with in "extraordinary cases," and so every native ordained to the ministry was treated as an extraordinary case!

We have seen missionaries holding membership at the same time in two Presbyteries—the home Presbytery and the native. We have seen presbyters of two races so combined in a Presbytery, that the Presbytery had power to depose from the ministry a member of one race, but had no power to depose a member of the other race.¹ We have seen a General Assembly considering a proposition for the “distributive representation” of the native church members, in cases where the missionaries and the natives of two or more missions have entered into coöperation, that is to say, considering how many of the native flock should be allotted to one Assembly and how many to another Assembly; how many of the far-away sheep should be counted as belonging to the United States and how many to Great Britain. These and various other anomalies we have seen; and while it may be said that they are not inherent in the system and may be got rid of, yet we believe that it will be found that as long as missionaries are united with natives in presbyterial organisations, an anomalous and complex state of things must exist.

On the other hand, let the Presbyteries be purely native, and how simple and easy the plan of coöperation becomes! The missionaries of the different Churches hold their original presbyterial connexions unaffected. They may meet together annually in council, and discuss and arrange matters of common interest. In all their work they have a common end. There can be no rivalry as to which mission shall attach to itself the greatest native following. Each mission brings its native following and contributes it to one native church, governed by native presbyters. All the reapers cast their sheaves into one garner. No question can be raised as to whether the symbols of this Presbyterian body or that Presbyterian body shall be adopted, or whether both alike shall be made to bind. It is recognised by all that a purely native church has need of symbols different from either those of Westminster or those of Dort; and the native presbyters, aided and advised by able men, chosen by the council from among its own members, frame symbols suited to the native church. The anomalies and complexities are all gone.

¹ An arrangement certainly not fitted to diminish race prejudice or to illustrate the parity of the ministry.

In conclusion, we may be allowed to express our surprise that a plan of coöperation so simple and so scriptural should have been suspected by some as being prelatical in its features. It has been imagined that the missionaries remaining outside of the Presbytery are in danger of exercising "undue lordship" over the native church; that the arrangement involves "distinctions of ecclesiastical position which are to be deprecated"; and especially that in organising the native church the missionaries are without any safe and prudent method for ordaining presbyters. In answer to all this, we would say that the plan which has been given, from the beginning to the last step, seems to us singularly free from dangers of any kind. The missionaries arrive in a field; they preach the gospel and translate the Bible. Converts are gathered in several cities and instructed. The time has come for organising the native church. Men qualified to be presbyters are chosen. The missionaries acting jointly ordain them. There is no place here for Prelacy. It was not one man acting alone that ordained presbyters at Lystra and Iconium and Antioch. It was "they," the missionaries, who ordained elders in every church. Our missionaries in this day are sent forth by the General Assembly of the home Church. In our ecclesiastical arrangement, they may be regarded as a commission of the Assembly, empowered to ordain in the mission field. As a commission, they are bound to act in concert. So the missionaries from one Assembly and the missionaries from another Assembly, in different parts of the same field, organise churches. Now they bring all these churches into organic union, and a Presbytery is formed. If the missionaries are disposed to hold lordship over the native church, their best plan here evidently is to become members of the Presbytery. In the Presbytery they may take the reins; they may sway the natives; they may control the church. But no; they take a humbler place. They leave the guidance and control of the native church to native hands. The native presbyters appreciate the confidence reposed in them. They honor the self-abnegation shown by their foreign brethren. The bonds of sympathy and fellowship between native and foreigner are drawn yet closer, and any suggestion, any counsel, from the mis-

sionary comes to the native church stamped with the value of a disinterested affection, which in honor has preferred another.

And so, from first to last, this plan of coöperation seems to us in accordance with apostolical example, for the highest welfare of the native church, for the promotion of happy relations between the missionary and the natives, for the advancement and rapid progress of the evangelistic work, and to the praise of the glory of the grace of God.

M. H. HOUSTON.

Since the above article was written, the writer has received a letter from Rev. John L. Nevius, D. D., an honored missionary of the Northern Presbyterian Church, laboring in the Shantung province, China. Dr. Nevius has been a missionary for thirty-one years, and stands in the first rank of successful workers in the great field of China. His practical wisdom is appreciated by all who know him and his work. He has been for many years an active member of a Presbytery and a Synod composed of Chinese and American presbyters. His views, therefore, as to the expediency of such mixed presbyterial organisations are entitled to great weight. His letter on this subject was not written with any view to publication; yet we trust that we do not take too great a liberty in giving here some extracts from it. He writes:

“For some years past I have entertained a decided and growing preference for the second plan for organising mission Presbyteries given in your letter—*i. e.*, the plan of having the Presbyteries on mission ground purely native; the foreigner retaining his original connexion with his home Presbytery.

“I think the home Church would obtain a decided advantage from this plan by the intimate organic relation it would sustain with the foreign fields through missionaries retaining their relation to their home Presbyteries, thus representing them abroad and keeping up a correspondence. Under the other plan, mission Presbyteries are apt to be regarded too much simply as offshoots, so far removed from the mother Church that it is im-

possible to know much about them, or exercise much care over them.

“The following would be, in my view, some of the advantages which would result from the proposed plan to the native churches :

“1. This plan expresses more naturally than the other the real relation which the foreign missionary sustains to the native church, and makes the most of his influence for good among his native co-laborers. The natives regard the missionary as God’s messenger to them from and through the foreign Church, and look up to him with a remarkable deference and respect. Of course, native presbyters treat missionaries with great deference under the other plan, but this plan tends to foster and increase this respect, which the other does not.

“2. This plan avoids the danger, evidently connected with the other, of exciting in the native presbyters pride and self-conceit, a sin which they very easily fall into, and which may be followed by very serious consequences to them and the native churches.

“3. In case the position of a missionary in the native Presbytery should become unpleasant and embarrassing, he could withdraw with self-respect and dignity, and probably exert a salutary influence on the Presbytery. According to the other plan, he would be tied to the Presbytery and overruled by a majority of natives.

“4. In case a native Presbytery should become erratic or heretical, the plan you propose would meet the case with a better hope of a happy solution than the other, as according to this plan the native Presbytery would appear in opposition to its foreign teachers and the Church at home represented by them ; while according to the other plan it would only be a foreign minority in opposition to a native majority. This is all on the supposition that the native presbyters would far outnumber the foreign, which is sure to be the case at no distant period. In our Presbytery they will very soon outnumber us ten to one.

“5. The proposed plan would avoid any serious difficulties and complications which would almost necessarily arise in case an erratic or heretical foreign presbyter should be tried by a native Presbytery of which he was a member. Should he be found

guilty, he would probably appeal to the foreign Synod or General Assembly, and the difficulties of a foreign church court trying a case on the records of a native Presbytery can be easily imagined.

“The above are some of the advantages which occur to me as belonging to the proposed plan. Of course, serious difficulties which might arise could only be partially obviated by this or any other plan. I would only claim that this plan meets and solves the difficulties more naturally and effectively than the other. In working out this plan, many details would have to be considered which it is impossible to treat of in a letter. I believe that all such details could be naturally and satisfactorily arranged, without serious practical difficulty.”

M. H. H.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The avalanche of Christmas books has not yet altogether swallowed up the works of more sobriety of aspect, if not really of greater solidity and merit. One of the noblest contributions to the serious literature of our time is the latest of the biographies of our Lord in English¹—the one by the Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn; which we rejoice to observe has been reissued, and at a much lessened cost, in this country. An admirable writer on the other side of the water has brought a striking remark about the three Synoptics—the three Gospels of the manhood of Jesus, showing him to be Son of David, Son of Israel, and Son of man—into perilous juxtaposition with a comparative estimate of three contemporory lives of the Redeemer—that of Farrar, that of Geikie, and that of Edersheim. Edersheim, according to this writer, exhibits Jesus as a Jew for the Jews. But Edersheim does far more. He considers our Lord on the human, but also on the superhuman and divine, side of his complex and mysterious personality. The author's easy mastery of the whole field of Rabbinical learning, the thoroughness with which he has digested his varied and exact knowledge, his reconstructive imagination and descriptive power, his comprehensive back-ground, his sound judgment, and his generally orthodox view-point, place him in advance of the other writers of his class. He is withal liberal in a good sense in his views, which are indeed hardly up to the high Calvinistic standard. Four additional volumes of the Pulpit Commentary² claim our notice. This is a con-

¹The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. By Alfred Edersheim, M. A., Oxon., D. D., Ph. D., Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. Two volumes, royal 8vo., 1500 pages, \$6.00, by mail \$6.50. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., New York.

²The Pulpit Commentary. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, M. A., and by the Rev. Joseph S. Exall, M. A. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.; London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co.

The Acts of the Apostles. Exposition and Homiletics by the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Lord A. C. Hervey, D. D. 2 vols., pp. xiv., xi., 457, 345. About 162 pages of Exposition and 640 of Homiletics.

geries of expositions and of sermons; but, as we have remarked before, the sermons are like the lean kine of Egypt and eat everything else up. It is no objection to the work that it is practical rather than critical. It is not devoid of critical exegesis, but in the main it presents the results rather than the processes. Of course, the different authors vary in ability and learning, and they also vary in their degrees of doctrinal soundness. Lord Hervey's name was an assurance of force and ingenuity, but the extreme Episcopal pretensions are now confessedly destitute of historical basis. The authors on Leviticus bring out the symbolical marrow of the old law, but are not fully up to the mark in their treatment of the doctrine of expiation. Probably the most valuable portion of the Commentary is contained in the several Introductions, and especially in Dr. W. L. Alexander's cogent defence of the Pentateuch. Dr. Alexander's estimate of the Old Testament as a whole is not quite so satisfactory. The creeping leprosy of Continental scepticism occasionally infects, to some extent at least, with its subtle virus even the guileless pages of these serene and portly Church of England divines. On the whole, however, they have done well, and the product of their labors is useful and interesting, though not perfectly safe.

It is a good as well as a new thing to have Tyndale's Pentateuch¹ in a separate form. After all, William Tyndale is the

Leviticus. Introductions by the Rev. R. Collins and the Rev. Prof. A. Cave, B. A. Exposition and Homiletics by the Rev. F. Meyrick, M. A. Pp. xiv., xxxi., x., vi., 435. About 78 pages of Exposition and 357 of Homiletics.

Numbers. Introduction by Thomas Whitelaw, M. A. Exposition and Homiletics by the Rev. R. Winterbotham, LL. B., M. A., B. Sc. Pp. xxii., xvi., iv., 461. About 143 pages of Exposition and 318 pages of Homiletics.

Deuteronomy. Exposition by the Rev. W. L. Alexander, D. D. Homiletics by the Rev. C. Clemance, B. A., D. D. Pp. xliii., viii., 577. About 101 pages of Exposition, and 476 of Homiletics.

¹ William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses, called the Pentateuch. Printed A. D. 1530. Reprinted verbatim, collated with the edition of 1534, *Matthew's Bible* of 1537, *Stephani Biblia* of 1528, and Luther's *Das Alte Testament* of 1523; together with the chapter summaries and marginal notes from *Matthew's Bible*, the marginal notes of Luther and Prolegomena. By J. L. Mombert, D. D. This edition of the first Eng-

great translator from the original into English. Nearly all else is little more than mere revision. The authorised version is indeed much more than a revision, but is still based on Tyndale. The Canterbury version is in a general way based on the authorised, and is in the main exact and scholarlike, but is not sufficiently homely and racy of the soil to meet with popular acceptance.

It is gratifying to see that Professor Bruce's admirable work on the Parables of our Lord¹ has gone to a second edition. We have commonly small patience with the psychological disquisitions, whether ancient or modern, on the soul and the spirit. Dr. Dickson's discussion of the Pauline terms *Flesh* and *Spirit*² is exceptionally able and trenchant. He is not so happy in his treatment of the Pauline term *mind* in Rom. vii., and his mistake as to the apostle's scope from the 14th verse and onward of that chapter is either a cause or an effect of the critic's somewhat too narrow view as to the meaning of the term *flesh* in these Epistles. No man but a semi-Pelagian can consistently adopt the view of Meyer, Godet, and the rest, that this section describes the experience of the unregenerate. The unrenewed sinner has no "inward man," and does not "delight in the law of God."

The latest, most exact and comprehensive, and at the same time compendious of the Bible Dictionaries, is the new edition of Dr. Schaff.³ The honored and indefatigable editor has informed us that this work was based on an earlier one of a more elementary sort by Dr. Archibald Alexander. It need not be added that

lish translation of the Pentateuch, now for the first time reprinted in separate form, is made from the copy in the Lenox Library, New York. Large paper copy. Edition limited to 500 copies. 8vo., cloth, 750 pp., 1 vol., \$6.50. A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

¹The Parabolic Teaching of Christ. *Second Edition.* A Systematic and Critical Study of the Parables of our Lord. By the Rev. Dr. Prof. A. B. Bruce. 1 vol., 8vo., cloth, 527 pp., \$2.50. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York.

²St. Paul's Use of the Terms *Flesh* and *Spirit*. The Baird Lecture for 1883. By Prof. W. P. Dickson, D. D. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1883.

³The American Sunday-school Union's Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D. *Third edition.* Made larger and handsomer and reduced in price from \$2.50 to \$2.00.

the work has been entirely remodelled and rewritten so as to meet the modern requirements. Doctor Thomson became interested in such matters as now chiefly occupy the intervals of repose that are allowed him by his exacting professional duties, through a Bible class which he conducted in New York. It goes without saying that the present work is one of unusual value.¹ Those who heard the eloquent speech erroneously styled a "paper" of the minister from Kirkaldy on "Lessons from other Churches," will be glad to read his "Life of Christ,"² which, although not wholly impervious to adverse criticism, is well adapted on most accounts to the uses of the series of Handbooks to which it belongs.

The expression, "Theological Encyclopædia,"³ has not even yet become perfectly domiciliated in our vernacular nomenclature. It is used by the Germans, and their English imitators, to designate in one wide embrace all the various branches of theology. The familiar distribution is into exegetical, historical, dogmatic, and practical. Amongst the "encyclopædists" (in this sense) of Germany and of the world, Hagenbach is one of the acknowledged chiefs. The Montanism of the second century led on to the Donatism of the third. The party of ascetic and fanatical Puritanism makes its baleful reappearance in almost every age of the Church's progress. The whole question discussed by Dr. Voelter⁴ turns on the innocence or guilt of Felix. The Tübingen scholar decides (but as it would appear, on inadequate

¹ The Great Argument, or Jesus Christ in the Old Testament. By William H. Thomson, M. A., M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, Medical Department University of New York. Pp. xlv., 471. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1884.

² Hand-books for Bible Classes and Private Students. Edited by the Rev. Marcus Dods, D. D., and the Rev. Alexander Whyte, D. D. The Life of St. Paul. By the Rev. James Stalker, M. A., Kirkaldy, Author of "The Life of Christ." Pp. 149. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1884; New York: Scribner & Welford.

³ Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology, on the Basis of Hagenbach. By George R. Crooks, D. D., and John F. Hurst, D. D. Pp. 596. New York: Philips & Hunt.

⁴ Der Ursprung des Donatismus. nach den Quellen untersucht und dargestellt. Von Lic. Dr. Daniel Voelter, Repetent am evang. theol. Sem. in Tübingen. 1883. New York: B. Westermann & Co.

grounds) for his guilt. The Bryennios manuscript has awakened once more the spirit of unwearied and profound research into the patristic archives of the first three centuries. Of the critiques that have appeared, probably the most important is this elaborate one of Gebhart and Harnack,¹ who so recently brought "the Teaching" to the knowledge of European and American scholars. It is undoubtedly genuine, and was treated with reverence by such early writers as Clement of Alexandria. It is probably to be referred to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, and is of the highest importance in determining the New Testament polity and canon, and has its bearings also on the text. The two works of Professor Sayce² and Dr. Wright³ are of capital authority and excellence. The legend of the Wandering Jew is skilfully traced by Dr. Neubaur⁴ from its beginnings to its large dimensions and mysterious persistence in the Middle Ages.

The crucial problem⁵ of Irish history has reference to an alleged massacre which preceded, or attended, the Rebellion of 1641. If the massacre occurred (which is denied even by Lingard and accepted only in a qualified way by Leckie,) then the turbulent Irish papists were the original aggressors, and thus provoked a truculent and memorable retaliation at the hands of Cromwell. Now this is exactly what has just been proved *ex*

¹ Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, von Oskar von Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack. II. Band, Heft 1. Lehre der zwölf Apostel, nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts, von Adolf Harnack. I. Hälfte, pp. 70, 100; II. Hälfte, pp. 101-294. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1884.

² Ancient Empires of the East. By Prof. A. H. Sayce. 1 vol., 12mo., \$1.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

³ The Empire of the Hittites. By Wm. Wright, B. A., D. D. With Decipherment of Hittite Inscriptions, by Prof. A. H. Sayce, LL. D.; a Hittite Map, by Col. Sir Charles Wilson, F. R. S., etc., and Capt. Conder, R. E.; and a complete set of Hittite Inscriptions. Revised by Mr. W. H. Rylands, F. S. A. 1 vol., 8vo., cl., \$6.00. Scribner & Welford.

⁴ Die Sage vom Ewigen Juden. Untersucht von Dr. L. Neubaur. Leipzig, 1884. Pp. vi., 131. B. Westermann & Co., New York.

⁵ Ireland in the Seventeenth Century; or, The Irish Massacres of 1641-2; their Causes and Results. By Mary Hickson. With a preface by J. A. Froude, M. A. 2 vols., London, Longmans, pp. 399, 488. 1884.

abundante, from the original papers, by a gifted but remorseless Irish lady. There is a spiritual aroma about the writings of Archbishop Leighton, as well as an exquisite literary glow and delicacy, that have made his otherwise valuable works a precious heritage to the lovers of saintly virtue and unstudied fervor and grace.¹ The late Frederick Denison Maurice belonged in some things to the Broad, and in others to the High Church parties. Personally he was cold and austere to the unsympathetic, but sweet and irresistibly impressive to a chosen few. His opinions were often vague, erratic, and heterodox.² In sharp contrast with the career of Maurice was that of Theophilus Dodds.³

The author of some of the latest and best essays in the Theistic controversy is a Romish writer, but admits the unfettered use of reason in the domain of natural religion, and is one of the acutest dialecticians and most redoubtable and unanswerable apologists of his day. Dr. Ward is one of the few men who was ever able to make John Mill bite the dust in the throes of visible confutation. He is sometimes obscure, and has an ugly trick of coining barbarous and, of course, unnecessary technical terms. Another of the great apologists of our era is the Duke of Argyle, whose new book on "The Unity of Nature"⁵ is worthy of the distinguished author's high position as a Christian thinker and man of science. His argument is a profound and original, and at times engaging, discussion of the relative place which man holds

¹ Archbishop Leighton. A biography with selections from his writings. By William Blair, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo., neatly bound in parchment, gilt edge and side, \$1.25. A. C. Armstrong & Son.

² The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, chiefly told in his own letters. Edited by his son, Frederick Maurice. In two volumes. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.

³ Life and writings of Rev. George Theophilus Dodds. By Horatio Bonar, D. D. Robert Carter & Brothers, Publishers, N. Y.

⁴ Essays on the Philosophy of Theism. By the late George Ward, Ph. D., sometime Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, and Professor of Moral Philosophy and Dogmatic Theology at Old Hall College, Ware. Reprinted from the *Dublin Review*. 2 vols., pp. 390, 349. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co.

⁵ The Unity of Nature. By the Duke of Argyle. Pp. 571. New York: G. P. Putman's Sons.

in the well-ordered scheme of God's creation. The reasoning is not always clear, or always consistent, and is not in every instance apparently conclusive; but on the whole the gifted peer seems to have made out his principal point, which is to lead the mind of the student of nature from nature up to nature's God. The excellent Dr. Moody Stuart, of Glasgow, has given us a strong and most acceptable defence of the Old Testament Scriptures.¹

Travellers and missionaries unite in describing popular Buddhism as a system of degraded idolatry. Philosophic and mystic Buddhism, on the other hand, is constantly set forth in the most laudatory manner by astute critics in the department of comparative theology, and has recently been decked out in the charms of a poesy that is as alluring and melodious as it is erudite. Mr. Sennett has a word to say on this subject that may deserve the attention of those whose interest in the matter has not yet flagged.² We have a high respect for the abilities of the Cosmic Philosopher of Harvard. He is somewhat more than an American echo of Mr. Herbert Spencer, and in his latest book³ appears less like an out-and-out agnostic than he does like a sort of vague theist. He and his school of wholesale evolutionists will find it difficult to answer the Duke of Argyle's telling argument from the proved superiority of brutes to man on the assumption that the *instinct* of brutes is the result of unaided processes of nature. Man acquires his somewhat fluctuating and often injurious habits through a course of training; whereas the brutes *proprio motu* have, according to the evolutionist, acquired permanent, unvarying, and beneficial habits.

¹ The Bible True to Itself. A Treatise on the Historical Worth of the Old Testament. By A. Moody Stuart, D. D., author of "An Exposition of the Song of Solomon," etc. James Nisbet & Co., London, 1884.

² Esoteric Buddhism. By A. P. Sennett. *New and Cheap Edition*. With an introduction prepared expressly for the American edition by the author. 16mo., \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

³ The Destiny of Man. Viewed in the Light of his Origin. By John Fiske, author of "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy," "The Unseen World," "Excursions of an Evolutionist," etc. 16mo., \$1.00. *Ibid.*

Whatever may have been Dr. Herrick's¹ motive for his title to his crown octavo on certain of the Reformers of the first and second Reformations, the title is one that at once piques and (in connexion with the title page) satisfies the curiosity. The theme is one of the deepest popular as well as religious interest, and the names have been so chosen as to make a vivid no less than a salutary impression. Dr. Eugene Schuyler is thoroughly acquainted with Russia and the Russians, and is one of the best writers of to-day. His topic could not have been better selected. We think more highly of Peter the Great than he appears to do. A member of the Senate and Academy of Russia is our authority for saying that Catherine was purely selfish and ambitious. Peter was animated by a desire to consult the welfare of his country. But then Peter would get drunk every night, and received the ambassadors in a tavern. It is his signal and unique claim to recognition that it was he who conceived and created St. Petersburg and modern Russia.² Yet he was half savage.

Whatever Max Müller writes is worthy of being read. It will be peculiarly interesting to follow the learned philologist and expert *litterateur* in what must seem to him to be the "primrose paths of dalliance" amidst graver studies.³ Bayard Taylor was the man of whom that splenetic old cynic Alexander Von Humboldt said that he had travelled farther and seen less than anybody he had ever met. This was a sour and unjust description. Bayard Taylor was an exceedingly capable and versatile man of letters. He was moreover a strong man in point of character, an indefatigable worker, honest, humane, and generous, though considerably tinctured (at one time at all events) with radical ideas, both in politics and religion.⁴ Payn's Literary Recollections

¹ Some Heretics of Yesterday. By S. E. Herrick, D. D. Crown 8vo., \$1.50. Contents: Tauler and the Mystics; Wycklif; John Huss; Savonarola; Latimer; Cranmer; Melancthon; Knox; Calvin; Coligny; William Brewster; John Wesley. *Ibid.*

² Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia. A Study of Historical Biography. By Eugene Schuyler, Ph. D., LL. D. 2 vols., 1004 pp., 8vo. Charles Scribner's Sons.

³ Biographical Essays. By Max Müller. 1 vol., 12mo., \$2.00. *Ibid.*

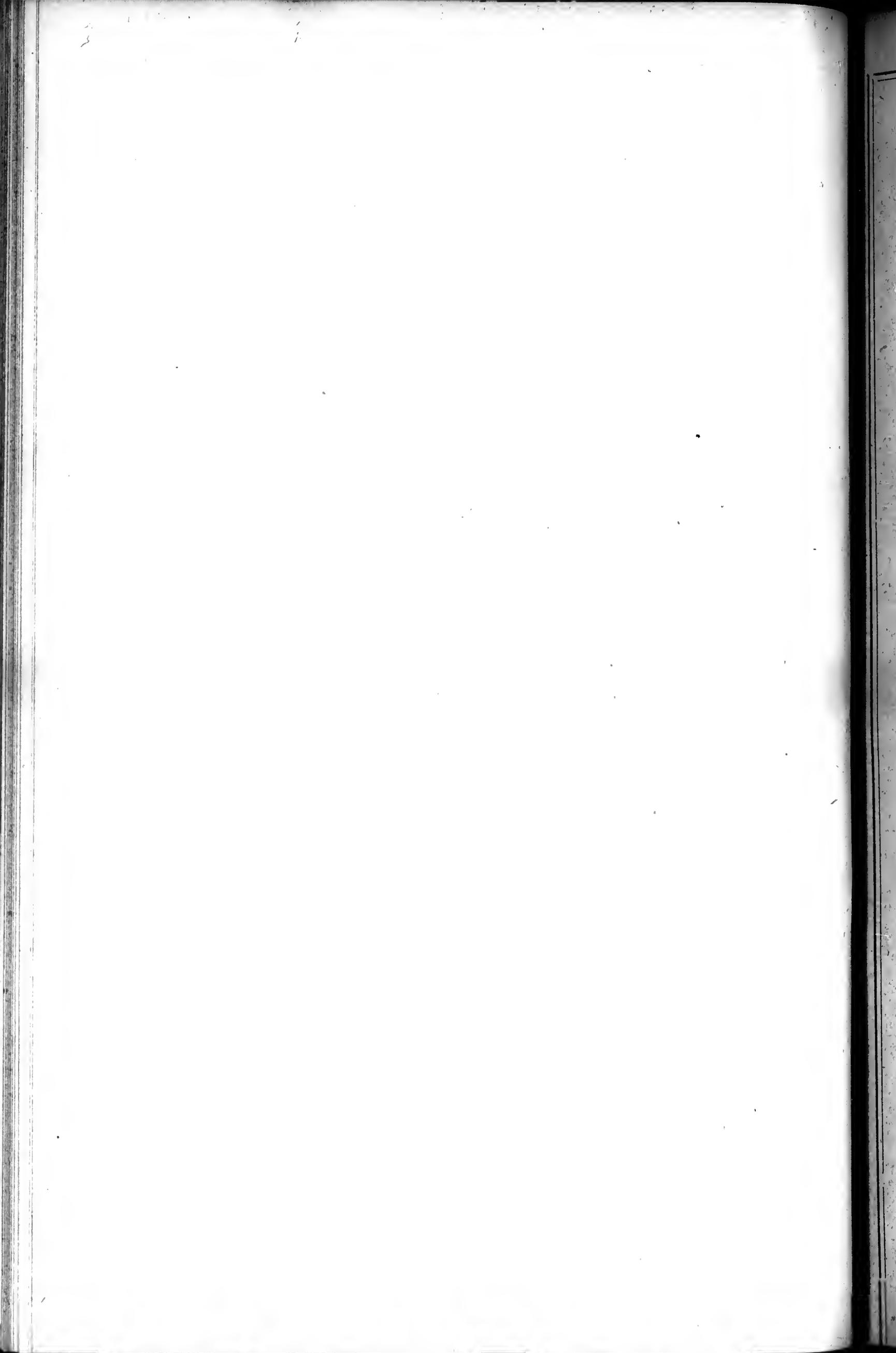
⁴ Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor. Edited by Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder. 1 vol., 8vo., \$1.50. *Ibid.*

richly deserves a place on the same shelf with Ticknor's *Memoirs* and Crabbe Robinson's *Diary*.¹ We suspect Col. C. Chaillé Long of jealousy of "Chinese Gordon," whom it is the object of his book² to depreciate and run down. In this we may be mistaken. If Long is right, however, everybody else is wrong. Judge Tourgee has written several works that were clever, but uncalled for. One of them was a baseless partisan fiction. The latest of the series is unfounded and sensational.³

¹ *Some Literary Recollections*. By James Payn. 1 vol., 12mo., \$1.00. New York, Harper & Bros.

² *The Three Prophets*. By Col. C. Chaillé Long. 1 vol., 12mo., \$1.50. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

³ *An Appeal to Cæsar*. By Albion W. Tourgee. 1 vol., 12mo., \$1.00. New York: Forde, Howard & Hulbert.



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With the address of each subscriber, we now print the date of the last number for which he has paid. For example, those who have paid in full for the current volume—Vol. XXXVI.—will find after their names, "Oct. '85," which means that they have paid for the October number of 1885, and of course for all preceding it. If any one has paid for all past volumes, and one dollar on XXXVI., he will find "Jan." or "Jny, '85 and 25c.;" which means that he has paid for the January number of 1885, and 25 cents on the April number. And so in other cases.

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THE SOUTHERN
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VOL. XXXVI.—NO. 2.

APRIL, MDCCCLXXXV.

ARTICLE I.

MODERN HOMILETICS.¹

The foremost literary man of a period not the most recent, marked a characteristic of his age in the words:

“Of making many books there is no end,
and much reading is a weariness to the flesh.”

We wonder what would be his impression, could he stand on the banks and measure the volume of that stream which flows so steadily and increasingly from the printing presses of to-day. No branch of this great river—not all of it so pure and wholesome as it might be—is larger than that devoted to homiletics.

¹ 1. *Yale Lectures on Preaching*. 8 Vols. 1872-3-4, Beecher; 1875, Hall; 1876, Taylor; 1877, Brooks; 1877, Dale; 1879, Simpson.

2. “*Homiletics*.” 3 Vols. Vinet, 1854; Shedd, 8th ed.; Hoppin, 1883.

3. “*The Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*,” 1871; “*A History of Preaching*,” 1879, Broadus.

4. “*Lectures on Sacred Rhetoric*,” 1881, Dabney.

5. “*Lectures to My Students*.” 2 Vols. *First Series*, 1875. *Second Series*, 1877, Spurgeon.

6. “*The Theory of Preaching*,” 1881; “*English Style in Public Discourse*,” 1883, Phelps.

7. “*The Art of Extempore Speech*,” 1859, Bautain. “*Conditions of Success in Preaching without Notes*,” 1875, Storrs. “*Extempore Preaching*,” 1884, Wilder Smith.

8. “*The Principles of Written Discourse*,” 1884, Hunt.

In few departments of thought has the quickening been greater or the life more prolific. Many have been the offspring; and while over some of these children of the study or lecture-desk our ancient preacher would doubtless utter his familiar refrain, yet it would be exaggeration indeed to add, *All is vanity*. Many of these works are admirable in spirit, matter, and method; so clear, simple, and forceful is the analysis of the elements of pulpit power, and so plain the guidance to its attainment, that preaching seems the easiest thing in the world and the low level of average sermonising a strange phenomenon; a strangeness much mitigated, however, by personal experience, which, alas! gives to this aforesaid phenomenon the familiar features of a humiliating intimacy.

This introduction suggests the propriety of some apology for adding even a trifle so light as this monograph to the already mighty mass; our apology shall be the reply of the little girl who, when asked in the impatience of rebuke why she talked so much, answered, "'Cause I've got something to say." A careful study of a score of recent works¹ on this topic has begotten the conviction that we have something to say, and we say it because of the modest opinion that it is worth hearing.

¹The purpose of this paper does not allow space for criticism of these works in detail, though it is an inviting field. But we cannot pass Prof. Phelps's excellent *Theory of Preaching* without protest and warning against some of his positions; the more so as they have passed unchallenged in the many laudatory criticisms of the work. We take issue most decidedly with—

1. His "application of the philosophy of common sense to exegesis." Pp. 149-152.

2. The "materials of exposition as found in the facts of natural science." P. 153.

3. His view of Calvinism as not "workable" in the pulpit. Pp. 478-490.

The first two points we consider destructive *practically* of the Bible's authority as a guide, making it virtually inferior to mental and physical science and the lessons of an always dubious, and sometimes infidel, "Political Progress." After maintaining that Calvinism is not workable in the pulpit, he is driven to spend *ten* pages in accounting for the notorious fact that the preëminently and conspicuously working pulpits of the earth have been Calvinistic!

Preaching is the "double-tree" bolt of the minister's "gear"; it is just the point where the strength of the whole team connects with the load. It is the hook at the chain's end by which every link is made to draw or hold; no chain however long and strong is stronger than its hook—many and multiform may be the links, yet all hinge on the hook at last; so whatever may be the minister's resources of knowledge, ability, or scholarship, his preaching is his hook, preaching in its narrowest sense. Ability, talents, scholarship, culture, *may all exist apart from good preaching*. The finest team on earth cannot pull the smallest load if the bolt is out of the double-tree; the strongest chain is weak with a weak hook. If this estimate of the importance of preaching is just, then the subject must ever enlist interest, arouse attention, and give voice to the views of men *engaged in the work*; and their views ought to be always welcome, for as a general thing the writer on homiletics is not a *preacher*; we need more frequent contributions to the theory from those engaged in the practice.

We wish on the very threshold to raise a radical issue, to challenge an unquestioned supremacy; we wish to start in the reader's mind the question whether there is, strictly speaking, any such distinct species as "Sacred Rhetoric."¹ Why this, any more than a legal rhetoric for the court-house, a legislative rhetoric for the state-house, a platform rhetoric for the lecture-desk? Distinguishing sharply homiletics from exegesis and hermeneutics, leaving out of view the ascertaining of the meaning of the text, and restricting homiletics strictly to the presentation of the truth when ascertained—"the science that teaches the fundamental principles of public discourse as applied to the proclamation and teaching of divine truth in regular assemblies gathered for the purpose of Christian worship"²—supposing then the material gathered, is there any distinctive difference between the laws governing its arrangement, argument, and illustration and those which govern the lawyer before a jury or the lecturer before a lyceum? The reader will please "docket" that question.

We were once much struck with a remark of a ruling elder, a

¹ Vinet, p. 22. ² Hoppin, p. 9.

man whose age, experience, acquaintance with men, conservatism, and influence, gave weight to his words. Said he:

“If our church were seeking a preacher, I wouldn’t want a man whom the preachers recommended; *preaching that pleases preachers doesn’t suit the people.*”

Coming from the source it did, that remark startled us and set us to thinking; the reader will find it worthy of study. How much truth is there in the judgment? It suggests a question the answer to which is largely decisive of this whole matter of homiletics. The gist of the remark is that the preacher’s ideal of preaching is not the true one. What is this ideal and whence comes it? The student enters homiletics abruptly, so to speak, with no preparation leading up to it; it is a new field, entirely new; he begins the study with mind unprejudiced and unbiassed by any introductory course; his ideal is, therefore, purely and exclusively the fruit of his training; his guide is the text-book, it is his *ipse dixit*, and he has no other *dixit* on the subject; in a preëminent sense, then, his ideal is the text-book’s ideal. Returning now to the elder’s remark, we see that in saying that the preaching which pleases preachers does not suit the people, he uttered a virtual, though unintentional, indictment against the homiletic standards.

The standard of the text-book is only a somewhat modernised form of the sermon as it has been known for ages; it took substantially the present shape about sixteen hundred years ago. Being so old there is strong presumption in its favor, *but it is not the oldest.*

“During the third and fourth centuries there were great changes wrought in the method of preaching—in fact, in its very theory. From its being of a very artless character, preaching began to be built upon an oratorical form. It took more and more the shape of the intellectual productions of the highest classical civilisation of the day. It began to vie with the performances of the Greek rhetorician and orator, bringing in all the helps to be derived from learning and eloquence, . . . but it was, after all, a transition period, in which the former simpler and more biblical system of preaching culminated (perhaps in some respects we might say fossilised) into the regular sermon.”¹

¹ Hoppin, *Hist. of Preaching*, pp. 61, 65, of “*Homiletics*.”

It was born, then, no earlier than the third century; the homiletic standard of to-day is substantially Aristotle's; Origen was its father, but Aristotle its grandfather. Pretty good family this, but not the best; it is after all, comparatively speaking, but a *novus homo* and when introduced was as complete and radical a change as is conceivable. It has been handed down to us, and even at this late day we question its authority. We mark the greatness of its innovation at the time it was introduced; we emphasise its complete contrast to the scriptural, the apostolic, and immediately post-apostolic style. There is no kinship between this child of Greek philosophy and rhetoric and the preaching in the Gospels and the Acts; it is modelled somewhat closely upon the words which man's wisdom teacheth and is suspiciously like that something (much disputed of late) which Paul expressly disowned. It may possibly account for some loss of power in the inevitable drift towards a practical ignoring of that supreme dependence upon the Spirit of God and him alone which stands out so prominently in the New Testament ideal; so prominently indeed as to dwarf every other qualification into such minute and mote-like insignificance that when we wish to find the foundations of our towering and splendid superstructure, we are driven to conduct the search through the medium of a microscopic criticism.

We remember hunting some years ago with some friends; one spied a squirrel away up in the forks of a tree, he fired but failed to bring it down; we then fired each several shots in rapid succession, but with no better effect. It turned out that we were peppering shot into a very squirrel-like looking knot.

Of course a minister's preaching will be determined by his idea of a sermon. What, then, is a sermon? Is it a formal treatise, an elaborate oration, an exhaustive discussion of a theme perfectly mastered; original, logical, profound; presented in rhetoric so polished and form so finished as to justify Horace's famous phrase, *perfectum ad unquam*? such a production as commends itself in all respects to the favor of a critical, cultivated, scholarly taste? such a sermon, *e. g.*, as Robert Hall's celebrated discourse on *Modern Infidelity*¹? Is this the goal towards which the

¹ *Works*, Vol. I., p. 23. N. Y., 1857.

preacher's efforts aim¹? This is doubtless his ideal of a "fine sermon," a *chef d'œuvre*. Now it is notorious that a fine sermon is usually a flat failure, and, generally speaking, a minister's *chef d'œuvre* rarely accomplishes any practical effect. He seldom selects it for a protracted meeting; "it is not suited, you know, to that sort of work." Therefore whatever he is aiming at, it matters little whether he hits it or not; *he is only shooting at a knot*. These fine sermons are mere target-practice, they are mainly displays of marksmanship; therefore it is that they are not used in seasons of religious interest, they are reserved for Synod.

We hold that a sermon is intended for *practical*, personal, present effect; a specific result upon the men and women sitting then and there before the pulpit. We hold, further, that in preaching, *so far as the rhetoric and formal character of the sermon is concerned, the end justifies the means*. We would rather go hunting with a bull-dog and a sack of brick-bats and kill birds than to use a \$150 breech-loader and a \$500 setter and bag no game. We consider that preaching best which is most effective, though it should contravene every dictum of homiletic authority.

Some one interjects here, "Of course; but the most effective preaching is just that which does *not* contravene the dictum of the text-book."

This is a very simple and satisfactory answer. The only difficulty about it is that it is not true, that is all.

We shall soon see that these *dicta* are constantly contravened, and that, too, by some of the most effective preachers.

How common it is to read criticism of the sermons of famous preachers, in which admiration of their power blends with apology for their violation of established rules and departure from recognised authority; as, for instance, the following from an editorial headed, "*A Great Preacher*," and appearing in a staid landmark of conservative Presbyterianism:

"The homilettes must forgive us for dissenting from the opinion that some of them have expressed respecting the volume of sermons entitled

¹ See Phillips Brooks, "*Lectures on Preaching*," pp. 109, ff. N. Y., 1877.

. It is true that these sermons are in open defiance of homiletical rules. And with all respect to the critics, we confess that our conception of a sermon is different from that which is sometimes found in the books. There is all the difference in the world between a sermon that is a growth and one that has been built according to plans and specifications. And important, moreover, as the rules of homiletics are, there are times when the highest order of preaching transcends them."

We may mention Moody here. He gives no evidence of ever having heard of the existence of this modern holy ghost; and we hear it said that he is no preacher, knows nothing about sermonising. The criticism is just, according to the standards. If the text-books are right, he never preached a sermon or anything like one in his life; and yet hundreds of scholarly "divines" flock to his feet to learn (not how to preach, for he knows nothing about *that*; why, he even uses bad grammar!), but to learn how to "reach men," as they call it, *i. e.*, *how to save souls*.

The criticisms of Moody's preaching remind us of the generals who contended with Napoleon; after some overwhelming defeat they would pace their tents and grind their teeth and heap abuse and contempt upon Bonaparte, declaring that he was ignorant of the most elementary principles of warfare, and never fought according to established tactics and strategy.

Some see in Moody a divine providence for our day and time, an incarnate rebuke to a sermonolatry which palsies preaching, to a system of training which tends naturally to produce profound theologians, cultivated scholars, classic writers, rather than effective "popular" speakers.

It is a significant spectacle to see numbers of "thoroughly educated" preachers, learned scholars, theologians, writers, sitting on the platform with this man to study his ways; riding hundreds of miles with the avowed purpose of learning from a man who does not even "use good grammar." We wish the reader to pause here and dwell on this spectacle until he appreciates its full force and implication; exalted learning sitting at the feet of despised ignorance; conspicuous leaders, in the very ministry of the Southern Presbyterian Church itself, taking lessons from a man whom they could not ask into their ecclesiastical home by:

the front door. This is a straw in the wind, a wind that does not blow from the stately heights of a lofty standard; rather that wind which bloweth where it listeth.

No, you will not find Moody's counterpart in the text-books; there is something, however, that sounds a little like it in another book; a paragraph that reads somewhat after this fashion:

"But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are:
That no flesh should glory in his presence."

We mark another sign of the times, that may by some perhaps be considered more steady and stable, by asking is there not plainly a practical historical drift from the text-book models, traceable in the progress of sermonising? Compare any volume of sermons published in 1884 with one from South, Barrow, Edwards, Davies, or Owen. The difference is manifest and it is great.¹ The change is significant of much; the more so from the fact that the text-book remains the same. The pulpit training is substantially unchanged, and yet despite the training, the preacher bows to this progress. Does this not bear upon our question docketed some pages back? Is not the drift one that makes from the text-book towards a less artificial and professional, a more natural style? Is it not a characteristic of the most prominent pulpits that the preacher is speaking more like the lawyer, the legislator, the lecturer, than his predecessor of seventy-five years ago?

This drift seems to be in some sort a historical verification of the ruling elder's remark that the homiletic standard does not suit the people.

The model form of the homiletic standards is stereotyped,

¹This change is forcibly illustrated in the ordinary Homiletic Crutch (which may be warranted to help a man if he is lame, or to make him lame if he is not).

Compare such a volume as "*The Pulpit Cyclopaedia*," N. Y., 1847, with "*Outlines*," Vols. I., II., "*Clerical Library*," N. Y., 1883.

common to all the text-books. It finds the constituent elements of the sermon in five formal divisions; every real true sermon must have them all more or less developed: introduction, exposition, proposition, argument, conclusion; all "are to be present in the complete type, and this is the model toward which every sermon, even the most informal, must tend."¹ Some one unifying thought running through the whole like the thread through a necklace; the unfolding of a definite, distinct, logical or subject proposition, deduced from a single text or a context; the whole passage, whatever its character or extent, boiled down to this proposition, the entire discussion a development of this, and the whole sermon capable of reduction back again to this one statement which formed the proposition.

Is this the correct model? We are helped to an answer by inquiring of what class it is the type. Evidently the argumentative. It gravitates constantly towards the logical in fact and in form; formal if possible, if not, then as formal as possible. It is essentially the argumentative style, and its highest expression is the strictly logical.

Now that this is a vicious model we maintain for three reasons, which, if just, are conclusive.

1. *It suits the fewest texts.*

The Bible is not an argumentative book; excepting the Epistles of Paul, there is little argument in it from beginning to end. It is mainly narrative, poetical, historical, hortatory. Examine the specimen sermons given: the Sermon on the Mount; our Saviour's parables, with his own exposition of them; the sermons in the Acts. It will be seen that none of the inspired illustrations of preaching are cast into this distinctively argumentative form or partake of the argumentative character. It requires great ingenuity to trace even the rudiments of the model form in the inspired examples.

While it is true that a number of texts this treatment does suit best, yet a greater number it suits not at all, and in no small proportion of those to which it is fairly applicable it is not the most effective.²

¹ *Dabney*, p. 140.

² The reader will please bear in mind that throughout this discussion

"Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight," is doubtless best treated in logical form; but try it with the temptation, the night in Gethsemane, the Syrophenician woman, the parables, the miracles. Of course, it is possible to give an outline sketch, as brief as possible, of the whole scene, incident, or context; then seize upon some one thought as the most prominent, throw this into a proposition and argue or discuss it; and this is just what the standards call for; but we believe it will often be done at the loss of both interest and effect.

Even for texts to which it is fairly applicable, and which seem to invite it, it is sometimes nevertheless not the best. For example, in the text, "By grace are ye saved," we have in the very words of Scripture a complete logical proposition, a unit, formed to hand, ready for the process; and yet we venture the opinion that an illustrative, expository treatment will be found more effective than an argument; a discussion somewhat after this sort, *e. g.* :

1. What is meant by being "lost" ? "saved" ?
2. What is meant by "grace" ?
3. What is it to be "saved by grace" ?
4. Illustrations of it.

Such an outline is anything but original, striking, or profound, and some of our readers will in all probability sneer at it; but we think the average hearer will be more benefited by it than by the profoundest, most conclusive proof of the truth declared in the text.

As another instance, consider Heb. iv. 16, the logical proposition of which is, "The believer's approach to the mercy seat grounded on the Saviour's high-priesthood."

This offers fair and fine field for argument; but most congregations will appreciate more thoroughly some such treatment as follows:

we use such words as "best," "most effective," in a limited sense. We are discussing the sermon as a spoken address designed for, and delivered to, such an audience as composes the average congregation in the pews before an ordinary pulpit on an ordinary Sabbath occasion.

The believer's approach.

1. Its *grounds*: "Therefore."
2. Its *manner*: "Boldly"—what? and why?
3. Its *purpose*: "Mercy" and "Grace for seasonable aid."

We venture the assertion that in nine texts out of ten the model form is not the best.

In criticising the argumentative model, we wish not to be understood as depreciating the importance of *unity* in discourse; we set great store by it; but we believe not so much in the unity of a logical conclusion as in that of a practical impression, and we by no means consider the two constant in their relation or interchangeable terms.

2. *It suits the fewest hearers.*

Logical discussion is closely connected, concatenated; the parts strictly interdependent. This is its excellence; all failure in this respect is serious fault. The nearer it comes to a growth, an evolution of point from point, a development step by step, the more perfect it is. Now, we fear that the more perfect it is, the worse for its ostensible purpose. Consider the character of the general congregation; what training or qualification has the average hearer for following the argument? Few men have any culture or practice in abstract thought. Process the most simple to a trained student is very complex to a mind whose chief anxiety is to keep the children satisfied indoors on a rainy day, or to persuade a customer to lay out \$10 in his coat instead of \$8.50. A logical discussion necessitates sustained attention. It is like knit work; a cut, however small, ravel the whole. Let a hearer lose a link, and the chain is broken; let him fail to understand or retain one head of the argument, and he is like a child trying to work long division having forgotten subtraction. The reader may say: "Oh, yes; but few sermons are so faithful to unity as all this."

Very true; but in that they err from the standard; and we are not criticising the sermons, but their standard. It is small support to an *ideal* to plead in its favor the weakness of its influence, and to find its justifying safeguard in the fact that it will not be realised.

Some persons are qualified by taste and habit to enjoy and improve a logical discussion; but where there is one man more edified by this than by another style, there are twenty who will be more profited by some other.

3. *It suits the fewest preachers.*

"The proof of the pudding is chewing the bag." How many preachers follow the text-book? The writer does not know of *one* who even attempts to carry into practice the homiletic model of sermonising. Indeed, you can tell a licentiate's trial sermon by this very feature, that it is *so* ship-shape according to the text-book; all the "constituent members" present, clearly and proportionately worked out: introduction; exposition; proposition; argument, i., ii., iii., iv., v.; application (1) "To you, fellow-followers of the Master"; (2) "To you, my dear unconverted hearer."

A sermon above criticism in the Seminary! And that night a large congregation will gather to hear the most popular and effective preacher in the Presbytery; a man with twenty or thirty years of study, growth, and successful work behind him; a man whose name will crowd the church; and this man will preach a sermon already blessed perhaps to the salvation of a score of precious souls, or to the comfort of hundreds, and yet a sermon which would be most unmercifully mangled by the faculty of any theological seminary, and very possibly declared to be "no sermon at all"; and tried by the standards, the criticism would be just. In drawing this contrast, we are innocent of any purpose to impose on a reader's unguardedness an amusing caricature under guise of a sober portrait; we are utterly unconscious of exaggeration, so much so that we challenge on the part of our brethren an examination of the contrast alleged as existing between the licentiate's sermon and that of the eminent, successful working pastor; not that the latter is more mature and perfect a specimen of the same species, but that it is a *different species*, entirely different. Moreover, we note this not as an occasional exceptional occurrence, but as a customary habitual practice, viz., that preachers as a general thing very soon drift away from the traditions of the class-room and the rules of the text-book,

and regularly, knowingly, and purposely ignore them; and this not from ignorance or sloth, but because experience teaches them that they can work better out of this mediæval, scholastic harness than in it.

Examine the methods of the most popular preachers, as exhibited in their published works: William Archer Butler, Phillips Brooks, Beecher, Talmage, Spurgeon, Robertson, etc. Matthew Henry's Commentary is evidently his pulpit work; perhaps no uninspired preaching has ever been of greater service to mankind, and yet it is enough to make a dead *homilete* "turn over in his grave." What an amusing abandon of charming irrelevancy pervades many of his most quaint and sensible epigrams!

If it is true that the standard model suits the fewest texts, the fewest hearers, the fewest preachers, we might "rest our case here and go to the jury"; but we prefer to add yet another count to the indictment.

4. *Another objection to the model is that it makes no provision for a class of sermons that will be found very instructive and effective.*

This class it completely outlaws. As illustration of what we mean, let us mention a sermon that takes a scriptural epithet, phrase, or idea, and *tracks* it through the Bible.

"Be not deceived" (*μη̄ πλανᾶσθε*) occurs several times as preface to warning, seeming to indicate thus that the subject of the warning is one about which we are specially liable to deception; and upon examination, we find that observation justifies the presumption. We are thus guarded against any deception as to the following important practical truths:

1. The contaminating influence of evil associations.—1 Cor. xv. 33.
2. The personal responsibility of each for his own sin.—Jas. i. 16.¹
3. Entrance into heaven conditioned on character.—1 Cor. vi. 9.
4. Human destiny, once settled, irreversible.—Gal. vi. 7.

¹ *Μη̄ πλανᾶσθε* translated "Do not err" in our Version.

The Apostle Peter uses the word "precious" with noticeable frequency. There are five things which the Holy Ghost through him calls *precious*; what are they?

In the Revelation we have a seven-fold promise made "to him that overcometh."

Again, the words "I have sinned" occur often, but under very varied circumstances and with very different meaning, intent, and effect.

The Scriptures use many terms for "sin." The literal meaning of the words, and its development into the figurative, will throw great light upon the Bible idea of sin, and give a hearer vivid impression of its character, its power, its heinousness in God's sight.

These are but specimens; the reader can add to the list indefinitely. Some of the best sermons we have ever heard have belonged to a class for which the text-books make no provision at all; discourses which the standard idea or definition of a sermon would rule out of the right of existence.

By this time, we imagine the reader's impatience ready to ask, Well, what model have *you* to suggest?

We answer very simply, none; and maintain that to ask the best plan for sermons is like asking the best plan for houses. The best plan for *a* sermon is to be determined by four things: the passage, the purpose, the people, the preacher; just what the text teaches, just what application of that truth he wishes to impress most upon his people, just *that* treatment by which *he* can best impress *that special* truth upon *that particular* congregation. Given those four points and the plan is decided; any one of them altered may very properly change the plan.

We believe the text-book models are serviceable. We study works on homiletics with great pleasure and unflagging interest, and we hope not without profit. They are eminently useful; they are necessary for exercise and training. So we believe in the gymnasium. But still we think it unreasonable to condemn all exercise and exhibition of strength that does not play the muscles in the exact order and system of the parallel bars, the Indian club, or the dumb-bells.

The contents of the Bible present inexhaustible variety, and its style a rich versatility. We have narrative, history, biography, miracle, parable, precept, prophecy, poetry; we have it in type, in symbol, figurative, literal, allegorical; it is severe and tender; it contains pathos, rebuke, scorn, and sarcasm. We believe that the form, character, style, method, etc., of sermonising ought to partake of this variety, ought to imitate this versatility. To attempt to cast sermons into any stereotyped form is to distort the living truth upon the bed of Procrustes; it is to sacrifice the divine setting in which the jewel is put by inspired wisdom. It is not the dictate of reason, and it is not justified by experience; for, as we have remarked, preachers do not, will not, and we maintain ought not, follow the model.

Any discussion of homiletics is incomplete without some reference to the comparative merits of extempore and written discourse, though such comparison is much like arbitration between the conflicting claims of bread and soap. Everything depends on the man.

Let us premise here that by "extempore" we do not mean impromptu, nor by "written discourse" do we refer to a style of preaching in which fear of losing the place glues face to paper like the eye of bird to that of charming snake.

Each has its advantages and its disadvantages. In favor of extempore it is to be said that it brings the speaker into closer contact with the hearer; it always *seems* more direct, more personal, more practical; it allows opportunity for seizing unforeseen points, illustrations, applications, etc.; the general custom of public speakers sustains it, and the prejudices of people prefer it.

These advantages are obvious, and have had due consideration at the hands of teachers and text-books.

Its disadvantages are not so obvious, though none the less real; and as they are not so thoroughly treated, we give more space to them.

1. *The danger of a fatal fluidity.*

A danger no speaker is superior to. In stealthy approach, like that insidious disease which saps the citadel of life under the

treacherous colors of health, deceiving none but the hapless, hopeless victim; so this disease cheats *its* victim with the counterfeit semblance of vigor. We call it fatal, and when once it has seized upon a man there is no cure. He confounds the very nature of things, and mistakes sound for sense; a millionaire in language, but a pauper in ideas; lavish in the inflated wealth of words: utterly, pitiably ignorant of the fact, patent to all others, that there is no capital behind this show of riches, that they are but the worthless notes of a bankrupt brain; sonorous verbosity makes musical resonance in the empty skull; long swelling sentences, *vox et preterea nil*, are rolled forth with a majesty worthy of the profoundest thought, and irredeemable commonplace uttered with all the intensity of thrilling originality.

It is a fearful habit, stealing on one unawares, and growing with the rapidity of Jack's fairy bean-stalk.

2. *The tendency to disproportion.*

The subject and its treatment is announced, the plan plainly advertised; then the first two or three heads developed until the speaker is startled to find the time consumed and two-thirds of his contract unfulfilled; the last and most important part of the sermon must be crowded into "a few feeble remarks."

This is what we call the *tadpole* type of sermon.

We once heard a preacher of long practice and reputed scholarship, begin by announcing very carefully an elaborate plan. Before finishing his introduction, he announced a second and somewhat different one; and finally proceeded to pursue still a third; the body of his sermon being devoted to the first head, the remaining points were passed with mere mention.

Extempore speaking exacts absorption in the subject, and the inevitable tendency of this is towards obliviousness to the passage of time. Here is the danger, and to obviate the difficulty requires unusual and constant care.

3. *The chilling effect of unpropitious circumstances.*

The extempore speaker is very dependent on circumstances. An unfavorable day, a mere handful sprinkling the magnificent distances of pews, chilling him at the very time when he would wish to reward the self denial of the few who have braved the

weather with a better sermon than usual. On the preacher's part, a torpid liver, dyspepsia, headache, a fit of depression. Some annoyance or distraction in the congregation; a fidgety child, a remonstrating baby with a sublimely unconscious mother, a pair of sportive or hostile dogs, a whispering beau or a giggling miss.

Any of this variegated disturbance will interfere with the working of the mind and clog its creative power. They are always among the possible, foresight cannot anticipate them nor wisdom remedy; the minister cannot control them, he cannot prevent them, he cannot defer to them; when the hour arrives he must preach then and there, regardless of his own condition or of circumstances.

We remember once preaching to a large congregation in a country where the people came *by families*. Three babies (from native depravity or that instinctive craving for a more varied and *responsive* service, recommended in some quarters) disputed pre-eminence with the preacher at the very start. Think of it, reader, *three!* Despite their Episcopal learnings, they were sound Presbyterians on some points, *e. g.*, the "final perseverance." They began with the beginning and continued without recreation or relaxation until after the sermon commenced. How much longer they would have held out remains unsettled; for at that point it suddenly flashed into the mothers' heads that possibly the concert might make a disturbance if continued *too* long, and so the innocents were "processionated" out. We were relieved, however, from an absolute and dreary monotony by a little toddler's using the space immediately before the pulpit as exercise ground, walking with a most engaging uncertainty from admiring relative on one side of the church to expectant relative on the other. The babies *had the floor* that day, we had the pulpit, grinding out an extempore sermon. Work? Why, cutting cord-wood would have been restful!

4. *The impossibility of repetition.*

An extempore sermon can never be repeated. The elements which compose it are to be found in the preacher's thought and feeling while preparing it, his condition of head, heart, and body

while delivering it, the character and situation and circumstances of the congregation hearing it. All these have direct part in the extempore sermon, and this combination can never be exactly reproduced. The writer was once one of a number who petitioned earnestly for the repetition of a most magnificent discourse. The request was granted, but all agreed that we were far from hearing the same sermon. Experience since has given the explanation—the thing is impossible.

We remember vividly and painfully a somewhat similar instance. We had preached a sermon which, through the preceding week, had been filling brain and soul until *both* were full. On Sabbath everything was propitious and the sermon flowed and overflowed. One in whose judgment we had confidence, whispered on leaving the church, "The next time you preach in a brother's pulpit give them *that* sermon." Some months afterward when selecting briefs to use on such an occasion, the remark was recalled, and very naturally that sermon was included. We entered the brother's pulpit with the memory of that overflowing fulness abiding; but the fulness did not abide, *it* was gone. The whole subject was there, every division and subdivision clearly articulated; but when we entered fairly into the sermon we found to our dismay there was nothing but the heads—as beautiful and perfect a skeleton as ever hung in a doctor's office; but the *meat* was all gone, nothing left but the bones!

5. *The uncertainty of the sermon.*

The extempore preacher can never tell exactly what the sermon will be until it has been. He knows not what the load is until he shoots, and sometimes, alas! the gun kicks about as hard as it shoots.

This species of preaching is something like fishing; you get a bite, and are all *qui vive* until at last the cork dives and you pull for a whale, only to see the shimmering sides of a very small minnow go sailing over the bushes.

The subject in the prospect looms up before the mind immense as a great cloud, but the cloud form of thought is often bigger in promise than performance, and when condensed and "precipitated" on the congregation, these immense clouds sometimes afford

a very small sprinkle. Every such speaker knows how bitter his disappointment has been at the outcome of some sermon which, in the nebulous state, filled the whole horizon of his thought, and his heart beats responsive to ours as he softly says, *quorum pars fui* (rendered freely, "I've been there myself").

6. *The unevenness of the preaching.*

The disadvantages already noted result necessarily in great variation of excellence in the sermons as compared one with another. An extempore preacher cannot be an *even* preacher, because he cannot command the circumstances necessary to his best preaching. Owing to this obvious fact, he who sometimes reaches a very high grade will at others sink to a very low one. Some of the very best, and some of the very poorest sermons we have ever heard have come from one and the same man. Sometimes he preached as if almost inspired, sometimes as if every sentence were an effort and a torture. And this, to some extent, is inevitable (particularly the latter).

7. *The good extempore sermon costs more nerve force.*

It is a most exhaustive process; the brain works at high pressure, every power of the man is tense. His whole force comes into violent exercise, and when he leaves the pulpit his head is in a whirl, abnormally excited and abnormally active. This condition lasts for hours; it affects appetite and sleep, and when the reaction comes the depression and exhaustion are extreme. This cost is, to a certain extent, regulated by the character of the work, rising with its excellence and falling with its failure. The best extempore preaching is likely to make the minister feel on Monday somewhat as drunkards are described as feeling after a spree.

Such are some of the disadvantages of this style of preaching. In behalf of the manuscript it is to be said, and it is much, that it escapes these difficulties just enumerated. It is more carefully prepared, better proportioned, more uniform in merit and in length; the preacher is thoroughly master of his matter, and has it in condition for preservation. He knows just what, and how much, he has. And the nervous energy and brain activity has been distributed through six days instead of two hours. During

this period, moreover, he can consult the *mollia tempora*; he is not obliged to lay the burden on heart and brain just when, perhaps, both happen to shrink most from bearing it; he can put the sermon aside temporarily and resume it when better fitted for it. The written discourse secures greater precision in statement and guardedness of expression. It serves as a breakwater against the tide of colloquial slovenliness that sets constantly from every quarter towards the speaker of the present day.

There is another difference between the two which gives to the written style a most important advantage.

Poor extempore preaching necessitates less study than poor manuscript, while good extempore requires *greater* than the same grade of the other. It demands a full mind, an active brain, a fluent tongue, and ready command of fine language. A fluent tongue without a full mind is an unmitigated, an aggravated, curse to any speaker, and an unalleviated affliction to any congregation. Here is an explanation of a noticeable fact, viz., as a general thing manuscript preachers *wear* better than extempore. The latter begins with ten years of study behind him; the hopper is comparatively full when he first turns on the water and the grist gives good promise; but he neglects to *keep* the hopper full and soon breaks the promise of his beginning. The newspapers some months ago were discussing the "ministerial dead-line," placing it at various ages; the dead-line is just whenever and wherever the hopper begins to get empty, be it at thirty years of age or sixty.

A candidate for licensure being asked, What is original sin? is reported as answering: "I don't know what other folks' is, but mine is laziness."

It requires more grace than most persons possess to resist the temptation, so strong under some circumstances, to go occasionally into the pulpit without sufficient preparation and, so to speak, just *sort o'* float around on the sublimity of the occasion. There are so many plausible pretexts for delaying the preparation for Sabbath; but you *cannot* crowd a written sermon into an hour after tea Saturday night. The extempore preacher will defer this way a few times with gratifying success, and then he is on

the high road to ruin. The manuscript sermon *necessitates* both time and study; the man who preaches extempore ought to study his sermons thoroughly and he may do it, the one who writes must and will. This is the important difference we noted a few lines back; the prevalence of the candidate's "original sin" emphasises its importance. The highest type of sermon we believe to be the extempore, yet we believe that as a class the manuscript preachers are better than their brethren. Where one man can make a first-class extempore preacher, ten can reach the same grade of the other style;¹ and the fact that the method which requires most thought and greatest care, is the very one that offers most temptation to native laziness, ought to make every one conscientiously watchful over himself while pursuing it. Moreover, all agree that much writing is essential to good extempore preaching. The finest specimens of this use the pen diligently. Bossuet is said to have been very unwilling to preach without such preparation, we are told that some of his sermons were written and rewritten with great care.² And if the extempore preacher must write, why not write sermons? And if sermons, why not the very sermons intended for the occasion? Disuse of the pen begets distaste, a distaste which if indulged strengthens into inveteracy; so that ordinarily a minister who does not write sermons will write nothing with any regularity.

We feel like uttering a *cave* to the modern craze after extemporaneous preaching. Under its influence many a man is striving *natura invita* to attain it, with fine promise of spoiling a good manuscript preacher to make a very poor off-hand talker. A recent writer goes so far as to advise all beginners to pursue it; to persist in it to the close of their ministry; despite discouragement and failure, in the face of criticism, objection, or advice from hearers; to continue it resolutely until they do succeed.³

¹ "There are not above half a score of men in a century who can rise to the foremost places for usefulness and eminence through extempore speech." Taylor, "*Ministry of the Word*," p. 150.

² Broadus, "*History of Preaching*." See Brougham, quoted in Taylor, "*Ministry of the Word*," p. 121, foot note.

³ Shedd, "*Homiletics*," 8th ed., pp. 240, ff. *Per contra*, Taylor, "*Ministry of the Word*," pp. 113, ff.

Such advice we consider unwise and such a course wrong. What right has any man to use a pulpit thus as a school for personal training and inflict on a protesting congregation the friction of getting rid of him or the endurance of a long series of awkward and painful failures as precedent to ultimate success?

When so much is said about reading sermons being no preaching, it is time to remember that some of the greatest preachers the world has ever seen have been readers, even close readers, of manuscript.

The best course to pursue, is to be master of all methods and slave to none. If in a matter in which so much depends on the tastes and gifts of the preacher, we may venture to recommend a method or express a preference, it would be that the pen be used in preparation; the sermons written with laborious painstaking care, and then the manuscript left behind in the study and without attempt to recall the language, the sermon delivered in the best language the preacher can command at the moment of delivery. If, however, after fair trial he is unable to do this, let him take his manuscript with him and having familiarised himself perfectly with it, read it as freely as he can.

If he writes to read, let him be careful to write a *spoken* language; avoiding long or complicated sentences, sustained periods, parentheses, qualifying clauses,¹ etc.; use short, sharp, incisive sentences, familiar words, in familiar collocations, with familiar meaning. Borrow as far as possible the extempore method; write with the flow and deliver with the feeling and freedom of the extempore style. Whether extempore or written eschew the essay style; never allow a reader to get anxious as to the fate of a subject and predicate or the relationship between parenthesis and main sentence. And this gives opportunity to say some-

¹ *E. g.*, "These lectures of Dr. — show that to the singular richness and force of mind which we have known so well he has now added in full measure what, to a nature so fraught and even overfraught with intellectual and spiritual wealth, could hardly come except at the suit of years, that final repose and poise which should give the fullest effect to the large wisdom of his teaching." *Andover Review*, Feb., 1885, p. 190.

Such a sentence as that, however forcible and clear to a *reader*, ought never to be inflicted on a *hearer*.

thing about style. The main thing to be avoided in pulpit style is a pulpit style. Sidney Smith calls the dignity of the pulpit a holy paralysis, and the dignity he criticised inheres in the style rather than in anything else. We protest against any definite fixed species as peculiar to preaching. It ought to be free, easy, natural, living. Many a man will discuss or argue in plain, forceful language in conversation, and then enter the pulpit and speak as in another tongue, presenting thus the same contrast that is so marked between Dr. Sam. Johnson in the club and in his writings.

The style is the dress of the thought, let it be becoming; here is the whole matter in a nutshell. As the thought varies, so let the style; the thought ought to take its character from the text, the style from the thought and so the style will be greatly influenced by the text. A sermon on "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" ought to be very different in style from one on "Cast thy burden on the Lord."

No minister, then, ought to fall into any set, stereotyped style; let it rather be flexible, varying according to the character of the subject discussed.

We spoke some pages back of "laborious writing," but beware of *epicurism* of style. There is such a thing as becoming martyr to the tyranny of a fastidious taste; a refining and polishing until like the painter in the familiar illustration, the one touch too many spoils the picture. A brother once told the writer that his rule was to write his sermons over every word twice carefully, and he was an extraordinarily fine—writer! A more extraordinary thing, however, was, how he found time to coddle this weakness.

Some men become the slaves of their own language. As a musician dreams over the keys of an instrument, absorbed in the reverie that breathes through its chords, so some writers are mastered by the magic of their fancy and revel in a scene conjured by the mystic *open sesame* of a painter's pen; they lay the colors on the page with all the patience and labor and love and self-abandonment of an artist. Such writing is worth the effort; it serves its purpose in the world, and a right noble one, too, *but*

that purpose is not preaching. Baxter's description of his style meets our ideal better; he spoke "pertinently, plainly, piercingly, and somewhat properly."

Study to use Bunyan's "picked and packed" words. Pith, plainness, directness, and force, are the main elements; and let it be the language of living men, not the dead dialect of past ages or of books. Bear always in mind that it is to be spoken and heard, not read and studied. There is a great difference; this difference explains a mystery often noticed, and which puzzles some, viz., that the sermons of some of the finest preachers do not read well. Discourses listened to with delight by thousands seem insufferably dull in print, and set us to wondering how the hearers could be so enthusiastic in their praise. Ordinarily the better a sermon reads, the worse it speaks; and the better it speaks, the worse it reads. The written and the spoken language are almost two different dialects; with the very dipping of the pen into ink the ideas don court dress, the sentences expand into stateliness, the idiom changes. To check this tendency it is necessary to bear in mind that *in sermon-writing the pen is only a substitute for the tongue*—the manuscript sermon is the tongue "shooting from a rest"—a very incongruous metaphor, but gunners will understand our meaning. Let the *load* be exactly the same as if "shot off-hand."

The dapper dandy, the exquisite, is not often an athlete; so when beauty is very prominent, people are prone to suspect absence of strength. Therefore, beware of having too much rhetoric ruffling on the garment of your thought. Never allow the dress of your discourse to suggest the elaborately adorned figures seen in front of millinery and tailoring establishments; see to it always that there be a living, palpitating body and soul underneath fully worthy of the fine array. Then beauty will be a power not to be despised. But beauty is very simple, *e. g.* :

"I know thou hast gone to the home of the blest,
Then why should my soul be so sad?
I know thou hast gone where the weary do rest
And the mourner looks up and is glad!
Where love has put off in the land of its birth
The stains it had gathered in this,

And Hope, the sweet singer that gladdened the earth,
Lies asleep on the bosom of bliss."

Almost every word in that stanza, taken separately, is plain even to homeliness, and yet into what beauty they are blended!

Discourse is often likened to a river: it may flow through the sublimity of ruggedness naked and bare, or the beauty of meadow star-eyed with daisies; it may reflect the blue sky, the emerald tint of bank and hue of flowers, all without impeding its flow or lessening its strength. So with the flow of your thought; be it bordered by beauty if you will, but never let its current be hindered by the foliage on its banks. Or to change the figure: weave as many golden threads into the warp and woof of your discourse as you please, provided only there be solid *wear* in them.¹

One of the latest works² gives the following guide to a course of reading: Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Des Cartes, Leibnitz, Lord Bacon, Locke, Kant, Augustine, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Calvin, Turretin, Owen, Howe, Baxter, Edwards!

An admirable course for a man whose ambition is to make a profound theologian, an exhaustive scholar, a classic writer, a learned professor; but the *preacher* to the common crowd of living, struggling, sinning, suffering, commonplace men and women around him needs little from this list of departed worthies, giants though they undoubtedly were. The more his thought and style are modelled on theirs, the worse for his purpose. Let him study English,³ especially the vernacular in the Bible, Bunyan, Shakespeare. For a man who aspires to be a *finished* writer there is no substitute for the classics, *if he is thoroughly qualified to appreciate and improve their advantages*; but in the majority of instances we are fully persuaded that the time and labor spent in torturing even the most stammering articulateness out of their silence will yield better return if invested in our mother tongue. We are not surprised that the classic models in literature should

¹ See "*Macaulay*" (J. Cotter Morison), pp. 46, ff. ² "*Homiletics*" (Shedd), 8th ed.

³ Hoppin has some excellent observations on this. *Homiletics*, pp. 592, ff.

be above the appreciation of the average reader, and yet we strain every nerve to make our Sabbath sermons as much like these models as possible, and feel surprised that they fail to draw and hold these very people! Is not this true?

We close our criticism by mentioning some of the elements we consider desirable in all preaching and essential to any decided degree of excellence.

(1) *Variety.*

This is a matter to which the text-books generally give little heed. Few of them emphasise it particularly, and yet it is of prime importance. There is every liability to monotony in the preacher's work. Substantially the same theme is presented to the same audience with far greater frequency than taxes the versatility of any other speaker. Therefore great care is needed to avoid monotony.

Freshness is force. This is the distinguishing characteristic of Talmage's preaching, the source of his power, the secret of his attractiveness as a mere speaker; by it he has been able to hold an audience of thousands continuously to the same pulpit. His ideas are as old as the hills, his way of putting them is as fresh as the morning dew on those hills. The same is true, to a more limited extent, of Spurgeon's power. Such men re-mint the oldest ideas into a newness which gives them unwonted force; trite truths become fresh and living on their lips.

We have already mentioned the variety with which we are presented in the Scriptures. Let the preaching partake of this variety. Beecher goes so far as to advise against preaching two sermons alike if you can help it.¹ Chrysostom says: "The table of the gospel feast should be covered with various dishes, and the banquet should be like the divine generosity of the Giver."²

Study to have variety. One of the surest ways to secure this is to let the sermon *grow out of the text*, making the introduction, development, and treatment accord with the surroundings of the text as found in the Bible. There is an individuality con-

¹ "Yale Lects.," Vol. I., p. 27. ² "Homiletics" (Hoppin), p. 98.

See, also, some forcible remarks in Phelps' "English Style in Public Discourse," pp. 307-314.

nected with every text. Respect it strictly and let it determine the character, the style, the plan of the discourse. Let the sermon, like the chameleon, take its color from what it lies on. The discourse ought not only to grow, but grow *naturally*, out of the text. Do not imitate the Dutch gardeners who torture nature into mathematical figures by square and compass. Vary in theme, vary in style, vary in plan; let doctrinal and practical, topical and expository, argumentative and narrative, historical and biographical, logical and hortatory, all have their proper share in turn.

Keep out of ruts. No road is good if travelled continuously enough to wear it into ruts. This very thing makes a road bad, however good it may have been before. No one wishes even his favorite dish at *every* meal.

Among aids to monotony in the pulpit may be mentioned—

(1) *Preaching a series or system.*

An effective series is the most effective of all preaching. But only about one man in fifty can preach a series effectively. Be sure you are that one before you make it a custom. The little girl's criticism of a sermon she heard will apply to most series: "It had a good beginning and a *mighty* good ending, but it had too much middle."

People are restive under a series. The very idea is scary. The gift of continuousness is not an attractive one. Watch the pews; you will be fortunate if you do not discover about the ninth sermon in the course that your series affords more relief to the ushers than interest to the congregation. The same is true, to some extent, of preaching a pre-arranged system, like a course on the Catechism or Confession, or continuous exposition of some book in the Bible. These are all blood-relatives of the series family, and people will be quick to imagine a family likeness.

(2) *Preaching for personal culture.*

This is not what the minister himself would call it. He would give it some less objectionable name; but the thing is the same. The man desires to make a first-rate preacher, to grow symmetrically into comprehensive excellence in his work; and so he

preaches in the line of his own development ; not what he thinks he preaches best, but what he fears he preaches worst. This class of sermons, whatever may be their character, he practises with frequency proportionate to his sense of need or deficiency.

(3) *Preaching along the line of current work in the study.*

Whatever happens to engage his attention in his study determines the tone of his Sabbath sermons.

If he is reading a course of Church History, his preaching will have a historical cast ; if theological study occupies him, then his sermons will have a far-away resemblance to a course in divinity ; the critical study of some book in the Bible may be suspected from the drift of his preaching while pursuing it ; a review of psychology will be reflected in the metaphysical character of his discourses ; in a word, whatever he is studying leaves unmistakable impress upon his preaching.

This is blending "general study" with "special preparation" and making one do the work of both. It is a mistake ; the two ought to be kept separate. Divide the time. Broadus says give one-third to general study ; Shedd, two fifths. We think that a man who will cultivate the homiletic instinct and keep his mind alert and open, and a note book handy for suggestions when they occur, may afford to give half his time to general study. But however the apportionment be settled, keep the two currents distinct at any, at all, cost. If one *must* control the other, then let the special preparation give direction to the general study.

(4) *Preaching according to one's own taste.*

"It takes many people to make a world," and the congregation is a little world. Remember that you are not preaching to yourself, and *avoid hobbies in the pulpit as you would sin.* There is a great variety of tastes before you, and in it you will probably find fewer counterparts of your palate than of any other kind ; a sermon that most pleases you will perhaps please the fewest in the congregation. There are possibly a half-dozen who will greatly enjoy an abstract, metaphysical presentation of some deep doctrine ; a dozen who will appreciate heartily a well articulated, strong, logical development of some theological system ; a hundred who will listen with delight to a narrative or biographi-

cal sermon; and then there are others who crave rhetorical beauty, who revel in the gorgeous and the glowing, and grow warm under the hortatory. Do not disdain any level of your people's needs; be a wise and faithful householder, and give each his portion of food in due season, even though *his* food may be very weak diet to the stronger stomach of your sense.

(5) *Preaching according to some judgment, perhaps fanciful, of one's peculiar gifts.*

One imagines his gift is for theological preaching and his people have a surfeit of sermons on such topics as free-will and free-agency, election, reprobation, God's sovereignty, the Trinity, the divine attributes, etc., etc.

We remember seeing in the daily papers for a season, a regular announcement of the topics of a certain minister's discourses; they were almost invariably of a theological character and generally of a decided metaphysical cast. We were not greatly surprised at learning that they were profoundly admired—but thinly attended.

Another seems to think he is a divinely ordained polemic. His natural attitude is "squared for a fight," fists closed, he approaches every subject aggressively and is so faithful "to declare the whole counsel of God," that members of sister Churches have a wholesome dread of his ministry.

A third fancies his forte lies in illustrations: he prepares his sermons with his scissors and preaches like a scrap-book; has little slips of newspaper in the pulpit Bible, and may be seen arranging and re-arranging them like assorted cards.

Another considers himself a "biblical preacher;" the body of his sermon consists of scripture quotation, and his discourses are pocket editions of *Hitchcock's Analysis*. He cannot announce any point, however universally admitted, without citing from three to five texts to prove it; and he sets people to wondering how long a concordance lasts him. We heard it said of one of these "biblical" preachers, that though his hearers heard large quantities of Scripture quoted, yet they might listen to him for years without having any clearer understanding of a single passage. This type of preacher reminds us of the wicked boy who holds bread in a teasing way just above his dog's nose.

All of these things are valuable aids to monotony and, taken in connexion with the character of the preacher's work, may be safely depended upon, if indulged in, to produce it.

2. A second very desirable element in preaching is *simplicity, clearness, perspicuity*.

The first requisite of any teaching is that it be understood; and a sermon ought to be *easily* understood. Remember that preaching, like partridges, must be "taken on the wing." Anything, therefore, that interferes with immediate apprehension is a serious vice in public discourse. Paul says, "We use great plainness;" every successor of Paul ought to be willing to stoop, or able to rise, to *great* plainness. It is difficult to be too plain, easy to be obscure; obscurity is sometimes cover for laziness of thought. Cut the underbrush thoroughly out of the track you wish the hearer to follow; make the way straight, cast up a highway so plain that "the wayfaring men though fools shall not err therein;" let your hearers follow you without conscious effort.

The enemy to simplicity, clearness, and perspicuity is hydra-headed.

(1) *There is solidity of matter.*

Many years ago the writer had occasion to take a dose of spirits of camphor and tiptoed around the room for some seconds afterwards reaching up after breath. It was good strong camphor, and for that very reason took away the breath. Many subjects need to be *diluted* for the general hearer. We do not refer here to hard words but deep ideas. There is a minister we have often heard, decidedly the most interesting preacher of all our acquaintance, but after listening to him for three quarters of an hour we are as wearied as if we had been in intensest study all the time; and yet he rarely uses a word that would puzzle a school-boy. Such a preacher would steadily empty the pews of any ordinary congregation. These massive sermons remind us of the description of a plow exhibited in the Vienna World's Fair of 1873, and bought by the Grand-Duke Albrecht of Austria; plow-carriage twenty-one feet long, engine fifteen feet, whole in motion forty-six feet, weight of engine six tons, price of the plow \$25,000.00! A great agricultural implement doubtless, a tri-

umph of mechanical skill and inventive ingenuity, but only suited to the Grand-Duke species of farmer.

We give a specimen brief¹ of one of these somewhat too massive solid sermons:

JOHN i. 13. "*Which were born not of blood nor of the will of the flesh,*" etc.

Introduct.—Christ's reception when coming on such a mission is astounding, vs. 10, 11. Solution is man's carnality. Preface to John's Gospel (1-18) asserts Christ's mission and nature as God, man, Creator, Redeemer. But the race at large (v. 10), and his own people (v. 11), reject him.

Exposit.—Yet his gift was *ἐξουσία* (expound). Still the mission was not futile, John vi. 31; they whom God quickens do receive him, or believe on him (same act). And even these, not *ἐξ αἱμάτων*. Jews rely on line: nor (b) *ἐκ θελήματος σαρκός*, free will; nor (c) *ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός*, moral suasion; but (d) by regeneration, John iii. 5; Eph. i. 19. Regeneration not merely change of religious purpose, but revolution of fundamental principles.

Proposit.—*Believers are regenerated by the immediate power of God.*

Argument by the process of exclusion:

¹The writer's class-mates will at once recognise Goliath's spear in this weapon.

We will justify to the reader our use of it in such connexion, by recalling an incident to the memory of the class. When X.'s turn came to officiate in the chapel-clinic, he selected this very brief (which was one of the Homiletic Professor's models put on the blackboard for the class) and preached *it*. After X. had preached it, the class were of course *qui vive* to hear the criticisms of the Faculty. The Professor of Homiletics was in the chair that week, and of course would be the last to give his criticism. As soon as we had gathered to the front, he called on the professors for criticism. The first two had little to say: the third, in blissful ignorance of the fact that it was his colleague's brief, said in that soft way of his:

"Bro. X.'s sermon recalls an anecdote of Dr. A. of Princeton, who, hearing a young man preach asked him if he ever intended to preach again. The young man, much surprised, asked why he should ask such a question. Oh! said the Dr., I thought you had put all you knew in that sermon.

"Bro. X. has preached to-night everything he has learned since he's been in the Seminary."

And then came the turn of the author of the unfortunate brief; he gave his beard that familiar twitch with his right hand and said simply,

"I have nothing further to add."

Argt.—i. The new nature-not by lineage.

(1) The whole race by nature corrupt, Gen. v. 3; Job xlv. 4; Ezek. xvi. 3-5; John iii. 6. •

(2) The church covenant with Abraham bound to faith in order to adoption, Rom. ii. 25; ix. 32.

(3) Hence unbelieving Jews not, but believing Gentiles, included, Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 33, 34; Rom. ii. 28.

ii. Nor by power of free will.

(1) All are radically and totally alienated from God. Proved, (a) by experience; (b) by Scripture (as above). Man is a free-agent? Yes; but self-will the regular law of his free-agency; for—

(2) The Scripture represents him as *blind*, Isa. xlii. 15; *bound*, Acts viii. 33; *dead*, Eph. ii. 1. The change is: illumination, Ps. cxix. 18; loosing, John viii. 36; quickening, Eph. ii. 5; birth, John iii. 5; re-creation, Eph. ii. 10.

iii. Nor by human suasion.

For,

(1) Man's moral influence is scanty.

(2) His inducements tell oppositely when grace comes.

(3) Sinner's disposition to decide *a priori* whether a given object be an inducement or the contrary.

Hence the only remaining inference is:

iv. It is of God.

Conclus.—Behold now thy dependence! Do not vex the Spirit of God.

(2) *A second foe to clearness is quantity of matter.*

A sermon that exhausts a subject will exhaust a congregation too. French poulterers in fattening fowls feed them all they will eat, and then cram the feed into their craws by force. In feeding the word, regard the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread;" do not try to feed too much at a time. Studious thoughtful men are far more likely to put too much than too little in a sermon. We generally begin with the effort to say everything that has any particular point or connexion with the subject, and with the effect often of saying much that has neither; at first we try to say all that can be pertinently said, practice teaches us the rather to say nothing that can be left out. As successful preachers get older and gain experience, they abridge and simplify. They learn to choose fewer points and develop them more thoroughly; to seize only the salient sides, the strategic points of a subject; limiting themselves to two or three prominent ideas they expend all their strength to drive *them* home; making the

charge more and more like a bullet, less and less like a load of shot. Dr. Candlish's advice to a young preacher was: "Less meat and more cooking." It is much better for a hearer to carry away three points clearly fixed, or two, or even one, than a whole mass in confusion.

3. *Another, and, a fatal, foe to simplicity is too much division.*

We believe in making, and in announcing, heads; it aids the hearer to follow the progress of the discussion and helps him to recall the train of thought afterwards. But it has been well said, Divide, but don't pulverise.

Frederick W. Robertson's arrangement is admirable and will repay study. He generally breaks the subject into two major divisions with about three minor under each. When the sermon is thus divided, his number of subdivisions will not be found too many; but we would rarely give a hearer as many as six points in succession, four are better than six, and three than four.

Some of the old Puritan discourses are amusing in their multitude of divisions; but what will be thought of a modern sermon of which the following is a diagram.¹

1. (1) (2) (3) (4)—2. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)—3—4—5.

i.	1. a. b. c.	2. a. b. c.	3. a. b. c. d. e.	4. a. b. c.
ii.	1. a. b. c. d.	2. a. b.	3. a. b. c. d.	4. a. b. c. d.
iii.	1.	2.	3. a. b. c. d. e.	4. a. b. c. 5.
iv.	1. a. b.	2.	3. a. b. c. d.	
v.	1.	2.	3.	4.

1. (1) (2) a. b. c. d. (3) 2. a. b. c. 3. a. b. c. d. e. 4. a. b. c. 5. a. b. c. d.

And we have another² with *five* main divisions and *nineteen* subdivisions; the former appearing as a brief, the latter as a sermon in full; both published in homiletic magazines, the two leading monthlies in the United States; the first specimen from a president of a Northern university, the second from a D. D., LL.D., connected with a Southern university! What clear impression could an ordinary hearer carry away from such discourses as these?

¹ Homiletic Monthly, Nov., 1884, p. 799.

² Pulpit Treasury, Dec., 1884, p. 468.

Another very common hindrance to clearness and simplicity is (4) *Technical terminology*.

Words very familiar to the preacher are often strange to the congregation. Terms he meets with incessantly in his reading they possibly never hear except from his lips; *e. g.*, subjective and objective, syllogism, premise, and conclusion; the commonplaces of theology, like "vicarious sacrifice," "economy of grace"; many a hearer would understand by the latter some method of saving expenses in salvation, avoiding all waste of grace. Moreover, words very familiar to the ear are often foreign to the understanding. Sin, righteousness, holiness, grace, works, faith, justification, adoption, sanctification, atonement, substitution, etc., etc., are all very current coin; but the image and superscription are worn off; they jingle familiarly, but the receiver is oftentimes very ignorant of their exact value. Each one represents a technical concept, is somewhat like an algebraic sign, and the minister so uses it in his sermons; it is a thoroughly known quantity to *him*, but it is often the algebraic *x* to many hearers. It is well sometimes to translate this phraseology into common speech, into the terms of every-day talk.

3. *Discourse is greatly helped by movement, dash, climax.* Cicero asks, *Quid aliud est eloquentia, nisi motus animæ continuus?*¹

We are inclined to the opinion that lack of movement is one of the most common defects in preaching. Much of effect depends upon the mere arrangement of thought.

Sometimes a sermon may be rendered a great deal more forcible by a slight change in the order of the points. It may be studied long and patiently, and then lose one-half of its proper power for the lack of only a few moments spent in revising and perfecting its arrangement. Many preachers stop just short of this; not from any inability, not from sloth, but from mere inadvertence. After having labored faithfully and successfully over the matter of the sermon, it does not occur to them to ask, Have I this train of thought arranged in the most effective order?

¹ *Dabney*, p. 121. See *Vinet*, pp. 287, ff., N. Y., 1854.

There ought always to be movement and progress, climax if possible. If an argument, make it cumulative; if expository, let it grow in vividness towards the close; *never let the sermon come to a "lingering death."*

Be careful of digression. A great and common danger of digression lurks in the temptation to elaborate a beautiful illustration; such often defeats its ostensible purpose, and the hearers, instead of looking at the truth, have their attention diverted to admire the beauty of the lamp whose proper office is the humble one of lighting their way.

Curiosity led us once to time a brother addicted to this failing, and he spent *ten minutes* elaborating one illustration; it was a gorgeous lamp, a sort of electric cluster of thousand-candle power, but we fear its brilliancy and beauty dazzled the hearers into blindness to the point it was intended to illustrate.

Remember that any and all digression that does not debouch into the main current with increased volume is serious loss; *and the more interesting and striking the digression, the worse its effect.* Preserve movement in discourse; progress from point to point accelerated and exhilarating alike to speaker and hearer; an hour in an ox-cart seems as long as a day in a palace-car; ten minutes on a siding waiting for a train to pass is as long as hours of travel. Keep on the main track in your sermon and avoid "switches." In order to this, grouping is as important as grasping. Dr. Dabney gives a very useful illustration of this process.¹

4. The last essential we mention is the most important, viz., *point, impact, penetration.*

There is a type of sermon, none too rare, of which the only fault is that it has no effect. It would be exceedingly difficult to state just what the defect is. It is faithful to text; in matter excellent and abundant; well developed, admirably proportioned, well arranged, of excellent style; the only defect, and the fatal

¹ *Rhetoric*, p. 226, foot note. Also the whole of Lect. VIII., pp. 121-136. Consult also Broadus, "*Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*," p. 206; Taylor, "*Ministry of the Word*," pp. 121, ff.; Phelps, "*Theory of Preaching*," pp. 416, ff.

defect, is that it fails utterly. The preacher has great powers of expression, apparently none of *impression*; he builds the fort elaborately, carefully, thoroughly, but he does no execution from its walls; it is a fine bow, well drawn, but the arrow falls short of the mark. Some of the best sermonisers prove the poorest preachers. This sounds paradoxical, but it is true. Why is it?

The reason may be obscure. Of course, if any of the elements we have mentioned be missing, that defect may be partly cause. One reason why many a sermon, as a performance superior to criticism, is utterly ineffective, is simply because it is a performance, however masterly and perfect; indeed, so perfect as to have become an end instead of a means, so masterly as to have become its author's master.

This is a danger to which any ministry is liable that emphasises, as much as Presbyterians do, the standard of the pulpit. The drift is to make the sermon the master of the man; the preacher, the people, the occasion, everything, exists for the sermon. It then degenerates into a mere performance; the preacher is absorbed in the preparation of the sermon as a work of art, and his main aspiration is to grow in sermon-making; to raise his standard higher and higher, and approximate more and more his ideal of a thorough, able, exhaustive, intellectual, original, finished—what? Why a sermon-machine, with all the latest and most extensive improvements and fixtures; this is his ideal of a *preacher*, an ideal that has been the unconscious effect of years of training, culture, and criticism; this is the aspiration that a thousand influences, in themselves pure and often sacred, have steadily and unguardedly drilled into him; under its sway he loses sight—unintentionally, even unconsciously—of the congregation except as a means of practice; his pulpit becomes his intellectual gymnasium; he is so absorbed in the sowing of the seed that he forgets the harvest, and sows for the sake of sowing.

Of course, preaching so dedicated to, and dominated by, art, however innocently or unconsciously, will not prove regularly fruitful. There must be, first of all, the purpose, the desire, the expectation, to penetrate.

The lamp that does not give light is a failure, however ornate

and handsome it be; the physic that does not cure is worthless, whatever the expense or magnificence of its manufacture; the doctor that does not heal is useless; he may have drugs complete, instruments most marvellous, every means and appliance of most improved pattern, but if he cures no patient, *cui bono?* So with the preacher: however able, scholarly, brilliant he is, if his sermons do not produce fruit, he is but an able, scholarly, brilliant failure. The first requisite for point, impact, penetration, is that the minister *feel this fact*. He ought, in the preparation of every discourse, to be as fully possessed with the *object* as the subject, and to ask himself in each instance, What am I aiming at in this sermon? What specific, direct, immediate effect am I striving to produce upon the men and women and children to whom I shall deliver this message? In order to this, he must individualise and make his hearers feel that they are personally, individually addressed.

Beecher says: "Every man's heart is open at one door to the truth." Let him find that door and enter. A higher than Beecher says: He that *winneth* souls is wise.

Christ made his disciples fishers of men. Successful fishermen often *stand in the stream* and fish. This is one need of the pulpit to-day, and the failure to do it accounts often for lack of penetration in sermons. Some ministers know more about the persecutions under Diocletian than the trials of living Christians, and are better armed against Gnosticism than against the inconsistencies and errors of their own congregation. Preachers need to stand in the stream. Live not too much in dead men's thoughts; let those of the living share your attention and care. Keep your feet firm on the facts of human nature and experience around you, and address your ministrations to the needs and the sins, the wants and the woes, of your hearers. This is a striking characteristic of the preaching of the celebrated Phillips Brooks;¹ his hearers must be helped, strengthened, encouraged, comforted, inspired by his sermons.

However careful you are in the preparation of your discourses,

¹ "The Candle of the Lord and Other Sermons," N. Y., 1881; "Sermons," N. Y., 1882.

never allow a hearer an occasion for suspecting that you think more about the sermon than the soul. The preacher must "mean business." He ought to be genuinely and thoroughly in earnest. Melancthon said Luther's words were born not on his lips, but in his soul. Another old Reformer was described as being *vividus vultus, vividi oculi, vividae manus, denique omnia vivida*. The pulpit, as has been said, ought to be charged with electricity without insulation.

Remember the inspired description of the word: a *sword, sharp, two-edged, piercing*.

Much preaching is like the flourish of fence; the weapon is fine, it is handled with dexterity and grace, but there is no *fight* in the performance.

The best thing to give point, impact, penetration to preaching is for the preacher to be filled with that longing that inspired Knox's famous prayer: "Lord, give me Scotland or I die."

Such are some of the elements of successful preaching. Our discussion ends here; but we cannot dismiss the subject without an effort to emphasise a vital truth, and yet one so trite that familiarity blunts the sensibility to its supreme importance. We have had much to say of the elements of efficient preaching. We wish, in closing, to remind the reader that, after all, preaching is a work in which no grade of talents nor degree of diligence can *command* success. Even when Paul preached, it was God who opened the heart to attend unto the things which were spoken of him.

We live in an age of intense external activity, of magnificent enterprise, of elaborate machinery; and the same features are reflected in our religion. Never was the Army of the Cross more efficiently officered, more perfectly armed and accoutred, more systematically drilled. Everything is conducted on a grand and growing scale. It is a day of palace churches; vast sums of money, and extensive schemes, for religious work; the perfection of red tape in ecclesiastical courts, church committees and causes, societies for congregational work; of richly endowed, ably manned, thoroughly equipped theological schools; of much emphasis laid on broad, deep, liberal culture. The push, the vim,

the ways and means of business, must be carried into religion and our Church kept "abreast of the times."

All this is well, if we guard constantly against the danger of depending too much upon these things for success. Just in proportion as a Church does this, such aids become hindrances, and her worldly good fortune may prove the lap of Delilah in which she sleeps to be shorn of her God-given strength. Religious work cannot be "run upon strictly business principles." The Spirit of God giveth the increase. This Spirit is personal, and he is sovereign. Only when loyally, humbly, and consciously dependent upon him, and him alone, for success, are we ever successful. Therefore it is that the pride of great gifts is so often rebuked by seeing "quintessential mediocrity" inherit the blessing. The "candlestick of the church," though of refined gold, has no light except as filled with the *unction* from on high. The beautiful symbol in the prophet's vision teaches our need of a perennial flow of this oil by placing a *living* olive tree on each side of the golden lamp-stand:

"And he said unto me, What seest thou? And I said, I have looked, and behold a lamp-stand all of gold, with a bowl upon the top of it, and his seven lamps thereon, and seven pipes to the seven lamps which are upon the top thereof:

"And two olive trees by it, one upon the right side of the bowl, and the other upon the left side thereof.

"So I answered and spake to the angel that talked with me, saying, What are these, my lord?

"Then the angel that talked with me answered and said unto me, Knowest thou not what these be? And I said, No, my lord.

"Then he answered and spake unto me, saying, This is the word of the Lord unto Zorubbabel, saying, NOT BY MIGHT, NOR BY POWER, BUT BY MY SPIRIT, SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS."

ARTICLE II.

HYDROPHILISM.

Our Baptist brethren in the United States are as far removed in their general habits and tastes as any denomination can be from a ritualistic proclivity. But it must be confessed that *in one point* they push ritualism to its utmost verge. They are so ardent for liberty in everything pertaining to ecclesiastical observance that one might expect of them a corresponding elasticity in regard to the mode of administering the sacraments; and, in fact, they are as free from dogmatism concerning the administration of the Lord's Supper as any other body of Christians. We never hear from them that in this ordinance *the mode is the essence of the rite*. But, in reference to the other sacrament, they change front *instantly*, and insist, with all the ardor of fanaticism, that *mode* is absolutely essential to its validity. That they are sincere in this conviction, we entertain no doubt, but that they are mistaken and inconsistent in holding it, we believe quite as firmly. If it were a mere denominational peculiarity, it might well be treated as we treat the whims and oddities of Quakers and Tunkers. But the claims of their denomination to public respect and fraternal recognition are so great that other bodies of Christians are brought into constant loving association with them, and this fact makes their one peculiarity a matter of common observation, and frequently of painful friction. It is not, and cannot be, pleasant to be told, in the midst of cordial Christian intercourse, that we are unbaptized persons, and that our Churches are illegitimate organisations. And yet this is the intimation conveyed to us whenever in our presence the exclusive validity of immersion is urged, by word or action.

It can do no harm to indicate the impression made upon outsiders by the adherence to a rigid ritualism. The poet Burns was not far wrong in his famous lines—

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us!"

and many an error becomes obsolete in the course of time

through this very process of changing our point of view. To an outsider, this earnest advocacy of a special formality in one of the sacraments always appears grotesque in a body of Christians less disposed to forms than any other with which we are acquainted. It looks like infatuation in a people so orthodox and so spiritual, to contend with so much earnestness that one religious rite shall be performed with unrelenting exactitude, whilst others equally sacred may be observed with great freedom. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews represents, as a characteristic of the old dispensation, the charge given to Moses, "See thou make all things according to the pattern shewed thee in the mount." The new dispensation, it is implied, does not contain such a charge as to mode, and we all know that specific directions on such subjects are conspicuously wanting. Now it strikes the outside Christian world as a strange thing in our unritualistic brethren, who abhor so cordially the ritualism of a party in the Episcopal Church, that they should persist so vehemently in urging that a "pattern" shall be followed to the letter in one rite alone. They are peculiarly unfortunate in this, because the *rubric* to be obeyed is not to be found within the lids of the only book to which they appeal—the New Testament.

Of course we do not deny that some features of the rite are essential. The Lord's Supper would be invalid without bread and wine, and baptism would be invalid without water. But unless it can be shown that two incompatible symbols are involved in the latter, it will be impossible to demonstrate the necessity of immersion. Its significance must embrace both *purification* and *burial*—two objects as diverse as light and darkness—or else the *pattern* must be thrown aside. For water is not essential to burial, and total immersion is not necessary for purification. Our friends are therefore bound to maintain that baptism was instituted to symbolise two distinct things—*cleansing* and *burial*. This is what they actually insist upon, and outsiders are greatly perplexed by the combination. They find it strange indeed that water was selected as the substance in which to be buried, and a total submergence of the person in his clothes as the sign of purification! It is plain that the *duality* of the design is the circum-

stance that induces the adoption of this peculiar theory, and it is this duality that wears a repulsive aspect to others. It is hard to believe that the inspired founders of the Christian system would combine in one rite so complex a symbolism. Our brethren insist that, at baptism, we are "buried *in water* in the likeness of the death of Christ." But this requires a powerful effort of the imagination to construct a likeness between the sign and the thing signified. In no respect can such a likeness be pretended to exist, unless it be found in the rocky chamber where the body of our Lord reposed. But even this appears to the outsider an extremely absurd suggestion. Immersion in a stream bears no resemblance whatever to enclosure in an excavation. *Spiritual* resemblance may be conceived. In baptism, considered as a formal adoption of Christianity, we may be separated from sin and the world, as Christ at his burial was separated; but how an immersion in water can represent the latter event is more than we can imagine. We are certainly not "buried *with* Christ" in any but a spiritual sense, because he was buried in a tomb, and we in a stream or pool; he physically dead, and we physically alive; he in the thirtieth year of our era, and we in its eighteenth century; he in Palestine, and we at the antipodes. The faith of our brethren is strong, but it hangs upon an obvious error. They understand "in baptism" as equivalent to "in water," and read the text as if it ran, "buried with him in water." But this is a delusion. It is forgotten that "we are also risen with him" in baptism; but resurrection implies an exit from the place of burial, and consistency would require another form of expression, if baptism were equivalent to water. The original Greek and our English version would both read, "*wherefrom* also we are risen with him," not "wherein."

The sober truth is that the apostle did not mean a burial of the body at all, but simply a spiritual association with the burial and resurrection of our Lord. This was formally consummated in the case of conversion from paganism to Christianity on the occasion of baptism, and "in baptism" has the same adverbial force with a multitude of similar expressions which all men use every day. We are never misunderstood when we say that "in ordina-

tion" a man is consecrated to the service of God, or, "in marriage" a woman devotes her life to her husband. Why, then, must we infer from St. Paul's use of similar language in reference to baptism, that he was alluding to the precise formality of that rite?

But the outsider is puzzled by the further fact that no intimation was ever given before that such was the significance of baptism. Surely, if it was intended for such a purpose, some hint of it would have escaped the lips of our Lord and his original disciples. But for such an allusion we search in vain. So overwhelming is this consideration that the more cautious of our brethren are disposed to concede that this view of the rite was an afterthought with St. Paul, suggested by the ceremony itself; and this conclusion seems to an outsider an absolute necessity. For the disciples of Jesus could not have apprehended such a symbolism before his death, which, when it occurred, surprised them all. It follows that they had not been impressed with it as the very fact prefigured in their own baptism.

But to an outsider this concession, if made, would be summarily fatal to immersion as an exclusive and necessary mode. The form must be twofold in its original design: it must have signified purification and burial from the beginning, or else purification alone was its object, and to represent this, immersion cannot be necessary. As soon as we eliminate the idea of burial from the rite, the "liquid grave" loses all its charms. Experience and common sense declare that the whole body may be effectually cleansed by application of water to its different parts successively. It is death to the theory to insist upon immersion for this purpose alone. Primitive usage might be appealed to ever so much, and yet it would remain obvious to every reasonable being that a thorough washing in any mode would be valid.

The whole trouble in this sad controversy, which is constantly kept alive by the exclusive claims of one branch of the Church against others, is clearly due to their error in attributing a dual significance to the rite of baptism. An incidental likeness, such as St. Paul is supposed by some to have discovered in its mode to our Saviour's burial, could not by any means help us to un-

derstand the original meaning of the institution. But that meaning must have been understood by the disciples from the first, since they were the actual administrators. Peter and John were of course acquainted with the import of a rite which they themselves performed, whilst they knew very little about the prospective death of their Master. If the rite freshadowed that event, it was administered in profound ignorance of its signification, and received by its subjects with equal blindness. Moreover, John the Baptist gave no sign that he was any better informed, and appears to have died without a suspicion that his baptism meant anything more than purification.

But, reason as we will, our brethren continue to affirm that "mode" is essential to baptismal validity, on the ground that St. Paul's comparison must be preserved by the Church in all ages as a memorial of the Saviour's death. It is supposed that an abandonment of immersion would deprive the Christian world of a solemn reminder of the burial of our Lord. But we fail to see how an *undesigned* similitude, that did not enter into the conceptions of the primitive disciples before the crucifixion, can be represented as an essential feature of the ordinance now. That which is obligatory since the crucifixion, was obviously obligatory previously, and, if binding, must have been inculcated. But it cannot, in the face of the facts, be claimed that the disciples were ever informed that baptism was a symbol of burial. If it was designed to be a memorial ordinance, it was not only strangely unlike the object after the event occurred, but strangely destitute of any words of institution that could have transmitted that purpose to after ages. And finally, the Lord's Supper was expressly designed to "show the Lord's death till he come." There was no call, therefore, for another memorial rite.

This form of ritualism derives most of its popular support from the excessive literalness with which certain passages in the New Testament are read. The same degree of literalness is condemned in others. The Quaker pleads in vain the positive command, "Swear not at all," and the Tunker defends his feet-washing with an injunction equally explicit, without gaining the assent of the immersionist. But when the latter finds the little

English preposition *into* recurring several times in St. Paul's allusion to the burial of Christ, he is convinced beyond correction that the passage implies immersion. "Baptized *into* Jesus Christ" impresses him indelibly with the notion of envelopment. He does not stop to reflect that a literal immersion in Christ would have been impossible. Still more obviously would it be absurd to speak of "immersion into his death." To sink a solid substance in a liquid, is the primary definition of the term; but Christ is not a liquid, and his death was not substance in any form. St. Paul cannot, therefore, be supposed to have had a literal act of immersion in view. His *into* does not express a local relation, but a mental reference. It has the force of *unto*, or *in reference to*; and baptism into Christ, or into his death, is simply baptism with reference by faith to Christ crucified. For this spiritual reason, the apostle adds that we are buried with him, made sharers of his cross and his sepulchre. For the "old man is crucified with him"; not by any resemblance of baptism to a crucifixion to be apprehended by the senses, but in virtue of a faith that fixes its hope upon the atoning sacrifice of the Son of God.

The apostle not only says we are *buried* with Christ, but by a change of figure that we are *planted* with him; and this new figure ought to convince the reader that his language is spiritual rather than ritualistic. The seed that is planted is placed in permanent relation to the soil. And baptism, as Dr. Dale has conclusively demonstrated, is a permanent state into which the subject is introduced, which from the nature of the case cannot be represented by a momentary submersion. The act itself is undone as soon as it is done, to avoid a catastrophe. Baptism, however, in its spiritual aspect, represents an enduring association with a Saviour who died and returned no more to a natural life among men. If we are planted with him, it is that we may grow with him into a new spiritual condition of which the world knows nothing. Now, the purifying effect of water remains after its application, and so far baptism, although performed in a moment, may represent a permanent sanctity; but the humblest understanding must perceive that if the water represents the state into

which the subject is introduced as an enveloping element, he ought to be kept there permanently. If we are symbolically put into Christ by immersion, our immediate exit can only signify separation from him. But the apostle calls the subsequent state a resurrection, and many subjects of immersion regard their coming out of the water as a symbol of such a resurrection. But unfortunately for the theory, he does not describe the resurrection of the subject as a visible act, but as a change of life accomplished "by faith of the operation of God." In other words, the rising, the burial, the death of the believer, are all spoken of in spiritual, not in ritual terms; and the more the passage is analysed, the further it leads us from an imaginary scene to the actual experience of faith.

In sober truth, immersion *into* Christ in any imaginary sense implying envelopment of one person by another is utterly inconceivable. Such a construction is precisely on a par with the eucharistic theory of the papist, who insists upon *eating* Christ, because he said, "This is my body," and had previously declared, "He that eateth me, even he shall live by me." We are not immersed in Christ, and cannot be, in the nature of things. We are driven to a spiritual construction by an absolute necessity, which teaches us that baptism is here represented as a rite in which the convert is understood to adopt as the foundation of a new hope the fact of Christ's death on the cross. "We receive the ordinance with especial believing reference of mind and heart to this essential truth; and the practical use aimed at by the apostle is that we must die to sin as Christ died for its destruction. In view of such great spiritual considerations, the ritualistic view of the ordinance sinks into utter insignificance. In the light of these truths, how absurd is it to dwell with absorbing interest upon the preposition *into*, and to infer immersion from the apostle's allusion to our Saviour's temporary occupancy of a sepulchre! The whole figurative passage is equally consistent if we exclude the notion of bodily submergence, and simply consider baptism as the rite by which the subject is formally united to the one body of believers.

But our friends persist in arguing for their theory, that St.

Paul's allusion appears at least to confirm a presumption from other facts. The phraseology of the New Testament in several other places indicates immersion as the actual mode. It ought to suffice as an answer, that when we set out to establish a *demonstration* that certain features of a rite are necessary to its validity, we should be able to reach a *positive* conclusion. A mere probability reached by adding one presumption to another would not justify an inference of certainty. But it has been shown that this attempt at a cumulative argument is a failure, inasmuch as St. Paul's language does not furnish even a presumption in favor of the immersion hypothesis. If, then, we turn to the other alleged facts, we find all presumption against the idea of burial being involved in the rite. The total absence of any reference to it in connexion with baptism has been pointed out; and this negative alone affords a forcible presumption that no such significance was attached to the ceremony. But the other facts relied upon, if fully conceded, would not establish a presumption for the hypothesis, because no man in his senses would infer from a mere going into water that the subject went into the element to be buried. There is no tribe of mankind that has ever adopted submergence in water as its mode of disposing of the dead, much less of making the burial a matter of a moment. The proposition refutes itself. Let it be remembered that we are considering two presumptions, one of which must necessarily be anterior to the other. St. Paul's language cannot be the primary source of presumption, because it was long subsequent in date, and there is no trace of such a doctrine in the preceding history. We must therefore look to the mode itself for the suggestion. But behold! the mode suggests nothing of the kind, but directly the contrary; and our friends are compelled again to fly back for it to St. Paul. A child trying to poise one marble on another could not attempt anything more hopeless.

The burial theory must be given up. If immersion is ever to be established as the essential mode, it must be done by showing clearly that the purification contemplated in baptism can only be symbolised by that mode. The mere fact that this was at one time the actual mode is no proof of such a proposition. An

argument of that sort would require us to imitate the primitive mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper by using unleavened bread, reclining around a table, and always appointing the service at night. A better reason must be assigned than primitive usage, to make the mode obligatory. If purification was the object of the rite, that object may undoubtedly be attained by submersion in water; but the theory of our ritualistic friends is that if the body were thoroughly washed by another process, the baptism would not be valid. Why not? The purification would be as complete. No answer is possible without another illogical appeal to St. Paul. We are, however, done with St. Paul, and have appealed to the Evangelists. We find in them not a whisper of a necessary mode, but, at the most, a simple reference to usage. The great inquiry is, *why* the parties went into water, if they did so in fact; and if St. Paul is left out of consideration, the only response we can get is, that they went into the water to undergo a rite of *purification*.

Purification is the object of the rite, and water, however used, is the means. It cannot be denied that the end is attainable independently of the mode. If the mode is essential, it must be for some other reason. It is thus invested, for a reason that cannot be discovered, with an importance equal to the end in view, and the object of baptism is again represented as twofold—to symbolise purification, and to symbolise something else unknown. This unknown something is what our friends ought to point out, or for ever abandon their theory. According to that theory, baptism is invalid, however thoroughly the person may be washed, unless he goes down into and under the water. When we inquire what it is that renders this submersion essential, they can give no answer, except that the word *baptize* signifies total immersion. They cannot inform us why this term was adopted, or why this mode is required. To *baptize* signifies to immerse, and not to immerse is not to baptize. It does not seem possible to them that the word can have any other meaning; and if driven from St. Paul and the idea of a symbolical burial, they find abundant consolation in a Greek dictionary.

But this last refuge is not available. Mere words are often

delusive. Their meaning can only be satisfactorily determined by usage, and the New Testament usage is the true test of the signification of this disputed term. But here we find the facts altogether unfavorable to the immersion theory. These facts are both negative and positive. The former consist in the absence from the evangelical history of any institution of baptism as a new rite among the Jews. It is not only treated as a familiar ceremony among them, but as one well known to Gentile readers. We know this from the fact that the Evangelists frequently explain their terms for this class of readers, but never in a single instance do they communicate to them the meaning of baptism. The rite was well known in all civilised lands, not as a novelty, but as an institution handed down from past ages in Jewish history. St. Paul speaks of "divers baptisms" under the old dispensation, and the Gospels contain a criticism of the Saviour upon the Jews of his day for observing the *traditions* of their fathers in baptizing "cups and pots and brazen vessels and tables," from which we learn that baptism was a matter of constant and familiar observation, and had been for many generations. These facts not only account for the absence of definition, but for the way in which the rite was adopted without comment by John and Jesus. The mode, therefore, was handed down from the past, and if we desire to learn what it was, we must consult the antiquities of the Jews. But such an inquiry leads to the ceremonial law, in which the idea of immersion cannot be found. To be brief, let the reader remember that ceremonial purification required a change of water at every application, because standing water in which an impure article had been dipped would at once become unclean and be unfit for the purpose. It will be obvious on the slightest reflection that immersion would involve endless trouble, unless the object was taken to a stream, or water was poured or sprinkled upon it. This is easily illustrated in the cases referred to by the Saviour, where domestic utensils had to be purified, and the persons or purchases that came from the markets. The dipping of one object would have required the water to be changed before the dipping of another. The amount of labor and waste which this would have involved, especially in

cities, precludes the notion of successive immersions, and shuts us up to some other mode. The six water pots of stone at Cana, "after the manner of the purifying of the Jews," suggest the means that were probably used for the purpose. Their size forbids the thought that tables or couches could be immersed in them, and at the same time indicates how absurd it would have been to dip any small article into them, when the whole of the water would have been thereby polluted. The importance attached to living or running water among the Jews was a necessary consequence of their punctilious observance of their purifying usages. These usages began in the wilderness of Sinai, where no one can pretend that facilities for immersion could have existed. In our Saviour's day they had become so exacting that a superstitious Jew was obliged to baptize himself, as the passage is generally understood, whenever he returned home from the market or other places of public assemblage; and this implies a frequent repetition during the day for many of the citizens. A total immersion each time in fresh water is the requirement of the theory, and our friends must shoulder the difficulty. We would respectfully ask how any but the most affluent citizens could find time and means for indulgence in so onerous a superstition. But on the day of Pentecost thousands of converts, by hypothesis, passed through this form of ceremony in Jerusalem, where, within or without the walls, running water deep enough for immersion could not be found, and standing water in the pools was unavailable for the reasons advanced above. Supposing the apostles capable of the immense labor, the far greater difficulty is found in this apparent impossibility of securing a place for the administration of the rite to so large a number of candidates. It seems very strange to us outsiders when good and intelligent people continue, in the face of these great difficulties, to insist that no use of water but immersion is baptism. Surely the origin of a word cannot be of sufficient force to meet and sustain them all. Hundreds of other words employed in Scripture are used without reference to their original derivation. A centurion was the commander of a hundred men, but was still a centurion when he commanded fifty. A tetrarch was the ruler of the fourth

part of a district, but did not cease to be a tetrarch when the number of parts was reduced to three. Flesh is a well-known term for the animal part of nature, but is freely used to represent the corrupt propensities of the human soul. Spirit, in its origin, signifies wind or breath, but is employed to designate the third person of the Trinity. There is no end to the illustrations afforded by substantive terms. But the same is true of words expressing action. To repent is, originally, to change the course of thought, but it signifies in the New Testament a change of life and character. To believe is to give credit to what is said, but in the Gospels it implies a spiritual trust in a person. The word is actually applied to the same individuals in opposite senses, and we are obliged to qualify it by the context or the circumstances. What right have we, then, to attach to baptism alone one unchangeable meaning, and to insist that nothing short of immersion can express the valid form of the rite? There is no description of the Christian ceremony in the Scriptures. The utmost that the immersionist can claim is a *hint* in a few passages of our version. But no hint can justify an exclusive dogmatism. And when we come to the passages in which it is alleged to be found, it is astonishing how little significance they contain. Certain elastic prepositions in the original Greek are the sole support of the imaginary theory. But every scholar knows with what freedom they are used by New Testament writers. *Eis* and *ek* (*into*, and *out of*) are found in a multitude of cases to express mere *proximity*. They are then translated *to* and *from*. It is impossible to affirm, on the authority of these prepositions, that the place or element was actually entered. One representative case may be cited which clearly illustrates our statement. Peter and John ran to the sepulchre. John outran Peter, and in the close sense of the word (*eis*) came first *into* the sepulchre. But in the next sentence we are assured that he did *not* go in (see John xx. 5). The translators were therefore compelled to give the preposition its less precise meaning, and make the preceding clause read, "came first *to* the sepulchre." This case is one of a large number in which the preposition simply indicates coming near the object. These facts warrant us in asking what *proof*

such a preposition can afford that either Jesus or the eunuch actually entered the water? If there is no *proof*, but a mere guess, the foundation of a deplorable dogmatism is utterly lost.

But our brethren ask why the parties had to go to the water, instead of having the water brought to them. If we were incapable of replying to such a question, it would not help the questioner. It is meaningless, unless he holds that immersion is the only conceivable purpose. But every reader knows that this is not the only reason why the parties may have resorted to the water.

Negatively speaking, we are quite sure that this resort was not for the purpose of having sufficient *depth*. John baptized at first on the banks of the Jordan, but afterwards abandoned that locality, where he had all the depth he needed, and went to Enon "because there were many waters there," as the sentence is literally rendered. That the literal is the correct translation appears certain from the fact that "much water," as our version reads, was already abundant at the river; and as Enon has not been positively identified, no one knows whether it affords any facilities for immersion.

It is also most natural to doubt whether Philip and the eunuch found deep water in the desert. The language of the eunuch implies that he was gratified to find any water at all. "See, here is water," would be a natural exclamation for one looking out for any running stream, but not so if a suitable place for immersion were sought. Examination would probably be made first. And it is reported by travellers familiar with that route that any stream of sufficient depth is hard, if not impossible, to find. Even in our own well-watered country, it is a common thing to cross many shallow rivulets before coming to one where a bath can be conveniently taken.

The case of the jailer of Philippi affords the strongest sort of evidence that depth of water was not needed in baptism. Neither he nor the apostles could conveniently or consistently leave the prison in the night to go to the river, even if it were near, of which we have no intimation. If they depended upon bathing apparatus on the premises, the amount of pure water needed to

replenish the bath for a number of persons successively, would have been very great, and the operation would have consumed much time. Reason revolts against the supposition that such a process was encountered, in such painful contrast with the terms of salvation just proclaimed, so simple and so brief: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."

We maintain with great confidence that the exclusive validity of immersion cannot be demonstrated. Besides the failure of the facts to substantiate it, we appeal with especial emphasis to the absence of all direction, in the commission given to the ministry, concerning the mode of administration. Not a syllable of caution against informality is to be found in the New Testament. If ritualistic precision is the inexorable law of baptism, it is the only Christian rite that requires it. And yet there is less warning against invalidity in this than in any other service. We are required to *baptize*, but what is baptism? The word is Greek, not English, and it is unreasonable to expect modern Western nations to understand Greek. But when we consult the Scriptures for information, they give us no information except this, that baptism was what the Jews had been practising from time immemorial as a purifying ceremony. Unless our friends can find exclusive immersion in the Old Testament, they can never find it in the New. "Divers baptisms" were certainly observed under the old dispensation, but we can discover no trace of an exclusive validity in any form whatever. The idea of representing death by submersion in water is absolutely unknown. Purification is throughout Jewish history the chief ceremonial object. But every intelligent reader knows that total immersion was not prescribed by the law. Sprinkling and bathing were both enjoined in some specific cases, but in not a single instance is it charged that even the bathing must be total or formal.

The immersionist may perhaps ask what is our own theory. To this we answer that we are not contending for any theory, or against any form of the rite, but solely against exclusiveness. Baptism is, in our view, a rite adopted from Jewish usages, in which the purification of the soul secured to the believer is symbolised by the use of water applied to the body. The "heart is

sprinkled from an evil conscience, and the body washed with pure water." The benefit of the sacrament is not due, as St. Peter declares (2 Pet. iii. 21), to "the putting away of the filth of the flesh," but to "the answer of a good conscience toward God." This very caution against a ritualistic tendency clearly indicates that the filth of the flesh is to some extent removed, actually or symbolically, in the external ceremony. We know, besides, that the domestic baptisms of the Jews were intended to purify their persons and utensils from defilement. We contend that immersion was *not* essential to this end, not only as a dictate of common reason, but as actually exhibited in the history of the Jews. We positively know that many of their purifications were performed by sprinkling, and others by bathing or pouring, without any injunction of total immersion.

It is well known to Bible readers that defilement was regarded in Jewish law as either actual or imputed. In some cases the person or object was considered unclean in a merely ceremonial sense. The removal of the legal imputation of impurity was effected by a cleansing ceremony prescribed by law. This ceremony was certainly not uniform. No single mode of purification can be found in the provisions of the Levitical code. But the result was ever the same. However he was cleansed, the man was clean.

How the word *baptize* came to be applied to these processes of purification will probably never be known. Learned men have utterly failed, not only in this case but in many others, to trace the changes effected by time in the meaning of Hebrew and Greek words. We are too familiar with such changes in our own language to be surprised to meet them in the New Testament. The English word *convey* now signifies to transfer property by means of writing, whereas originally it expressed only a transportation of a movable object from one place to another. To *garble* formerly meant to sift for the purpose of getting the *best* part of an article; but at present it has none but a literary sense, and that to sift for the purpose of presenting the *worst* part. There is nothing strange, but everything to suggest, that, in the friction of centuries, the word *baptize* may have lost much of its

original narrowness before the time of John the Baptist. In fact, this is a necessary inference from the use of the word in the New Testament. What can an exclusive immersionist make of such an expression as "baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire"? It is no answer to say it is figurative, for a figure must be traceable to the thing from which it is borrowed. There must be an analogy, however remote, between the figurative and the literal sense. Now if the letter was immersion, the figure must suggest envelopment. But our friends insist that there can be no immersion without placing the subject within the element. The most abundant application of the element to the subject would not satisfy them. The figure, however, represents the Spirit as *poured* upon the subject on the day of Pentecost. Here, then, there is a want of analogy. If to baptize means to put *under* water, and the Spirit was poured *over* the subject, we fail to see the propriety of calling the latter a baptism. The same difficulty occurs in reference to the baptism which our Saviour predicted for himself and his apostles, commonly understood to mean the persecution in reserve for them. Why should sorrow in so many different forms be represented in a figure by momentary immersion in water? There was nothing uniform in the experience of our Lord and his apostles, although he and they were appointed to the same baptism. The reference can only be to the circumstances in which resemblance is found—to the severe sufferings that were to be inflicted upon him and them. The imaginary element of this baptism was therefore persecution inflicted by the hands of enemies. Here again we find the element applied to the subject rather than the subject put into the element. But the baptism of the Israelites "into Moses in the cloud and in the sea" furnishes another example of a figure with which immersion cannot be reconciled. In no sense whatever can this be regarded as a literal baptism. There is not a syllable in the narrative to indicate that the multitude was enveloped in either element, or enclosed by both together. The structure of the sentence really requires that the cloud and the sea should be considered separately; but we know positively that the former moved either before or behind the host, which does not imply immersion,

even remotely; and we also know that the path was dry, both in front and rear, and there was no environment of water. There was no literal baptism in the case, and the only sense in which it can be called a baptism at all is a highly figurative one. But the figure must bear an analogy to literal baptism. We cannot find it in the form, and must seek it in the meaning of the rite. The apostle could not mean that the host of Israel was put *into* Moses, but that a change of relation was effected by the passage of the sea and the intervention of the cloud, analogous to that which takes place in baptism. As Christian baptism is unto Christ, so this imaginary baptism was unto Moses. In the one case a man formally becomes a disciple of Christ, in the other he became a follower of Moses. In one case he repudiated Egypt, in the other he forsakes the world. The analogy is expressed by the preposition *eis*, which is found in both baptisms, and signifies *unto* in one as much as in the other.

We appeal to these illustrations for the purpose of showing how impossible it is to receive immersion as the exact synonym of baptism. To immerse in Moses, or Christ, or death, or in the Holy Spirit, or in a pillar of cloud, or a wall of water held off by the hand of God for the very purpose of preventing immersion, seems to us outsiders so irreconcilable with facts that it astonishes us to hear it affirmed. But if immersion were the true translation, it ought to fit every case.

But our opposition is not to immersion as one mode of baptism. As water may be thus applied to symbolise purification, no objection can be urged against this form of the rite, except that of inconvenience, or want of adaptation to all climes and all states of society. The exclusive claims of this one mode are the object of our resistance. Immersion cannot possibly be demonstrated, and the objections of its advocates to other modes on the ground of invalidity cannot be urged in any case where the entire body is as completely purified as it is in immersion. Excluding the burial theory, no reason in the world can be assigned for submergence of the whole person, except that it secures complete purification. But it is possible to do this otherwise, and therefore immersion is not essential.

Is it, however, an absolute requisite that the ablution shall be total? Is baptism invalid when a part only of the person receives the application of water? This would be true if the object of the rite were actually to remove physical defilement. But St. Peter explicitly teaches us that this is not what is contemplated—“*Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh.*” Uncleaness among the Jews was an imputation of neglect of ceremonial observances. No matter how pure the person was, if contact with a dead body in one point had occurred, or the man had merely eaten with a Gentile, he was reckoned unclean in a legal sense. Purification was the removal of this imputation. It was not a common washing, but a ceremony in which water was used as a cleansing symbol. The essential thing was doing what the law required, or, as St. Peter expresses it, “*the answer of a good conscience toward God.*”

No one can read the Levitical law without being impressed with the appropriateness of St. Paul's language when he calls these ceremonies “*divers baptisms.*” One of them was water containing the ashes of a heifer “*sprinkling the unclean.*” We have here a positive proof that sprinkling was baptism. In other cases bathing was baptism. In many instances the rite was exceedingly complex. But we are assured that the term baptism belonged to all, because the result in all cases was a removal of the imputation.

In the New Testament, “*baptism for the remission of sins*” was a ceremony in which the imputation of depravity and guilt was *represented* to be removed. In reality, “*the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin.*” But this purification is represented to us in baptism by an external use of water, as we learn from the words of Ananias to Saul of Tarsus: “*Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins.*”

To what extent, then, must water be applied to constitute valid Christian baptism? The promise is, “*I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean.*” If, under the law, the leper, whose whole person was legally unclean, even after he was perfectly restored to health, was cleansed by a *sprinkling* with water and blood, shall we be told that under the gospel of liberty a to-

tal immersion is necessary to represent its benefits? Surely a rigid exaction of the contact of water with the whole person cannot be necessary to constitute Christian baptism, when a mere aspersion satisfied the Levitical law!

Our friends, in their zeal for a rigid ritualism, go far beyond the law and the testimony. Their earnestness amounts to what may properly be called *hydrophilism*. They stand in the front rank among evangelical Christians for the ability and learning of their ministry, for the general piety of their membership, and for their noble work as a missionary body. But their scrupulousness in the matter of water is neither scriptural nor rational, and betrays them into deplorable inconsistency. Immersion is the only thing wherein they require this theoretical rigor. It is the one bar to fellowship with their brethren of other denominations. And yet it is the last thing they can hope to *prove* from the Bible. Ignorant people will of course continue to assent to its claims so long as the language of our English version continues to be urged upon them. To "go down into the water" is indeed precisely what they see done in the Baptist ceremonial. They do not know how erroneous the inference is that this was for the purpose of immersion. They do not reflect that the same form may not be necessary in different countries—that it may have been more convenient for Jews to go to a stream than to have water brought to them, even for purposes of aspersion—and that "divers baptisms" may be as allowable under the Christian dispensation as under the ceremonial law. Our wonder is at the scholars and logicians who are found sustaining this peculiar hypothesis. Above all, our wonder is that the *hearts* of our brethren have not long ago exploded and abrogated these dreams of the *head*.

The old document recently brought before the public, under the name of the Teaching of the Apostles, by an immersionist, a Greek bishop, fully confirms the views we have expressed. Running water was considered very important, but not essential, to baptism; and the reason was that a pure rather than a deep element was the chief object in the performance of the rite.

JAMES A. WADDELL.

ARTICLE III.

THE FOREIGN EVANGELIST AGAIN, AS VIEWED
BY ONE IN THE FOREIGN FIELD.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee, in the *REVIEW* for April, 1883, confesses that, while reading our paper in the previous number, and seeing his own name used *passim*, he felt like a certain backwoodsman dining for the first time at a first-class hotel, who became insulted at the waiter for laying a napkin at his plate.

The sequel showed that the Doctor not only got confused, but became so nervous at the sight of that napkin that he even revolted at the food set before him. It would seem that both he and the venerable Secretary have been sustaining themselves so long upon the dry bones of postulates and syllogisms that lie bleaching around "our schemes" and "informing and underlying principles" that they have become ecclesiastical dyspeptics, and can no longer digest the strong meat of the word. With the permission of those who control this first-class hotel, we will now undertake to show that the food we set before their guests in January, 1883, was good and wholesome food.

We propose in this paper to revindicate our views of the office and powers of the evangelist, and in a succeeding number consider again his relations to the native Church and his fellow-workers.

OFFICE.

We combated what has justly been called the Episcopal theory of the evangelist, so prevalent in our Church. According to this theory, the evangelist is different from the ordinary minister of the word; is an extraordinary officer, in whom the power of jurisdiction resides in an extraordinary mode, *i. e.*, severally; he holds a temporary extraordinary office, in which the power of jurisdiction inheres as a several power; he has an extraordinary mission, with authority to wield ecclesiastical power in an extraordinary way. These expressions, some of which have been

taken from the writings of our most influential men, and some from reports adopted by General Assemblies, are but samples of the extraordinary mode in which he is treated, and fully justified the assertion once made in the *Philadelphia Presbyterian* that our Church holds to the *Episcopal theory* of the evangelist.

Against this theory we opposed the Presbyterian theory of our Book, which teaches that the evangelist is simply an ordinary minister of the word sent forth to preach the gospel in destitute places at home and abroad, to whom may be intrusted or delegated by the court the power of jurisdiction to organise churches and ordain officers in them. His mission is the ordinary mission of the Church; his office is the same as that of all other ordinary teaching elders; his power of jurisdiction inheres in his office of teaching elder, and resides in him as the delegated joint power of the court—just as it resides in all other commissioners. Looking at him in the light of Scripture and the Constitution, there is nothing extraordinary about the man, the office, or the work. Whatever is extraordinary is the result entirely of extraordinary theories and schemes.

We opposed the subdivision of the one office of the minister into as many secondary offices as there are titles given the officer, holding with our Book that these titles do not indicate grades of office, but are simply expressive of the various duties or works to be performed by the minister.

We quoted Dr. Lefevre's definition: "The evangelist may be defined as a temporary officer of the Church, with an extraordinary mission and authority to wield ecclesiastical power in an extraordinary way." We said that "in this definition he makes the evangelist, in his character of evangelist, an officer of the Church." To our utter amazement he indignantly denies it; he claims that he has always held that, as an officer, he is a minister. But is he a *temporary* officer of the Church in his character of minister of the word? Surely not! Was he not defining him in his character of evangelist? Until he can show in what other character the man is a temporary officer of the Church, we shall believe and say that he made him such *in his character of evangelist*. We also said that throughout his article he made him an

officer as an evangelist, and in proof quoted the language: "This is the differentiating characteristic of his office, marking it out as at once temporary and extraordinary." The Doctor charges us with obtuseness in not perceiving that he makes the differentiating characteristic to reside in the *work* and not in the *office*. This is a bald sophism, whether so intended or not. Does he not say that this work is the differentiating characteristic of the *office*, marking *it*, the office, out as at once temporary and extraordinary? Is the office of the minister of the word temporary and extraordinary? He ascribed an office to the man in his quality of evangelist. And, after all, he confesses his "mistake," and substitutes *work* for *office*.

We quoted from the paragraph on the minister of the word, which says that these titles of bishop, pastor, evangelist, etc., do not indicate office, but duties. The Chairman quotes the whole paragraph, and then premises that "in discourse we may *logically* predicate of him under *every* name whatever may be predicated of him under *any* name," and then concludes that "it is good Presbyterian speech to say that either the bishop or the pastor or the minister or the presbyter . . . or *the evangelist*, is *an officer of the Church*, and is invested with an *office* of the Church." (Italics his.) And who will gainsay it? But is that what he predicated of the evangelist? He said he is a *temporary* officer of the Church, and is invested with a *temporary* and *extraordinary* office. Can he logically predicate that of the man under the name of minister, bishop, or presbyter? He not only used bad Presbyterian speech, but taught bad Presbyterian doctrine, and now sees and corrects it by dropping the word *temporary* in his definition and substituting *work* for *office* in the rest of his article. He then gives us a new definition that he is sure he will be able to defend.

We maintained in our previous paper that our proper and only *official* title is "minister of the word," and that those others are simply indicative of special duties or work. Our critic becomes exceedingly severe on this, and confesses his inability to give the Church a diagnosis of our mental condition. "It is difficult to imagine the state of mind of that man who will select one of

these scriptural titles, and that, too, out of the middle of the list, and then argue that . . . we are allowed to ascribe *an office* to him *only* under that one title, or describe him as an *officer only* under that one name. This is certainly a specimen of 'extraordinary confusion' *logically considered.*"

That is certainly very severe; and we feel sorry for the unfortunate framers of our New Book to have fallen under the scathing sarcasm of so unrelenting a critic. It is *perhaps* to be lamented now that they should have selected just one of these titles, and that, too, out of the middle of the list, and put it up at the head of the paragraph as his *official* title; and that they should have uniformly used this, in preference to the others, when speaking of him as an officer of the Church. They should have varied somewhat in their use of these titles. *Perhaps* they might as well have said: "The officers of the Church are evangelists, ruling elders, and deacons." And again: "The *ordinary* and *perpetual* officers of the Church are evangelists or presbyters, ruling elders, and deacons." This the honored Chairman would no doubt have considered judicious and discriminating; and would have saved them the shame of having *non compos mentis* written over against them. There would have been no conflict, moreover, between him and them, since he has changed his mind and no longer holds that our office is *temporary* and *extraordinary*, but *ordinary* and *perpetual*.

We are disposed, however, to stand by the Book as it now reads, the Chairman of the Executive Committee to the contrary notwithstanding. The man is at first a candidate for the office of the holy ministry; is ordained to the office of the holy ministry; is deposed from the office of the holy ministry; is reëstablished in the office of the holy ministry; because this is one of the three ordinary and perpetual offices of the Church. We are inclined to think that the framers of the Book were in a very sound state of mind when they selected that title out of the middle of the list as the *official* title, because it is ~~the~~ only one that can be applied to him under any and all circumstances; that is, engaged in all the phases of his work; for whatever he may be doing he is "serving Christ in his Church." No other single title can be

applied to him always. If we wish to use any other as his official title, it requires a combination of two, as teacher and elder, combined in teaching elder. Pastor and bishop do not describe him when engaged in evangelistic work. The Old Book quoted against us (although it "was the Book from 1729 to 1879," *one hundred and fifty years!*) was not, therefore, strictly correct when it put these as the proper official titles; and the framers of our New Book showed their good sense when they rejected them and substituted "minister of the word, or teaching elder," in their stead. But we must reject pastor and bishop for another reason; they do not *distinguish* us from the ruling elder. When Paul called the *presbyters* (πρεσβυτέρους) of Ephesus, he not only addressed them as *bishops* (ἐπισκόπους), but exhorted them "to feed" (ποιμαίνειν) the Church. This is the cognate verb of ποιμήν, a *pastor* or *shepherd*, and means not only to feed, but to *tend*, to *cherish* (Robinson), and to *govern* or *rule* (see Matt. ii. 6; Rev. ii. 27). We cannot suppose that all those *presbyters*, *bishops*, or *pastors*, were preachers; ruling elders were there; and Paul calls them bishops and pastors. Shall we give to the minister of the word as his official title a name which does not distinguish him from the ruling elder? The phrase "office of a bishop" is found in Scripture, as our critic says, but is not applied, as is done by him and the Old Book, to the minister of the word, but to the order of presbyter, including both teaching and ruling elders; and has, therefore, no bearing upon our question as to what is the proper, distinctive, official title of the elder who teaches. This was the question as we discussed it, and we still hold that neither "pastor" nor "evangelist" will do.

We said that "never in a single instance does our Book speak of the *office* of pastor or evangelist." The Chairman calls our attention to the formulary for a pastoral call, where the church does "earnestly call you to undertake the *pastoral office*." So it does. And what shall we now do? It is plain that this refers, not to the ministerial office, but to a subdivision—a particular office in that particular church. Shall we agree with the Book when it declares that the office is one—the ministerial—and that these titles do not indicate so many offices, but only work, and

yet agree with the Book when it does make these titles to indicate special offices? To be consistent the Book should have used "pastoral charge," as it does in other places. In this place, as well as in Par. I. of the same Section, it is not only inconsistent with itself, but with the Bible. Neither our Church nor our Book has yet gotten up to the scriptural mark on the question of the ruling elder. Every church has as many pastors and bishops as it has elders, and our Book should not apply this title of "pastor" to the minister alone, as distinguished from the ruling elder. The only feature that distinguishes him from them is that he *preaches*—labors authoritatively in the word (and by inference the sacraments), and "pastor," or *shepherd*, is not the term that expresses this distinction. As we have shown, ποιμαίνειν means *to tend, to rule*, to have the pastoral charge of. If we wish to distinguish the pastor who teaches from the pastors who do not teach, the word βόσκω is the one that refers to the special function of providing food (see John xxi. 15, 17; Luke xv. 15). This, however, is unnecessary, as we find it already made in our Book; by combining *teaching* and *ruling* with elder; but in the place of elder we might properly substitute pastor, or bishop. The Book should have a paragraph on the scriptural titles of the ruling elder. They should be called pastors, and the Church should encourage them, and the people should expect them, to discharge their pastoral duties.

In regard to the evangelist, it is strictly true, as we said, that never in a single instance does the Book speak of the *office* of the evangelist. The Chairman, however, undertakes to show from the Book that we are *ordained* to the office of evangelist. "The syllogism stands thus: All ordained men are inducted by ordination into their *respective* offices; J. B. is a man ordained as an evangelist; therefore J. B. is inducted into the office of an evangelist." But in the first place, when the Book says that men are inducted into their *respective* offices, it refers to the offices of the minister of the word, ruling elder, and deacon, for it has expressly declared that these are the only offices in the Church; the reference is not to pastor, evangelist, etc., for it has declared that these titles do *not* indicate *respective* offices. In the second

place Dr. Lefevre cites the phrase "in the *ordination* of probationers as evangelists," and from this forms his minor premise. But were we a probationer to the office of evangelist? The very next paragraph, as well as the heading to Section VI., makes us a "probationer to the office of the gospel *ministry*." Again: "as an evangelist" is very different, indeed, from "to the *office* of evangelist." It simply means that when we were ordained to the office of the gospel ministry, the last question was so changed as to indicate the special *work* in which we were to engage. The first seven questions constitute the ordination to the *office*, and the last constitutes the installation to the particular *work*. The Rev. D. E. Jordan well said, in the REVIEW for April, 1882, that "the ceremony of installation is indeed joined in our Book with that of ordination; but that would be a very defective analysis that would fail to distinguish between them."

WHAT IS AN EVANGELIST?

But we maintain, further, that it is not only unscriptural and unconstitutional, but illogical and misleading, to use the term evangelist alone, as is done in our Church, as descriptive of the man in his *twofold character* of preacher of the gospel and organiser of new churches; for it is descriptive of only *a part* of the work, to wit, preaching the gospel.

It is no more correct to include the organisation of new churches and the ordination of officers in the proper work of an evangelist as such than to include it in the work of preacher or teacher as such. The power of jurisdiction no more belongs to the evangelist as such than to the preacher as such. Yet the supposed extraordinary possession and exercise of the power of jurisdiction is what is made to be the distinguishing characteristic of the evangelist, as what makes him to differ *as an officer* from the "ordinary minister." We undertook to show in our former article that this is an error; that "the work of an evangelist" is simply to *preach the gospel*, and not to plant the church. Dr. Lefevre undertakes to reply, and at the end of one page treats us to the following extraordinary blast of trumpets—very long and very loud:

“When, now, we remember that for some reason, it is a very ancient opinion that the *work* of the evangelist, *distinctively considered*, is to *evangelise* the world; not only to *preach about* the kingdom, but to *plant and establish* the kingdom in its doctrine and government; and that such has ever been and now is the received doctrine of the Presbyterian Church throughout the world; and that her standards and her courts and her teachers, whenever they speak at all on the subject, use the *terms* in this sense; and that the evangelists of Scripture, whether as such or otherwise, *uniformly did so act*; we do not feel when we follow their example disturbed in the least degree by the inferences of ‘one in the foreign field’ from the primary sense of the term.”

This magnificent parade, especially the withering sarcasm couched in that italicised “one,” was of course intended not to convince, but to silence. We are not so easily silenced. In the first place, the Chairman presumes upon the confidence of his readers, when he tells them that we sustained our point with only “inferences from the primary sense of the term.” We gave *six pages* to an examination of Scripture upon this point; and of those six pages, barely *six lines* were given to the primary or etymological sense of the term. We examined the work of Philip, the only man who has the title applied to him in Scripture; we examined the work of Paul’s travelling companions, who have been called evangelists, without the shadow of reason; we examined the three passages where the term *εὐαγγελιστής* is found; and we examined the *scriptural use* of the cognates. We have not the least objection to Dr. Lefevre contemptuously calling us “one in the foreign field,”¹ but we were surprised that he could say we gave only inferences from the primary sense of the term. In the second place, the Doctor’s peroration is much too long to close a discussion so short, and so barren of facts and arguments. After admitting that the primary sense of the words is only “to preach the gospel,” he gives us one page to prove that in Scripture and ecclesiastical use the work of planting the Church in her government is also included. He treats us to one quotation from Scripture where, he assures us, “it is not impossible” his notion is sus-

¹ The title under which our paper appeared was given by the editors of the REVIEW, and was not only an improvement on the heading we had given, but also furnished our opponent with one of his most weighty arguments.

tained; to a partial quotation from King James's translators' heading to Acts viii.; to a very unfair quotation from Robinson's Greek Dictionary; to two implied *inferences* from the use of the word gospel (evangel), and the expression, "the gospel of the kingdom;" and, finally, to the use of the word *evangelisation* in our Book. All of which occupies just thirty-six lines, and then follows that peroration of twelve lines! All questions relating to church officers—their powers, functions, work, and relations—are questions that will always demand the serious consideration of the Church. The question, What is the evangelist? depends entirely upon, What is "the work of an evangelist"? They are questions of both abstract and practical importance, and cannot be disposed of so cavalierly by mere *ipse dixit*s. They can only be settled by an appeal to the word of God. As we said before, we must "determine the question from the etymological meaning of the title, and the use of its cognates." We showed that the title simply means "one who announces a good message, or glad tidings." The Chairman admits that "the primary sense of the word in Scripture," as well as the "unmodified etymological meaning," is "simply to preach the gospel," and that this fully justifies the definition of the term given in the Book, as one who "bears the glad tidings of salvation to the ignorant and perishing."

He takes issue with us, however, as to the uniform

USE OF THE TERMS.

He claims that both the nouns and the verb, in Scripture and ecclesiastical discourse, "have a larger meaning" than simply to *preach* the gospel; that the idea of planting the Church in its government is included in "the *work* of an evangelist, *distinctively considered*." If this be so, it of course becomes an easy matter to show that he is an extraordinary officer, different from the ordinary minister of the word. For it must be remembered that the discussion, almost entirely, has been about his *potestas jurisdictionis*; it is there that he is made to differ from the ordinary minister. We maintained that the evangelist, as such, has no power of jurisdiction and needs none, for it is no part of his

work, as an evangelist, to organise churches and ordain officers in them. The Chairman claims that *evangel* (gospel) is often used in Scripture "in the same wide sense, as denoting the whole gospel scheme, including the Church." Very true; and we said so in our former article. But the question still returns, Is it a part of the work of an evangelist, as such, to *plant the government*? or only to *preach the doctrine* of the Church? The evangel includes the resurrection of the dead and the judgment to come. Is it the work of an evangelist to administer these things? God has set evangelists (*e. g.*, Paul at Athens and before Felix) to preach these doctrines; and has set his Son to administer the things. So he set evangelists to preach the doctrine of the Church, and set presbyters to administer the government of the Church. If Dr. Lefevre knows of any passage in Scripture where the noun is the object of a verb denoting to plant or administer, it would have been an easy matter to have cited it.

Εὐαγγέλιον is the object of the verb κηρύσσω (*preach*) in Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35 xxiv. 14; xxvi. 13; Mark i. 14; xiii. 10; xiv. 9; xvi. 15; Gal. ii. 2; Col. i. 23; 1 Thess. ii. 9;—of λαλέω (*speak*) Eph. vi. 20; 1 Thess. ii. 2, 4;—of γνωρίζω (*reveal*), Eph. vi. 19; 1 Cor. xv. 1; of ἀνατίθεμαι (*communicate*), Gal. ii. 2;—of παρρησιάζομαι (*speak boldly*), Eph. vi. 20;—of μεταδίδωμι (*impart*), 1 Thess. ii. 8;—of διαμαρτύρομαι (*testify*), Acts xx. 24;—of καταγγέλλω (*proclaim*), 1 Cor. ix. 14;—of πληρῶ (*fulfil*, A. V., *fully preached*), Rom. xv. 19;—of ἱεουργῶ (*minister*, as a priest), Rom. xv. 16; comparing this verse with verses 19 and 20, it will be seen that this ministering was *preaching*;—of ἀκούω (*hear*), Acts xv. 7;—of πιστεύω (*believe*), Mark i. 15;—of ὑπακούω (*listen to, obey*), Rom. x. 16; 2 Thess. i. 8;—of ἀπειθῶ (*disbelieve*), 1 Pet. iv. 17. If there is any passage in Scripture where the noun is the object of a verb, or is used in a connexion that indicates the exercise of, or obedience to, *government*—the power of jurisdiction—we have not found it. The translation of the Authorised Version of 2 Cor. ix. 13, might possibly be understood on a casual reading to include this: "your professed subjection to the gospel." The Greek, however, is ἐπὶ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, which the Revised Version literally translates, "for the obedience of your confession

unto the gospel," where the only idea is that of acceptance of the doctrines.

But the Chairman rings the changes upon the phrase, "*gospel of the kingdom.*" "It is well known how intensely real and visible the 'kingdom of God' was to the hearers of the Baptist, Christ, and the seventy." We heartily concur. But again the question returns, Is it the proper work of the evangelist, as such, to *plant* the kingdom, or only to *preach* it? Did the Baptist, Christ, or the seventy, ever organise a church or ordain an officer? They simply *preached* it, and Dr. Lefevre admits it when he speaks of their "hearers." The Baptist was a *voice* "*preaching . . . Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*" (Matt. iii. 1, 2). Jesus "went . . . *preaching* and evangelising (Authorised Version, *showing the glad tidings of*) the kingdom of God" (Luke viii. 1). To the seventy he said: "Heal the sick . . . and *say unto* them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you" (Luke x. 9). To the twelve he said: "And as ye go, *preach*, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. x. 7).

There are two passages in which this phrase occurs, where the casual reader might suppose that the idea of government must enter. "From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force" (Matt. xi. 12). "The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it" (Luke xvi. 16). Here the word translated *is preached* is *εὐαγγελίζεται*, and it might be supposed that those who *evangelised* admitted into the visible kingdom, or Christian Church, those throngs who were pressing into it. A moment's thought will show the fallacy of any such inference from the passages. The visible Christian Church was not yet set up when the Saviour spoke these words; no one could have entered it, therefore; and no one did enter it. The evangelists, as well as the evangelised, were all members of the Jewish Church. When John began to *preach*, multitudes flocked to hear him, and sought baptism at his hands, not to be admitted into a new visible kingdom, but as a rite administered by a Jewish prophet—a rite to which they were evidently accustomed in the Jewish Church. The same

thing was repeated in the case of the Saviour, with this additional circumstance, that he not only announced the setting up of a kingdom, but that he was a King; and the eager expectant throngs, in their blind, ignorant zeal to enter the kingdom, about which they had no true conception, mistook its nature and would have *forcibly* made him a temporal king! The violent would have taken it by force. The Baptist, the Saviour, the twelve, the seventy, had all evangelised—were all evangelists—yet they had organised no church, and ordained no officer; they simply *preached* the evangel, *announcing* the kingdom of heaven. But they did not and could not do more than *preach* that kingdom, for it was an invisible spiritual kingdom set up in the hearts of men. “The kingdom of heaven” and “the kingdom of God” are not synonymous with the visible Christian Church. “The kingdom of God *is within you*” (Luke xvii. 21), and cannot be planted by men. In no passage is it synonymous with “the visible Church.”

Εὐαγγελιστής, Dr. Lefevre says, is one who not only preaches the gospel, but establishes churches. As the word is used only three times in the Scriptures, it would have been an easy matter for him to have proved his point by citing and analysing them; and had he succeeded, the question would have been settled at once. Unfortunately he contented himself with citing Robinson’s Dictionary, which is very good authority, as he says, but *when properly quoted*. Dr. Robinson defines the word as follows: “Pr. ‘A messenger of good tidings;’ in N. T. *an evangelist, a preacher of the gospel*, not fixed in any place, but travelling as a missionary to preach the gospel and establish churches, Acts xxi. 8; Eph. iv. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 5. See ‘Neander Hist. of the Plant. and Tr. of the Chr. Church,’ I., p. 173 [Germ. ed., 2, I., p. 194], Theodoret ad Eph. iv. 11, *ἐκεῖνοι περιῶντες ἐκήρυττον*. Euseb. H. E. iii. 37.” The Chairman begins his quotation at “a preacher,” failing to quote “a messenger of glad tidings,” the etymological meaning of the word as given by Dr. R.; he fails to italicise *a preacher of the gospel*, which is plainly all that Dr. R. gets out of the New Testament use of the word; he fails to quote the language of Theodoret, quoted by Dr. R., and tells his

readers that Dr. R. quotes Theodoret as sustaining the definition which includes "establish churches"; whereas Theodoret only says "those who travelling *preached*," with not a word about establishing churches. He also tells us that Dr. R. "assigns this meaning (including the establishment of churches) to the word in all three passages in which it occurs!" If so, Dr. Robinson presumed too far upon the ignorance and credulity of Bible students. Dr. Lefevre was fully able to have gone directly to the passages, and his readers were fully competent to appreciate any exegesis he might give. Immediately after this point, he gives a whole page to a brilliant exegesis of two other passages. Why did he not try his skilful hand on these three passages? After the terrible "setting down" that he gave us on the matter of exegesis (even going so far as to call us a "new leader"!) it would, of course, be too presuming for us to attempt anything of the kind, especially as *he* did not dare to do so. We will, however, with his permission, cite the passages, and allow the readers of the REVIEW the pleasure of finding in them the Chairman's notion—if *they can*. If they cannot, let them be assured it is owing to their obtuseness; for Dr. Robinson, we are told, says the idea is to be found in all three passages. In Acts xxi. 8 Luke says: "And we entered into the house of Philip the evangelist (which was one of the seven) and abode with him." On this passage, Alford says: "It is possible that he may have had this appellation from his having been the first to travel about preaching the gospel. See ch. viii. 5, *ff.*" Alford could find in the passage itself nothing whatever to indicate the nature of the work or office of the evangelist. Of all the commentators and writers that we have examined on this question, no one pretends to have discovered anything in this passage to determine the question of the work of an evangelist. Nor can we believe that Dr. Robinson, by citing the passage, intends to be understood as having found in it the idea of establishing churches. In Eph. iv. 11 it is said: "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers." The establishment of churches is utterly foreign to the idea that prevails in the context. God gave these gifts "for the

work of the *ministry* . . . till we all come in the unity of the *faith* and of the *knowledge* of the Son of God . . . that we be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of *doctrine*." The only idea in the passage is that of preaching or teaching, and for this reason presbyters and deacons are not mentioned. In commenting upon this passage, Scott says that Christ qualified evangelists "to preach from city to city." Alford says they were "itinerant preachers, usually sent on a special mission." Olshausen says they were "such teachers as, journeying about, labored for the wider extension of the gospel, as Theodoret already correctly interprets *οἱ περιῶντες ἐκήρυττον*." Eadie makes them simply itinerant preachers, and expressly excludes the work of organisation: "Their hands being freed all the while from matters of detail in reference to organisation, ritual, and discipline."

The third and last passage is 2 Tim. iv. 5: "But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry." Any one who will examine this passage in the whole context will be forced to agree with the conclusion that we reached in our former article, that the idea of planting the Church is not to be found there. Dr. Hodge says that "when Timothy was exhorted to do the work of an evangelist, the exhortation was simply to be a faithful preacher of the gospel." (Compare Eph. iv. 11.) Olshausen says we must find the interpretation of the phrase in verse 2, where he is exhorted to "preach the word." Alford thinks it includes "all that belongs to a preacher and teacher of the gospel." McClintock and Strong say that "Timotheus is 'to preach the word'; in doing this he is to fulfil 'the work of an evangelist.' "

But Dr. Lefevre is quite sure that Philip the evangelist did plant churches, for not only does Dr. Robinson assign this meaning to his title in Acts xxi. 8, but King James's translators, in their heading to Acts viii., say that "a church is planted by Philip in Samaria." The Chairman might have quoted further: "who *preached, did miracles, and baptized many*;" and had he taken the trouble to examine the passage he would have found that this was all that was done by Philip in Samaria. He did

nothing that involved the exercise of jurisdiction, and the translators could not have meant that he actually organised a church, in our sense of the term, much less that he ordained officers. In baptizing those who believed, he no more organised a visible church, separate from the old, than did Jesus and his disciples when they baptized. Philip afterwards *evangelised* Jesus to the eunuch and baptized him; he was then "found at Azotus; and passing through he *evangelised* all the cities till he came to Cæsarea." Certainly he did not organise the eunuch into a church, and it would be a gratuitous assumption that would put more into the word in one place than another, unless there is something more in the passage; and there is not. Moreover, it was not until after this that the gospel was preached to the Gentiles. Philip was a member of the Jewish Church, and evangelising within the bosom of that Church. The disciples of Jesus were considered, and seem to have considered themselves, as only a new Jewish sect. They hung around the temple, preaching to the people, and disputed in the synagogues with the other sects, as, *e. g.*, Stephen in Jerusalem and Paul in Damascus. When the persecution arose, the disciples were scattered, not only to Samaria, but to Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch, *preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only* (Acts xi. 19). When the members of a synagogue were converted, whether Hebrews or Grecians (Hellenists), there was the church already equipped with its elders, and it only remained to baptize them in the name of the Lord Jesus. There was, therefore, no occasion for the organisation of churches and the ordination of officers. All that was done by these primitive evangelists, including Philip, was to preach the word to their countrymen and proselytes, and baptize those who believed. There is not the shadow of evidence anywhere that Philip, *the only man who has the title applied to him in Scripture*,¹ ever organised or ordained, or exercised jurisdiction of any kind.

Εὐαγγελίζεσθαι. In regard to the *verb* the Chairman asks: "But has not the verb a larger meaning? And has it not a larger

¹The Athenians called Paul a *καταγγελεύς*, because he announced or preached something. *Εὐαγγελίστης* carries the additional idea of *εὖ*—good.

sense when it takes an outer object, or the object affected? All other verbs have." For once he undertakes the extraordinary task of citing Scripture. "In Acts viii. 25, it is said the apostles 'evangelised many villages of the Samaritans.' Now, *it is not impossible* that the verb here has the meaning of spreading the gospel and establishing the church. . . . " That certainly is a specimen of exegesis! The reader will no doubt agree that, if not convincing, it is at least unanswerable. The italics are ours. Dr. Robinson's Greek dictionary, King James's translators, and the authors of the Revised Version, all translate the word in this passage by *preached the gospel*. "It is not impossible," however, that they are all wrong, and the Chairman all right. It is to be regretted that he should have failed to quote Robinson's Greek dictionary, "certainly very good authority," as to the meaning of the verb in all its voices, and in all connexions, whether with an inner object or an outer object, an object affected or an object effected. If he is "very good authority" on the meaning of nouns, he should be so as to verbs. In the whole column and a half given to this verb, in all three voices and in all its connexions, Dr. Robinson invariably assigns to it the meaning of *proclaiming glad tidings*. He cites every passage where it occurs in Scripture, and never once hints that the idea of planting churches enters into its meaning in any passage. Liddell and Scott, also very good authority, tell us that in the classics it has the sense of "*to bring good news, announce them;*" and in the N. T., "*to bring the glad tidings of the gospel, preach it to . . . to have the gospel preached to one.*" So also Bagster's dictionary, revised by T. Sheldon Green, author of a New Testament grammar, gives only the idea of proclaiming, announcing, or addressing with good tidings. S. G. Green, in his New Testament grammar, says it means to bring, announce, publish, or preach good tidings. There is no vestige in any lexicographer or grammarian of that "larger meaning" that Dr. Lefevre would fondly hope to find in the verb. The authorities are all against him. The following table contains every passage in which the verb occurs in the New Testament, and shows the renderings given in both the Authorised and Revised Versions. It

will be seen that the translators in no instance found the idea of planting churches in the word or passage, not even in Acts viii. 25.

	PASSAGES.	AUTHORISED VERSION.	REVISED VERSION.
Matt. xi. 5.	and the poor <i>εὐαγγελίζονται.</i>	have the gospel preached to them.	have good tidings preached to them.
Luke i. 19.	I am Gabriel and am sent <i>εὐαγγελίσασθαι σοι.</i>	to show thee glad tidings.	to bring thee good tidings.
ii. 10.	For behold <i>εὐαγγελίζομαι.</i>	I bring you good tidings.	I bring you good tidings.
iv. 18.	Anointed me <i>εὐαγγελίσασθαι</i> the poor.	to preach the gospel.	to preach good tidings.
iv. 43.	to other cities I must <i>εὐαγγελίσασθαι</i> the kingdom of God.	preach.	preach the good tidings of.
vii. 22.	the poor <i>εὐαγγελίζονται.</i>	the gospel is preached.	have good tidings preached to them.
viii. 1.	throughout villages preaching and <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενος</i> the kingdom of God.	showing the glad tidings of.	bringing the good tidings of.
ix. 6.	through towns: <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενοι.</i>	preaching the gospel.	preaching the gospel.
xvi. 16.	the kingdom of God <i>εὐαγγελίζεται.</i>	is preached.	the gospel of— is preached.
xx. 1.	people in temple and <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενον.</i>	preaching the gospel.	preaching the gospel.
Acts v. 42.	in temple and house ceased not teach and <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενοι</i> Christ Jesus.	to preach.	to preach.
viii. 4.	scattered, went <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενοι</i> the word.	preaching.	preaching.
viii. 12.	believed Philip <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενον</i> <i>περί</i> the kingdom of God.	preaching the things concern- ing.	preaching good tidings concern- ing.
viii. 25.	villages of Samaritans <i>εὐαγγελίζοντο.</i>	preached the gospel.	preached the gospel.
viii. 35.	Philip <i>εὐαγγελίσαστο</i> Jesus to him.	preached.	preached.
viii. 40.	Philip passing through <i>εὐαγγελίζετο.</i>	preached in.	preached the gospel to.
x. 36.	word sent to Israel <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενος</i> peace.	preaching.	preaching good tidings of.
xi. 20.	spake Grecians <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενοι</i> Lord Jesus.	preaching.	preaching.
xiii. 32.	we <i>εὐαγγελιζόμεθα</i> to you that the promise.	declare glad tidings.	bring good tidings.
xiv. 7.	Lystra, Derbe, there <i>ἦσαν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι.</i>	preached the gospel.	preached the gospel.

	PASSAGES.	AUTHORISED VERSION.	REVISED VERSION.
Acts			
xiv. 15.	<i>εὐαγγελιζόμενοι</i> turn from vanities.	preach.	bring good tidings.
xiv. 21.	<i>εὐαγγελιζόμενοι</i> that city.	preached the gospel to.	preached the gospel to.
xv. 35.	Paul and Barnabas teaching and <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενοι</i> word.	preaching.	preaching.
xvi. 10.	God called us <i>εὐαγγελίσασθαι</i> to them.	to preach the gospel.	to preach the gospel.
xvii. 18.	he <i>εὐαγγελίζετο</i> Jesus and resurrection.	preached.	preached.
Rom. i. 15.	ready <i>εὐαγγελίσασθαι</i> to you in Rome.	to preach the gospel.	to preach the gospel.
x. 15.	the feet <i>τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων</i> peace, good.	preach—bring glad tidings.	bring glad tidings.
xv. 20.	strived <i>εὐαγγελίζεσθαι</i> not where Christ named.	to preach the gospel.	to preach the gospel.
1 Cor. i. 17.	not baptize but <i>εὐαγγελίζεσθαι</i> .	to preach the gospel.	to preach the gospel.
ix. 16.	for though <i>εὐαγγελίζωμαι</i> .	I preach the gospel.	I preach the gospel.
ix. 16.	woe to me if I <i>εὐαγγελίζωμαι</i> not.	preach the gospel.	preach the gospel.
ix. 18.	that <i>εὐαγγελιζόμενος</i> without charge.	preach the gospel.	preach the gospel.
xv. 1.	declare gospel which <i>εὐηγγελισάμην</i> to you.	I preached.	I preached.
xv. 2.	saved, by word <i>εὐηγγελισάμην</i> to you.	I preached.	I preached.
2 Cor. x. 16.	in regions beyond you <i>εὐαγγελισάσθαι</i> .	to preach the gospel.	to preach the gospel.
xvii. 7.	freely gospel of God <i>εὐηγγελισάμην</i> to you.	preached.	preached.
Gal. i. 8.	if an angel <i>εὐαγγελίσηται</i> .	preach gospel.	should preach gospel.
i. 8.	other than <i>εὐαγγελισάμεθα</i> .	we have preached.	we preached.
i. 9.	if any one <i>εὐαγγελίζεται</i> to you.	preach gospel.	preacheth gospel.
i. 11.	certify gospel which <i>εὐαγγελισθέν</i> by me.	was preached.	was preached.
i. 16.	Son in me that <i>εὐαγγελίζωμαι</i> him.	might preach.	might preach.
i. 23.	who once persecuted now <i>εὐαγγελίζεται</i> .	preacheth.	preacheth.
iii. 8.	God <i>προηγγελίσαστο</i> unto Abraham.	preached before the gospel.	preached the gospel beforehand.
iv. 13.	through infirmity of flesh <i>εὐηγγελισάμην</i> .	I preached the gospel.	I preached the gospel.

	PASSAGES.	AUTHORISED VERSION.	REVISED VERSION.
Eph.	and coming <i>ευηγγελίσατο</i> peace.	preached.	preached.
ii. 17.	grace given <i>ευαγγελισάσθαι</i>	preach.	to preach.
iii. 8.	riches.		
1 Thess.	Timothy <i>ευαγγελισαμένου</i>	brought good	brought glad
iii. 6.	your faith.	tidings.	tidings.
Heb.	<i>ἔσμεν ευηγγελισμένοι</i> as also they.	unto us was gos- pel preached.	we have had good tidings preached unto us.
iv. 2.			
iv. 6.	those before <i>ευαγγελισθέντες</i> not enter.	to whom was preached.	to whom good tidings was preached.
1 Pet.	announced to you	by them that	through them
i. 12.	<i>τῶν ευαγγελισαμένων.</i>	have preached the gospel.	that preached the gospel.
i. 25.	word which <i>ευαγγελισθέν</i> unto you.	by the gospel is preached.	good tidings which was preached.
iv. 6.	to the dead <i>ευηγγελίσθη.</i>	the gospel was preached.	the gospel was preached.
Rev.	as he <i>ευηγγέλισεν</i> servants	hath declared.	the good tidings which he hath declared.
x. 7.	prophets.		
xiv. 6.	everlasting gospel <i>ευαγγελίσαι.</i>	to preach to.	to proclaim unto.

It will be seen that the verb is used fifty-four times in the New Testament. There is not one instance in which it has, or can be made to have, the sense of planting churches; this notion is utterly foreign to the New Testament use of the verb. It will be seen, therefore, that King James's translators and the authors of the Revised Version, certainly very good authorities, never once hint, in their renderings, at such an idea; they invariably translate it by *bringing*, *preaching*, or *announcing* glad tidings. Of these fifty-four passages Luke used the word nine times in his Gospel and fifteen in the Acts, in all twenty-four times. Paul used it twenty-four times in his epistles. Matthew used it once in quoting the Septuagint of Is. lxi. 1. Mark never used it. This lack in Matthew and Mark is supplied by the use of the verb *κηρύσσω*, *preach*, with the noun *ευαγγέλιον* (Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35; xxiv. 14; xxvi. 13; Mark i. 14; xiii. 10; xiv. 9; xvi. 15).

John never uses either the noun or the verb in his gospel and epistles, and only twice in Revelation.

So much for the New Testament.

We are told by the lexicographers that the noun is used in the *classics*, not only in the sense of good tidings, but as *the reward* given to the messenger of good news. It is so used by the LXX. in 2 Sam. iv. 10, where David said that the Amalekite who said he slew Saul, supposed that he would have given him *εὐαγγέλια*. They often use *ἀγγελία* in the sense of *tidings*, and *εὐαγγέλια* for *good tidings* (2 Sam. xviii. 20, 22, 25, 27; 2 Kings vii. 9). In Prov. xxv. 25. they use *ἀγγελία ἀγαθή*. The verb is frequently used by the LXX., and always in the sense of publishing, bringing, or announcing glad tidings (1 Sam. xxxi. 9; 2 Sam. i. 20; iv. 10; xviii. 19, 20, 26, 31; 1 Kings i. 42; 1 Chr. x. 9; Ps. xl. 10; lxviii. 12; Is. xl. 9; lii. 7; lx. 6; lxi. 1).

The only idea that attaches to the word all through the Old Testament, and that runs through the New to the very end of Revelation, is that of *bringing, publishing, or announcing glad tidings*. The New Testament simply restricts the good news to the glad tidings of salvation. An evangelist is simply one who publishes the gospel—who preaches the glad tidings. Nothing more than this can be gotten out of the scriptural use of the words.

We must here notice the language of Dr. J. Leighton Wilson in his answer to our former article. "It is pretty well understood now that the work of Foreign Missions involves more than the simple preaching of the gospel." We suppose that this was *always* understood. We certainly never intimated anything to the contrary. We wrote, not about the work of Foreign Missions, but of "the work of the evangelist" distinctively considered. But he continues: "But the command of the Saviour himself to evangelise all the nations of the earth, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them, shows that more than the simple public preaching of the gospel is necessary to the completion of the work of evangelisation." But the Saviour never gave any such command. The reference is, of course, to Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. The command is not *to evangelise*, but

μαθητεύσατε, which the Revised Version correctly translates, *make disciples of*. They were further commanded: "Teaching (διδάσκοντες) them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." This work, we should say, belongs properly to the διδασκάλους (Eph. iv. 11), not to the ευαγγελιστάς. The passage, therefore, has no bearing whatever upon the distinctive work of the evangelist. The corresponding passage in Mark xvi. 15, says, κηρύξατε τὸ ευαγγέλιον, and we imagine nothing more can be gotten out of this than "*preach the gospel.*"

Dr. Lefevre assures us that "the evangelists of Scripture, whether as such or otherwise, *uniformly did so act,*" *i. e.*, did establish the kingdom in its government, as well as doctrine. This is an entirely gratuitous assumption, without the shadow of authority to support it. John the Baptist, the seventy, the twelve, when first sent out to the Jews, and Philip, were evangelists, but did *not* so act; there is no hint that they planted the government, and the whole trend of scripture narrative is against the supposition that they did so. Some writers hold that all of Paul's travelling companions were evangelists, yet there is not the vestige of evidence that any of them, except Barnabas, Timothy, and Titus, ever organised or ordained. These three, as well as Paul himself, did exercise the power of jurisdiction, but the Chairman cedes the whole question when he throws in the doubtful phrase, "whether *as such* or otherwise." The very point at issue is, Did they do so as evangelists? or, in other words, Is that the proper work of an evangelist *as such*? We maintain that it is not, and that they did not do such work in their character of evangelists. While the burden of proof lies with those who hold the contrary opinion, we will offer the following considerations in support of our view.

1. As we have seen, and as our opponent admits, the *etymological meaning* of the terms does not include this work.

2. As we have seen and clearly shown, the uniform and invariable *use of the terms* in Scripture does not include it, and this very fact excludes it.

3. The ablest commentators have distinctly declared that Philip was called evangelist because he had travelled about *preaching*;

that Timothy, to do the work of the evangelists was to *preach the word*; and that the hands of the evangelists being free from all detail in matters of discipline and organisation, they were free to travel about preaching the gospel.

4. It is the express teaching of our Book, founded upon Scripture, that all jurisdiction is to be exercised by *presbyters*, and no passage can be shown where an exception to this law, in the case of the evangelist, is even hinted at.

5. Timothy and Titus were ministers or teaching elders—no one will question this—and naturally governed as such. To take a contrary view would be merely begging the question, a mere postulate, without the shadow of authority or reason. The epistles directed to them by Paul are most appropriately called "*Pastoral Epistles*," for the duties to which they are exhorted are duties belonging rather to the pastor. With the single exception of 2 Tim. iv. 5, no mention is made of evangelistic work to be done. Neither the verb nor the noun evangel occur in either of these epistles. That single passage of course shows that they were evangelists, but it also limits their work as evangelists to preaching the word. Paul constantly uses the verb evangelise when speaking of *himself*, and always, as we have seen, in the sense of preaching the gospel; when it came to organising and ordaining, he left Timothy and Titus to do that, while he went on to regions beyond to evangelise or preach the gospel. In the fourteenth chapter of Acts we are told that Paul and Barnabas evangelised Lystra (vs. 7, 15) and Derbe (v. 21), and then returned to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, "having made many disciples," *μαθητεύσαντες ἰκανοὺς*, in Derbe. We are then told that they afterwards *ordained elders*. They first *evangelised*, and, as a result, many were converted, believed, and became disciples; and afterwards they ordained officers.

ANCIENT OPINION.

But Dr. Lefevre says that "for some reason, it is a very ancient opinion that the work of the evangelist distinctively considered, is not only to preach the gospel, but to plant the Church in its *government* as well as doctrine." Unfortunately for himself

and his readers he failed to cite a single ancient authority. He saw Eusebius and Theodoret cited in Robinson's Greek dictionary, but he failed to notice (or if he noticed, failed to inform his readers) that Theodoret, as quoted by Robinson, simply calls evangelists *itinerant preachers*.

Eusebius flourished at the beginning of the fourth century. His language, as quoted by Alford (Com. Acts xxi. 8), is as follows: "Ἔργον ἐπετέλουν εὐαγγελιστῶν, τοῖς ἔτι πάμπαν ἀνηκίοις τοῦ τῆς πίστεως λόγου κηρύττειν τὸν Χριστὸν φιλοτιμούμενοι, καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν εὐαγγελίων παραδίδόναι γραφήν. They performed the work of evangelists, being ambitious to preach Christ to those as yet altogether ignorant of the word of faith, and to deliver the writings of the divine Gospels."

Chrysostom, at the end of the fourth century, describes them as οἱ μὴ περιῶντες πανταχοῦ ἀλλ' εὐαγγελιζόμενοι μόνον, ὡς Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας. Those who not travelling everywhere but evangelising only, as Priscilla and Aquila (Alford Com. Eph. iv. 11).

Theodoret, at the beginning of the fifth century, as quoted by Robinson and others describe them as ἐκεῖνοι περιῶντες ἐκήρυττον—those who travelling about preached.

From cyclopædias we have gathered, in addition to these, the view of *Augustine*, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, and who applies the title to those who wrote the Gospels, and sometimes in the sense of itinerant preachers.

Ambrose, at the close of the fourth century, identifies evangelists with deacons.

Ecumenius, of the tenth century, wrote Greek commentaries, and on Eph. iv. 11 has no other notion of evangelists than as those who have written Gospels.

Eusebius applies the title to Pantaenus who taught in Alexandria about A. D. 180, and who went on a mission to Ethiopia, from whence he is said to have brought the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew.

Such is the "very ancient opinion" on the subject; and if they have been correctly quoted by Robinson, Alford, and others, we see that these ancient writers confirm the view of "one in the foreign field," and not one of them sustains the honored Chairman. With the exception of the last two, they all make the preaching

of the gospel the distinctive work of the evangelist. Of course, the application of the title to those who wrote the Gospels, or to those who distributed them, is unscriptural, and a post-apostolic use of the term.

But Dr. Lefevre summons against us the whole Presbyterian Church throughout the world, with her teachers, her courts, and her standards. That, certainly, is calculated to overwhelm and crush—was no doubt so intended. When we saw, however, that no one answered the summons, we resolved to examine into the causes of so ominous a silence. At the time of the Reformation we find the *apostolic-vicar* theory put forward for the first time, and combined with the theory of an extraordinary office akin to that of the apostles.

Calvin (Com. Eph. iv. 11) says:

“Next to them [apostles] come the evangelists, who were closely allied in the nature of their office, but held an inferior rank. To this class belong Timothy and others; . . . The services in which the Lord employed them were auxiliary to those of the apostles, to whom they were next in rank.”

Again (Inst., IV., 3, 4):

“Of these [apostles, prophets, and evangelists—pastors and teachers] only the two last have an ordinary office in the Church. The Lord raised up the other three at the beginning of his kingdom, and still occasionally raises them up when the necessity of the times require. . . . By *evangelists* I mean those who while inferior in rank to the apostles were next to them in office, and even acted as their substitutes. Such were Luke, Timothy, Titus, and the like; perhaps, also, the seventy disciples whom our Saviour appointed in the second place to the apostles (Luke x. 1). According to this interpretation . . . those three functions were not instituted in the Church to be perpetual, but only to endure so long as churches were to be transferred from Moses to Christ, although I deny not that afterward God occasionally raised up apostles, or at least evangelists, in their stead, as has been done in our time. For such were needed to bring back the Church from the revolt of Anti-Christ. The office I nevertheless call extraordinary because it has no place in churches duly constituted.”

It is clear from the whole passage that by *office* in the last sentence he does not refer to either apostles, prophets, or evangelists singly, but to all three of those “functions” or “ranks” as included in one general office. This is clear from what follows, for

having classed *pastors* and *teachers* together as "embraced in the pastoral office," he continues: "But if we class evangelists with apostles, we shall have two like offices in a manner corresponding with each other. For the same resemblance which our teachers have to the ancient prophets, pastors have to the apostles."

The Second Book of Discipline seems to follow Calvin: "There are three extraordinary funciones, the office of the apostle, of the evangelist, and of the prophet, quhilkis ar not perpetuall, and now have ceisit in the kirk of God except quhen it pleasit God extraordinarily for a tyme to steir sum of thm up againe." (Ch. II., 9.) So also the Form of Presbyterial Church Government of the Westminster Assembly, approved 1645 by the Church of Scotland: "Some [offices are] extraordinary, as apostles, evangelists, and prophets, which are ceased."

There is at least "one in the foreign field" who dissents from these views of the Reformers, and prefers to hold with our New Book in connecting those extraordinary offices with the extraordinary or miraculous gifts, and in making the evangelist an ordinary minister engaged in evangelistic work.

Dr. J. Addison Alexander (Com. Acts xxi. 8) holds with the Reformers. So does a writer in this REVIEW for April, 1877. Calvin himself speaks very doubtfully on 2 Tim. iv. 5: "Whether he denotes generally by this term any ministers of the gospel, or whether this was a special office, is doubtful; but I am more inclined to the second opinion." He first argues from Eph. iv. 11, and then adds: "It is also more probable that Timothy . . . surpassed ordinary pastors in rank and dignity of office, than that he was only one of them." He fails, however, to show that what distinguished Timothy was his work and character of evangelist, merely *assuming* that *all he did was done by him as an evangelist*. On Acts xxi. 8 he says: "The evangelists, in my judgment, were in the midst between apostles and doctors. For it was a function next to the apostles to preach the gospel in all places, and not to have any certain place of abode."

It will be seen that Calvin here speaks only of preaching the gospel. In the extract from the Institutes he says of the three functions, apostles, prophets, and evangelists, that they were to

endure only so long as *churches were to be formed* where none previously existed. But we cannot tell from this what special part was taken in this general work by each class. It was not the work of prophets certainly to organise and ordain; yet they took part in the formation of those churches. It cannot therefore be shown from this language that Calvin held that it was a part of the work of the evangelist, distinctively considered, to organise churches and ordain officers. It may be that Dr. J. A. Alexander interprets correctly Calvin's view:

"This word strictly means a preacher of the gospel, but is specially applied to a particular office in the primitive Church. It does not express, as in modern times, the negative idea of a minister without charge, or a mere itinerant preacher; nor the more positive idea of a missionary, or a commissioner invested with extraordinary powers for a special or temporary purpose; but a stated office in the apostolical Church, of great importance. While the local government and ordinary teaching in the Church were committed to elders, the work of preaching was performed by the apostles, and by others whom they sent forth for the purpose, and who are called prophets when inspired, but evangelists in reference to their essential functions, just as the same persons were called presbyters and bishops."

Here the work of the evangelist is evidently limited to *preaching the gospel*. As he makes the prophet and evangelist one and the same officer, so the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" makes the apostles (not the twelve) and the prophets one and the same (see ch. xi. lines 256-9), while it makes no mention at all of evangelists.

The *Standards of the Scottish Church*, it will have been seen, so far from affirming that planting the government of the Church was part of "the work of the evangelist *distinctively considered*," express no view whatever about what was their distinctive work.

Dr. Mosheim (Hist., Vol. I., p. 66) supposes that evangelists were "either sent forth *to instruct the people* by the apostles, or of their own accord, forsaking other employments, assumed the office of *promulgating the truths* which Christ taught." This last hypothesis he quotes from Eusebius. Again, in speaking of the seventy, he says: "It is very probable that after the Saviour's ascension to heaven they performed the duties of evangelists, and

that they *taught* in various countries *the way of salvation* which they had learned from Christ." The only feature he presents is that of teaching or preaching.

Dr. Samuel Miller, in a tract on *Presbyterianism*, says of Timothy and Titus:

"There is no evidence that either of them ever performed the work of ordination alone. One of them, while at Ephesus, was expressly directed to 'do the work of an evangelist,' and there is not the slightest intimation that either of them acted in any higher character. There is no hint that they performed any act to which any regular minister of the gospel is not fully competent. . . . All that appears to have been done by these evangelists is done every day by evangelists authorised and sent forth by the Presbyterian Church. . . . That Timothy and Titus were prelates because they were appointed to 'ordain elders' and 'set in order the things that were wanting' in Ephesus and Crete, when it is utterly uncertain whether either of them performed a single ordination alone, is no more proved, or even probable, than that modern Presbyterian missionaries to frontier settlements are prelates because they are commissioned to perform similar work."

It seems clear that Dr. Miller would limit "the work of an evangelist" to preaching the word, and that they exercised their power of jurisdiction as missionaries, regular ministers, commissioned by the Church to do this. Again, in regard to Philip, he says:

"Now, the probability is that about this time—seeing he was 'a man full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom,' and therefore eminently qualified to be useful in *preaching the gospel*—he received a new ordination as an *evangelist*, and *in this character* went forth to *preach* and baptize. . . . Until it can be proved that he *preached and baptized* as a deacon and not as an *evangelist*, etc."

Not a word about his planting a church or churches.

Scott (Com. Eph. iv. 11) says: "Others he qualified to be 'evangelists,' to *preach from city to city*, as assistants to the apostles, and observing their directions."

Dr. Charles Hodge (Com. Eph. iv. 11) first states the apostolical-vicar theory of the Reformers, and then says:

"According to the other view, the evangelists were itinerant preachers, . . . properly missionaries sent to preach the gospel where it had not been previously known . . . in favor of which may be urged"

When Timothy was exhorted to do the work of an evangelist, the exhortation was simply to be a faithful preacher of the gospel. . . . *Εὐαγγελίσασθαι* means simply to make known the gospel where not known previously. . . . The use of the verb confirms this opinion. . . . That Timothy and Titus were in some sense apostolic vicars, *i. e.*, men clothed with special powers for a special purpose, and for a limited time, may be admitted; but this does not determine the nature of the office of evangelist. They exercised these powers not as evangelists, but as delegates or commissioners."

Dr. Eadie (Com. Eph. iv. 11) takes the same view, that they were simply itinerant preachers. He says :

"Their hands being freed all the while from matters of detail in reference to organisation, ritual, and discipline. . . . Mr. McLoud's notions of the work of an evangelist are clearly wrong, as he mistakes addresses given to Timothy as a pastor for charges laid upon him in the character of an evangelist."

He would make the seventy, Mark, Luke, Silas, Apollos, Tychicus, and Trophimus evangelists.

Alford (Com. Eph. iv. 11) calls them "itinerant preachers, usually sent on a special mission." Again, on Acts xxi. 8, Philip "may have had this appellation from his having been the first to travel about preaching the gospel. The office of evangelist seems to have answered very much to our *missionary*."

Olshausen (Com. Acts xxi. 8) gives to *εὐαγγελιστής* the signification of "travelling preacher." Also, on Eph. iv. 11 and 2 Tim. iv. 5, he presents the same view.

Conybeare and Howson say :

"The term *evangelist* is applied to those missionaries who, like Philip the Hellenist and Timothy, travelled from place to place to bear the good tidings of Christ to unbelieving nations or individuals."

Smith (Bible Dictionary) says:

"The calling of the evangelist is the proclamation of the glad tidings to those who have not known them, rather than the instruction and pastoral care of those who have believed and been baptized. It follows that the name denotes a *work* rather than an order."

McClintock and Strong coincide with Smith, and confirm our interpretation of 2 Tim. iv. 5, and our view of Philip and his work.

We now leave the impartial reader to decide whether it is a

very ancient opinion, supported by all modern writers, that "the work of an evangelist *distinctively considered* is not only to preach about the kingdom, but to plant it in its doctrine and government." Henry, Poole, Robinson, and Schaff sustain that view; but the overwhelming majority support the view of "*one in the foreign field.*"

But the Chairman quotes our New Book which "twice uses the word *evangelisation* in this wide sense of planting the gospel Church." So it does; so do we, and so do all writers and speakers. But what has the use of this word "evangelisation" to do with "the work of an evangelist *distinctively considered*"? He says that the term embraces the idea and the work of planting the government as well as the doctrine of the Church, and he would therefore argue that this is one of the distinctive duties of the evangelist as such. But the Book, in both places, uses the phrase "*general work of evangelisation,*" and distinctly states that there are "various interests" involved, to perform which various "agencies" must be instituted. It is clear, then, from the very language of the Book, that the evangelist is not the only agent to be employed in this general work, and, hence, that all that is involved in this evangelisation is *not* the work of the evangelist, considered either *distinctively* or otherwise. This "*general work of evangelisation*" is evidently used by the Book, as it is by Dr. Wilson, as synonymous with "the work of Foreign Missions." Now, as Dr. W. says, this work includes the translating, printing, and circulating the Bible and religious books and tracts; the training of a native ministry, which involves the work of schools, colleges, and seminaries; and he might have added hospitals, female schools, and the work of female Bible-readers, as well as the work of prescribing for the sick and amputating their limbs. All this belongs, according to the practical interpretation of the Church, to the "*general work of evangelisation*" and, according to the inexorable logic of the honored Chairman, is "the work of an evangelist *distinctively considered.*" There is at least "*one in the foreign field*" who prefers the Chairman's sneers and sarcasm to his logic.

We may be permitted to inform our critic and others who can think themselves in the right only when they think with the majority, that our view of the office of the evangelist has received the hearty and unqualified approval of many of the clearest-headed men in our ministry, among them the profoundest thinker in the Church.

It is the teaching of Scripture, and is so understood by the great majority of ancient and modern ecclesiastical writers, that the work of the evangelist is simply to preach the glad tidings of salvation. It is the teaching of Scripture, as interpreted by our Book, that all jurisdiction is in the hands of elders or presbyters, and to be exercised in courts. No exception being made to this law in the case of the evangelist, we hold that as an evangelist we *preach the word*, and when we have occasion to exercise jurisdiction we do so as a presbyter—a member of a court—and in the name and by the authority and power of the court to which we are responsible for all our acts.

The Chairman, however, says: "But we do not believe that the minister of the word preaches as one thing and rules as another. We believe that he preaches as a teaching elder and rules as a teaching elder; that he has one office, and not two." Well, we are not disposed to "lock horns" with him on this point. But he has switched off upon a side-track. Why does he here combine two titles—*teacher* and *elder*? Why did he not say that we both teach and rule as a teacher or preacher? He could not. Yet he holds that we both preach and rule as an evangelist, although this term is even more restricted in its meaning than either teacher or preacher.

It is a perfectly justifiable, and even an unavoidable, use of language to say that we do one thing as an evangelist, another thing as a pastor, another as a bishop, another as an ambassador, and another as a presbyter; otherwise there would be no reason whatever in giving these titles to the man, as is done in Scripture and our Book; and there is no writer who does not use the phrases "as such" "in his character of evangelist," etc. We do not, of course, divide the office or make two offices; it is just this tendency that we have combated. But we have a twofold

character, as we have a twofold work. The office is one, but, as Dr. Stuart Robinson well says, it is "a *double* office, necessarily growing out of the essential connexion between the word and the spiritual government founded upon it" (Church of God, p. 89.)

Our Book says that as we "bear the glad tidings of salvation to the ignorant and perishing we are termed evangelist;" so that it is perfectly good sense and sound logic to say that we do this in our character of evangelist. The Book says, again, that as we "rule well in the house of God, we are termed elder or presbyter," so that it is perfectly sound Presbyterian speech and logic to say that we rule in our character of presbyter.

On the other hand it is altogether unscriptural, unconstitutional, and unwise to say that we rule in our character of evangelist, or preacher.

From all which we conclude that the title evangelist cannot logically be applied to those who are sent out by the Church to plant the kingdom in its doctrine and government, considered *in their twofold character*. It is an error, and error in doctrine leads to error in practice, as error in practice leads to error in doctrine. We may rest assured that Dr. Palmer's words are full of truth and wisdom: "There is a logic in history quite as compulsory as that of the subtlest dialectic."

JOHN BOYLE.

ARTICLE IV.

EVOLUTION AND THEOLOGY.

THE LOGIC OF PROF. WOODROW'S OPPONENTS EXAMINED.

The grand theistic problem of our age is, not how to prove the existence of God, but how to conceive his relation to the world. That problem demands earnest and honest thought as well as honest and earnest discussion.¹ Manly, courageous thinking demands as one of its essential conditions vigorous effort, not only in concentrating thought, and following steadily long and diversified paths of intricate reasoning, but also self-surrender; both of which to many, like the "reading of many books," may prove such a "weariness to the flesh" that the thinking is left undone, or, what is the same thing, done by proxy.

There has been of late, especially in the Southern Presbyterian Church, a good deal of platform and pulpit and newspaper controversy on the subject of Evolution; whether there has been a brave and fair facing of the issues, is another matter. Perhaps it is inevitable that as long as there are certain leaders in science, with a turn for metaphysics, and certain leaders in theology, with a turn for science, they will play the *rôle* of intellectual knights-errant, and prance about the country bellicose and armed, great in challenge and counter-challenge, retort, invective, and innuendo. These passages of arms may be easily overrated. The world's decisive battles have not been fought by careering and trumpeting errant knights. Thinking done in public, or under the influence of prejudice, fear, and a paralysing awe of tradition and authority, though it may embody itself in speech now scornful, now pitiful, now minatory, may, while suiting the times or the majority to which it is addressed, be deficient in those qualities that can win lasting respect and command permanent conviction.

No devout man of culture can remain indifferent to the world-old conflict, which in varying form is constantly coming to the

¹"Philosophy of Religion and History." A. M. Fairbairn. New York: Worthington, 1878.

surface in history. Man's religious faith often comes in apparent collision with the truths of nature. The mind of the age, and of every real thinker, is an arena where two apparently hostile conceptions struggle for the mastery, and the struggle seems so deadly as to demand the death of one for the life of the other. The contestants are not always the same. One may conquer the other; or they may discover that they are friends and shake hands. Yet it is the law of mental life and growth that every mind and every age shall be an unseen battle-field where the armies of thought join issue.

Our age, at least our Church, is morbidly alive to the apparent collision and antitheses of science and religion. But "the highest truth of religion is the ultimate problem which will confront science when she raises her eyes above the dust and above the stars and asks 'Whence' as well as 'How.' Religion lives by faith in a Creator, science in tracing means and methods is led at last to seek and discover a cause. Man cannot live either by religion or by science alone. Both are necessary to the perfection alike of the individual and society. The realities of both are sacred. It is the duty of the intellect to search diligently into both, and of the heart and conscience to loyally serve both. The truth that shall reconcile their apparent conflicts is to be found, not by silence or concealed convictions on either side, but by the frank criticism and coöperation of physicist, metaphysician, and theologian."¹

The final outcome of antagonism and controversy will be a gain to truth and righteousness. These conflicts of ideas in the clashing of mind in debate are but the birth-throes of truth, or the budding and growth of new organs in her body, or new branches in her tree. To borrow a figure from the Lamarckian form of the evolution hypothesis: truth, as held in the mind of man, is a growing thing, developing, by appetency and use, new organs and forms. The mental conflicts are but the "growing pains," the temporary discomfort felt by germinating power. While giving this figure as a rough statement of the growth of truth in the mind of man, it is in no sense meant that truth itself is a relative

¹ "Theism and Scientific Speculation." A. M. Fairbairn.

thing or a mere development. It has an absolute changeless reality of its own, into which the mind is ever growing. "As from the war of nature . . . the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals directly follows,"¹ so from the war of ideas there arises nobler forms of truth, better conceptions of God and nature. In the world of thought and belief, as well as in the kingdoms of plants and animals, the fittest survive in the struggle for existence.

While believing that God overrules all mistakes and errors in the end, and that the ultimate triumph of truth and right is certain, yet we are convinced that our Church has grievously erred in the position she has recently taken on the subject of Evolution, and has done a cruel wrong to Prof. Woodrow in removing him from his chair because of his views on that subject. A mental attitude, fundamentally wrong as to the relation between theology and natural science, has been exhibited by the majority whose will has temporarily triumphed in the act of Dr. Woodrow's ejection declaring that a theological Professor will not be tolerated who thinks that "Evolution is a hypothesis which is probably true."

A spirit of unreasonable jealousy and fear towards scientific inquiry and speculation has been shown; ill-considered and ill-informed criticism has been indulged; rash and harsh judgments have been expressed. Words have been spoken and actions taken that are simply nineteenth century substitutes for the work done in the days of persecution by bell and book and candle. A spirit of hostility to free inquiry has been manifested. The spirit that confronts scientific theories too much in the interests of traditional interpretations, too little with the confident heart and open sense that seeks and finds God and truth everywhere, has been displayed. The past errors of theologians and of the Church, in some cases in her official capacity, in controversies over scientific theories, have found an echo and a repetition in our Church. Truth has been wounded in the house of her friends. Another javelin has been put in the hands of future John W. Drapers to

¹ Darwin's "Origin of Species," p. 429. New York: Appleton, 1875.

hurl at the Church and keep men from the Christian faith by misleading them into the belief, from the example of the Southern Presbyterian Church in the year 1884, that Christianity is opposed to culture and science, to freedom of thought and investigation. Not that the argument will be legitimate as against the Bible and Christianity, any more than is the reasoning of such men to-day on the imprisonment of Friar Bacon, the burning of Giordano Bruno, and the persecution of Galileo by Rome, and the burning of Servetus by Geneva. But they will not distinguish between the wrong-doings of an age and the error of a few, and the Christian system as a whole. They will be unfair, doubtless, and credit Christianity with the act of a small body. Their plan has always been to raise the ghosts of the dead, and confuse and exasperate the sons, by fighting them with the bones of their fathers.¹

That class of scientists which for generations to come will be hostile to religion, will be quick to use this recent act of our Church to mislead the unwary and caricature the spirit of the Bible. Such men have been and always will be fond of "narrating the conquests of science, as if they were victories over theology, and not over ignorance. The antiquated and false views of nature which old divines maintained, and because old could not but maintain, have been and will be gravely represented as essential to religion, almost identical with it, and are no less gravely classified and exhibited as exploded religious doctrines, rather than as what they really are, exploded conceptions of nature, interwoven with the religions or with the other thought of the time, but as form, not as matter."²

It is not to conciliate scientific sceptics that the Church should guard her utterances and her acts, but to protect the masses from being led into ruin by the misrepresentation of foes. A Church's errors increase scepticism by putting stumbling-blocks in the way of faith. One prominent member of the majority side of this

¹ "Draper's Conflict between Religion and Science." New York: Appleton.

² Draper's unfair and misleading book, the so-called "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science," is a striking example of this.

question charged the minority with making concessions to science to win its favor, which would result in driving the masses into a rejection of the Bible. So doubtless thought the Fathers, Luther, and other Reformers, in opposing as infidel the doctrine of the earth's rotation. So thought the theologians of two generations ago, who opposed what turned out to be the erroneous, but harmless, theory, advanced as science, that the days of creation were thousand-year periods. It may be quite true that our first duty is to the people of our own generation. Yet this principle may be held in such a way as to make us forget that we owe duties to posterity as well. Responsibility extends beyond the limits of one land, or the boundaries of one age. The results of conduct reach far into the future. Every age must fight its own battles. Quite true. Hence the present must not surround the future with needless difficulties, by sowing in its fields the thorns of its own errors, and by cumbering its path with the *débris* and ruin of its own folly. There is an unfaithful fidelity to the people of our own time, which consists in fostering its follies, feeding its fears, and pandering to its prejudices.

Holding these views concerning the position of our Church in the ejection of Prof. Woodrow from his chair at Columbia Seminary, it is but natural that the minority should maintain its protest, and contend in every lawful way against what is held to be both wrong and hurtful. There is no need to serve a formal notice, where the matter contested is an important principle, that the war is not over. Majority-votes do not settle principles. The victory of numbers does not conquer judgments, nor chain thought, nor seal lips, nor dry the ink from pens. To be a Presbyterian is to serve a standing notice that when error is honestly thought to have been committed, the fight against it will go on, even though the errorists should be "Synods and Councils," or rather *especially* should they be "Synods and Councils."

Two objections may be urged against further discussion on this subject, viz.: 1st. It may be said, "Considering the learning, the piety, and the eminence, and the overwhelming number of those in our Church, whose judgments are against the minority in this matter, agitation should cease; you should acquiesce and bow in silence

to the presumption that you are in the wrong." 2d. "Waiving the point as to who is right, as the solemn official acts of many Synods have condemned the views of Dr. Woodrow, as a matter of expediency and loyalty to authority, your mouth should be stopped in order to preserve the peace and harmony of the Church." In reply to the first objection, we would say, no one honors the eminent and godly men found in the ranks of the majority more than we do. Admiration for their learning and abilities, and respect for their earnestness, are coupled, in many instances, with a warm affection for their persons. But as Paul withstood Peter when he thought him in the wrong, and "gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour," so lovers of truth, who are not apostles, should oppose eminent men all the more earnestly *because* of their eminence, if they believe them to be in error. The errors of the great are more dangerous than those of the obscure. If the big clocks in the city go wrong, all the watches will be set correspondingly wrong. Truth must not be taken second hand, even from the great, for truth may not be what famous men think.

In reply to the second objection, we would say, *first*, "The purest Churches under heaven are subject to mixture and error."¹ *Second*. While the "Decrees and determinations (of Synods and Councils), determining controversies of faith, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission,"² yet if not "consonant to the word of God," they are to be rejected and opposed as a matter of conscience and duty. *Third*. "All Synods or Councils since the apostles' time, whether general or particular, may err, and may have erred; *therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice*, but to be used as a help in both."³ Hence, believing our Synods have erred, and have violated the law which forbids them to "handle or conclude anything but that which is ecclesiastical,"⁴ it is not obligatory upon

¹ Confession of Faith, Chap. XXV., Sec. 6; 1 Cor. xiii. 12; Matt. xiii. 24-30, 47-50.

² Confession of Faith, Chap. XXXI., Sec. 2.

³ Confession of Faith, Chap. XXI., Sec. 3.

⁴ Confession of Faith, Chap. XXXI., Sec. 4.

the minority to keep silent for the sake of expediency. It is a hollow, worthless peace which results from a sham surrender, or suppressed convictions. When principles collide, peace must be fought out, not bought out. When men, whose love for truth and righteousness is equal, meet in conflict over principles, their war need not be bitter and angry. The opposition is not personal. The final aim of both is the right. In the present case both parties love and revere the Bible, and are loyal to our doctrinal standards in purpose and sentiment. Both sides think the principles or actions of the other contrary to our doctrines in different particulars. Our own belief is, that whatever may be the fate of Evolution as a scientific hypothesis, the next generation, perhaps the present, will regard its theological bearings in very much the same light in which the nebular hypothesis is now generally regarded by Christian scholars, *i. e.*, whether true or false, it affects no truth of Scripture or doctrine of religion.

If the foregoing arraignment of the majority seems severe, we hope honored brethren will not credit us with a desire to rasp or exasperate. Kindly feeling is linked with strong conviction, which may be expressed in vigorous terms. While not speaking in a representative capacity, yet doubtless we are in line with all those who voted as we did in the various Synods, both as to sentiment and plainness of speech, in the criticism of our Synods' action which we are now presenting in this REVIEW. The subjoined articles recently published in the *Charleston News and Courier*, one of the ablest daily newspapers published in the South, and which has taken an intelligent interest in the recent discussion of this question, are here given as clear statements, both of the facts in the case and of the general views of the minority thereon :

THE EVOLUTION QUESTION.

The following letters appeared recently in the *Charleston News and Courier*, and as Prof. Proctor has lately visited and lectured in Greenville in aid and under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, and the subject of Evolution being familiar to our people since the great debate here last fall, we reproduce the correspondence as one of general interest :

Correspondence of the News and Courier.

“PROF. PROCTOR AND EVOLUTION.—The lectures of that distinguished

scientist, Prof. Richard A. Proctor, recently delivered here, have been listened to with delight by all classes of our community, including most of the clergy of the city—indeed, they were among the most constant attendants.

*“Now, this same Prof. Proctor, in a letter published in the Sunday News of 18th ult., maintains the truth of Evolution as perfectly in accord with an earnest belief in the creation of man by God, and as not inconsistent with the Bible.”*¹

“As this subject has been widely discussed, and has attracted great attention lately, many of us would like to know the difference between the views expressed by Prof. Proctor and those held by Prof. Woodrow, and why it is that the one is honored and admired, while the other, as is generally understood, has been removed from his chair without even a trial. Cannot you or some of your correspondents tell us exactly what Prof. Woodrow’s heresy is? For we suppose, as he was expelled, his views must have been heretical. INQUIRER.”

Correspondence of the News and Courier.

“PROF. PROCTOR’S VIEW—THE VIEWS AND THE REMOVAL OF DR. WOODROW.—In reply to ‘Inquirer,’ let me say, Prof. Proctor lectured here only on astronomy, and on that subject science (it has at length been allowed by the Church) does not really, but only in appearance, contradict Scripture. If I do not mistake, we had from him (January 19) the statement that scientific men the world over, Christians as well as sceptics, are nearly all agreed about Evolution.

“As to Dr. Woodrow’s position: After twenty-five years of study, not merely in books, but in all the fields of working naturalists, he finds the Creator carrying out in the various species of animals formed by his hand, one or a few ideas, so that all his works of this sort have been along one continuous line, until he comes to make man. One species seems to have been evolved out of another, always by Divine power, from the very beginning down to the time when God said, ‘Let us make man.’ The anatomical and physiological resemblances between the various successive grades of animals are such as to suggest the idea of descent with modification. But these differences between the higher and lower ranks of brute creation are much more marked than that between the higher brutes and man. Therefore to the naturalist the considerations which suggest evolution up to man, suggest man’s evolution also.

“Now Dr. Woodrow, being a Christian theologian, as well as a natu-

¹ Copied from one of the N. Y. dailies, in which Prof. Proctor severely criticises Dr. Talmage for ridiculing and caricaturing Evolution, in his characteristically witty and ludicrous manner, as both false and hostile to Christian faith.

ralist, turns to his Bible to see whether it contradicts this hypothesis of science. He has always been known as a very firm believer in the plenary or verbal inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. He has often declared that if any statement contradicts the word of God, that statement *ipso facto* must be false. But he does not find the Scripture here, or anywhere else, in contradiction with what science teaches. He supposes that when God tells Adam, 'Dust thou art,' Adam being not dust but flesh and blood, and when he says the serpent 'shall eat dust,' the serpent not eating that, but flesh and blood, it is clear that throughout this passage matter is not described chemically, but that the word 'dust' may mean either dead or living—organic or inorganic matter.

"The word dust, we are compelled to say, does not necessarily mean inorganic dust. It may refer to matter or substance in some other form. Now what that form is Scripture does not enable us to determine. Science, then, being confident that man's body comes under the law of evolution, and the Holy Bible not deciding of what or how God made him, Dr. Woodrow believes the scientific conclusion *may* probably be correct, so far as relates to the body of our first father, Adam. He does not hold, nor did he ever teach this as a doctrine, but has treated it as a *hypothesis* which *may* probably be true. Scripture does not, and therefore he does not, contradict it.

"Our Presbyterian Synods have nothing but this to allege against Dr. Woodrow. There is nothing else in his now famous address. But to many of our most intelligent and otherwise excellent ministers and elders, this, whether true or false, is a hateful idea, and it has led to the expulsion of Dr. Woodrow from the Columbia Seminary.

"'Inquirer' understands that Dr. Woodrow was removed without even a trial. This was even so. At our Synods it was over and over declared by his opponents that they made no charges and that he was not on trial, which must have involved an indictment and witnesses and a prosecutor, and also a fair and just protection of the accused. Nor did the Board yield to his demand for a trial, although that is guaranteed expressly to every professor. He may be suspended temporarily by the Board, says the Constitution, but not removed 'until his case can be fully tried.' But when he demands a trial the Board refuses, though it called on him to show cause briefly why he should not be removed. Some maintain that the Board, having been reconstructed by majorities in the Synod were not to try, but simply to execute their will. Others that the only body to try a Presbyterian minister is his Presbytery. Let all this be as it may, here stands the naked fact: He was guaranteed a full and fair trial with all the protection every accused person ought to have, but he has been denied this plain right and ignominiously expelled from an institution of which he has for twenty-five years been an ornament and a glory.

JUSTICE."

The following appeared first in the columns of the *Southern Presbyterian*. It is with pleasure that we transfer it to a higher permanent niche in the pages of this REVIEW. We thank the author for this gem of wit and clear statement. It deserves a setting of gold.

THE MOUNTAIN OF REVELATION.

A DREAMER TELLS A STORY ABOUT THE EVOLUTION CONTROVERSY.

[*Published by request in the News and Courier.*]

I had a dream, which was not all a dream. And the text of my dream was: "The word of the Lord is tried;" "the word of the Lord, which liveth and abideth for ever." I saw and, behold, a great mountain, and it reared its summit to heaven; and moreover the mountain was solid rock, and engraved upon it was the word, "REVELATION." And I saw that the mountain was the word of God, upheld by his power, stable as his throne, for "the word of the Lord endureth for ever." Then I beheld men building up a little mountain of stones, rubbish, stubble, and mud, portions of which stood, and parts crumbled, which they rebuilt; and some of the stones with which they builded had names written on them, and their names were: Astronomy, Geology, Biology, Evolution, &c.; and the banner that waved over them had inscribed upon it the word "Science." Moreover, I heard some of the builders talking loudly and saying, "We are building a greater mountain than Revelation, and we will move it from its ancient base, and establish ours in its place." Whereupon I heard some of the most learned of their number saying, "None know better than we the composition of our mountain of Science, that it is partly stone and partly rubbish, but we likewise know that the mountain of Revelation is all solid rock, and cannot be moved or even shaken; and moreover the view from its summit is clearer, loftier, and wider in its range."

And I saw among the latter a man sitting in a chair that was called "Perkins," and the chair was so placed that he could see the proportions of each mountain and their relations to each other. Then I heard men asking him of the comparative strength of the two, and whether there would ever be a collision, and what would be the result of such a collision. At this, I listened eagerly for his reply, and he said, "The great mountain is solid, every particle is rock, and it cannot be moved for ever. The smaller is partly stone and partly rubbish. Astronomy and Geology have placed stones of truth in its composition. I am testing Evolution, and amidst much rubbish may find a stone of truth; but whether it prove rock or rubbish, it can never displace a particle of the mountain of Revelation." Then I saw that many were delighted, and

were receiving with devout thankfulness his teaching that the great mountain was rock and immovable.

But just then some withdrew as if somewhat suspicious, and afraid to investigate the matter. Presently their fears increased, and they began to run about in dismay, crying, "The great mountain of Revelation is in danger; for we heard the Perkins man say Evolution may prove to be stone; and although he is not alarmed about it, yet we are afraid if it be a stone it will be hurled against the great mountain, and either overturn it or so shake it that men will lose confidence in its security." Whereupon there arose a great panic that spread through the whole land, and the noise thereof was heard in all the earth. In the midst of the panic I saw men running in great haste to support the mountain, to prevent Evolution from overturning it. I beheld whole Boards, Presbyteries, and Synods in their "organic" capacity and multitudes in their "inorganic" capacity propping the mountain with resolutions that "Evolution could not be dignified by the name of science;" that it was not a stone and "never would be." And as they worked "some therefore cried one thing and some another, for the assembly was confused, and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together;" but they were agreed in their general purpose, that they would so strengthen the mountain with their props and underpinning or so weaken Evolution that it could not move the mountain that had stood countless ages, and had by its own inherent strength broken in fragments every object hitherto hurled against it. I saw editorial Samsons, propping it with their pens and whole columns of matter, and firing blank cartridges at Evolution. I saw many a Hercules of orthodoxy strengthening it with his logic. One small man I observed particularly, that reminded me of Jehu, for he drove furiously and seemed to say, "Come, see my zeal for the Lord." I couldn't tell whether he was the agent of the rest, or whether they were his agents. And as he ran with his prop he did not place it against the mountain like the rest, but thrust it under the fifth rib of the Perkins man.

So after the confusion was over, I saw that they hadn't overturned Evolution; and Evolution hadn't overturned the mountain; and nothing was overturned except the Perkins chair. Then two things greatly impressed me: 1. Evolution, whether true or false, couldn't overturn the mountain. 2. I perceived that the mountain stood of its own strength, and the props did not strengthen its position. So I awoke and behold it was a dream, which was not all a dream.

JUNIUS JOHNSON, JR.

We would respectfully commend the above vision of the "Dreamer" to our honored brethren of the majority as a pretty fair picture of the situation. The photograph is not very flatter-

ing in some respects, but it may be wholesome to look at it. See Burns:

"To see ourselves as others see us
May from many a blunder free us,
And many a foolish notion."

Before examining in detail the grounds on which the action of our Synods was based in condemning Dr. Woodrow's teaching of Evolution, we will say here that our present attitude towards the subject is that of almost absolute neutrality as to the truth or falsity of the theory. We neither affirm nor deny its truth. On this point we are simply an agnostic. As a philosophic conception of the mode of origin and order of the universe, the grandeur and simplicity of the hypothesis fill our mind with wonder and admiration. But whether it be a mere image of the imagination, with no corresponding reality, a brilliant plausible guess, or whether it be in truth "God's plan of creation," the evidences to which will be at length so closely unfolded as to command universal acceptance, we know not. Without endorsing all the positions of Quatrefages, the following paragraph from his "Human Species" expresses in the main our view as to the mode of man's creation:

"To those who question me upon the problem of our origin¹ I do not hesitate to answer—*I do not know*. I do not on that account anathematise those who consider they ought to act otherwise, nor do I greatly blame their boldness. The study of second causes has enabled man to explain scientifically the present constitution of the inorganic world; and it is quite legitimate to attempt to account for the present state of the organic world by causes of the same nature; *perhaps success will one day crown our efforts*, and should they remain for ever unrewarded as they have hitherto done, they will still possess a certain utility. These efforts of the imagination provoke new research, make new openings, and thus render a service to real science in the world of facts, as well as in that of ideas. If Darwin had not been actuated by his preconceptions, he would probably never have accomplished his excellent work upon the one hundred and fifty races of pigeons, nor developed his theory of the struggle for existence and natural selection which accounts for so much."²

¹ *I. e.*, the *mode* of man's creation.

² "The Human Species," p. 128, by A. de Quatrefages. N. Y., Appleton, 1883.

Quatrefages is one of the foremost living anthropologists. He belongs to that small band of European naturalists who have not accepted the hypothesis of the origin of species by derivation. His attitude towards Evolution is commendable and safe, because marked by broadness of philosophic view and manliness of spirit. As he has been one of the chief authorities quoted by the majority in their condemnation of Evolution, it might be well to follow his example in "not anathematising" those who hold or allow it, in admitting the "legitimacy of the attempts of evolutionists," and in allowing that "perhaps success will one day crown their efforts."

We now propose to examine briefly the grounds on which Prof. Woodrow's removal was based.

EVOLUTION IS ALLEGED TO BE AN UNPROVEN HYPOTHESIS.

This proposition in various forms stands in the forefront of every criticism and of every ecclesiastical decision rendered on the subject. One Synod declared it never could be proven.¹ Another pronounced it unworthy to be "dignified with the name of science."² "Unproven hypothesis" was nailed to the mast-head of all the religious journals that opposed the teaching of the doctrine as held by Dr. Woodrow. Two preliminary criticisms may be made here: 1st. In the newspapers and in the discussion of the subject in the church courts the important distinction between a "*probable hypothesis*" and a proven theory was generally overlooked or ignored, hence misconception and confusion of thought resulted. However Huxley may regard "Evolution as clearly *demonstrated* as the Copernican theory of astronomy,"³ though Haeckel⁴ considers Evolution has as clear proof as the theory of gravitation, and great multitudes of others who accept it place it in the same category with other accepted doc-

¹ Synod of Kentucky.

² Synod of Mississippi.

³ New York "Lectures on Evolution." This statement was criticised by Dr. Wm. Taylor, and referred to in a friendly review by Dr. McCosh, *Popular Scientific Monthly*.

⁴ "Freedom in Science and Teaching," p. 65 (a review of Virchow's Munich address), by Ernst Haeckel. Appleton, N. Y., 1879.

trines of science, yet the descriptive terms carefully applied to it by Prof. Woodrow, marking, in his mind, its proper place in the world of thought, did not have their legitimate influence on the judgments of the majority. 2d. The legitimate use of hypotheses and the value of probable evidence and the weight of reasoning based upon probabilities were not duly considered, but, on the contrary, the logical trend of the discussion was in violation of some of the fundamental principles of sound philosophy which underlie our mental procedures in practical life and in building up and defending our system of theology.

I. *The Nature and Proper Use of Hypotheses Misapprehended.*

1. *The nature of hypotheses.* An hypothesis is a mental mould into which the facts that come under the mind's view are tentatively cast. It is an imaginary frame in which phenomena are provisionally set; it is a guess or conjecture made by the mind to explain the phenomena that come before it. Hypotheses are not held to modify facts, but to unify them, and then enable the mind to arrive at a notion of their relation, mode of origin, and the cause of their existence.

Plato justifies the use of hypotheses in these words: "The soul is compelled to use hypotheses: not ascending to a first principle, because she is unable to ascend above hypotheses, but employing the objects of which the shadows below are resemblances in their turn as images, they having in relation to the shadows a greater distinctness and therefore a higher value."¹ He distinguishes among the kinds of knowledge that "which reason herself attains by the power of dialectic, using the hypotheses, not as first principles, but only as hypotheses—that is to say, as *steps and points of departure* into a region which is above hypotheses, in order that she may soar beyond them to the first principle of the whole, and clinging then to that which depends on this, by successive steps she descends without the aid of any sensible object, beginning and ending in ideas."²

Aristotle seems to regard hypothesis as synonymous with a

¹ Plato's Republic (Prof. Jowett's Plato, Republic, II., 339).

² *Ibid.*

proposition that is *probably true*: "Whatever things then, being demonstrable, a man assumes without demonstration, these if he assumes what appears *probable*, he supposes (*ὑποτίθησι*), and this not an hypothesis simply, but with reference to the *learner* alone."¹

Sir Wm. Hamilton, both in his *Metaphysics*² and in his *Logic*, defines an hypothesis as a provisional reference of phenomena to some supposed low cause, or class, until the mind is satisfied to make the reference permanent, or is able to refer them to some other. The end of hypotheses is to satisfy the desire of the mind to reduce the objects of its knowledge to unity and system. "Hypotheses are propositions which are assumed with probability, in order to explain or prove something else which cannot be otherwise explained."

Dr. Gregory says: "Hypothesis is often confounded with *theory*; but *hypothesis* properly means the supposition of a principle, of whose existence there is no proof from experience, but which may be rendered more or less probable by facts which are neither numerous enough nor adequate to infer its existence."³

"In some instances," says Boscovich, "observations and experiments reveal to us all we know. In other cases we avail ourselves of the aid of hypotheses; by which word, however, is to be understood not fictions altogether arbitrary, but suppositions conformable to experience or analogy."⁴

Says John Stuart Mill⁵: "An hypothesis is any supposition which we make (either without actual evidence or an evidence avowedly insufficient) in order to endeavor to deduce from it conclusions in accordance with facts which are known to be real; under the idea that if the conclusions to which the hypothesis leads are known truths, the hypothesis itself either *must be*, or at least is likely to be, true. If the hypothesis relates to the cause or *mode of production* of a phenomenon, it will serve, if

¹ Aristotle's *Organon*, Bk. I., ch. x., 4.

² Hamilton's *Metaphysics*, pp. 117, *et seq.*

³ Fleming's *Vocabulary of Philosophy*, new ed., edited by Charles P. Krauth (1883), p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *System of Logic*, 4th ed., Bk. III., chap. 14.

admitted, to explain such facts as are found capable of being deduced from it. And this explanation is the purpose of many, if not most, hypotheses. Since explaining, in the scientific sense, means resolving a uniformity, which is not a law of causation, into the laws of causation from which it results, or a complex law of causation into simpler and more general ones, from which it is capable of being deductively inferred, if there do not exist any known laws which will fill this requirement, we may feign or imagine some which would fulfil it; and this is making an hypothesis."

2. *The use of hypotheses.* An hypothesis being a mere supposition, there are no other limits to hypotheses than those of the human imagination. Mr. Mill has some valuable remarks on the use of hypotheses: "Hypotheses are invented to enable the deductive method to be earlier applied to phenomena. The process of discovering the cause of phenomena by the deductive method consists of three parts: Induction (the place of which may be supplied by a prior deduction), to ascertain the laws of the causes; ratiocination, to compute from those laws how the causes will operate in the particular combination known to exist in the case in hand; verification, by comparing this calculated effect with the actual phenomenon. No one of these three parts of the process can be dispensed with. . . . The hypothetical method *suppresses* the first of these three steps, the induction to ascertain the law; and contents itself with the other two operations, ratiocination and verification."¹

In employing the evolution hypothesis, the method of all those who accept it is to assume the law of derivation, observe the variation, distribution, etc., of life, and from the observed facts and the reasoning thereon draw the conclusion assumed in the hypothesis. This is the method of all scientific research.

Mill thinks that the use of hypotheses is legitimate only when "the nature of the case be such that the final step, the verification, shall amount to, and fulfil the conditions of, a complete induction. We want to be assured that the law we have hypothetically assumed is a true one; and its leading deductively to true

¹Mill's Logic, 4th ed., Vol. II., pp. 10, 11.

results will afford this assurance, provided the case be such that a false law cannot lead to a true result, provided no law, except the very one which we have assumed, can lead deductively to the same conclusions which that leads to." ¹ It may be said, however, that the very structure of the mind compels it to make suppositions concerning certain subjects, as the habitability of certain stars and planets, the ultimate nature of matter and force, which can never be verified as far as we know now ; but yet which, not being self-contradictory, nor in conflict with known truth, are held as regulative assumptions in our thinking on these subjects. The atomic theory of matter can never, apparently, be verified, nor have we the data for verifying, in the scientific sense, the doctrine that all force is will force. The highest truths of theology and philosophy make this doctrine credible, probable to faith, and the impossibility of disproving it furnishes a sufficient basis for postulating it.

All scientific progress has been achieved by a proper use of hypotheses. "The history of all discoveries that have been arrived at, by what can with any propriety be called philosophical investigation and induction, attests the necessity of the experimenter (and observer) proceeding in the institution and management of his experiments (and observations) upon a previous idea of the truth to be evolved. This previous idea is what is properly called an hypothesis, which means something *placed under* as a foundation or platform on which to institute and carry on the process of investigation. Hypotheses are admissible and may be useful as a means of stimulating, extending, and directing inquiry. They are not to be set up as barriers or stopping-places in the path of knowledge, but as way-posts to guide us in the road of observation and to cheer us with the prospect of speedily arriving at a resting-place—at another stage in our journey towards the truth. They are to be given only as *provisional explanations* of the phenomena, and are to be cheerfully abandoned the moment that a more full and satisfactory explanation presents itself." ²

¹ Mill's Logic, Bk. III., chap. 14.

² Fleming's Vocabulary of Philosophy, by C. P. Krauth, 1883, pp. 221, 222.

Hypotheses by suggesting observations and experiments put us on the road to that independent evidence, if it be really attainable; and till it be attained, the hypothesis ought not to count for more than a conjecture. This function of hypotheses is absolutely indispensable in science. When Newton said "hypotheses *non fingo*," he did not mean that he deprived himself of the facilities of investigation afforded by assuming in the first instance what he hoped ultimately to prove. Without such assumptions science could never have attained its present state. They are necessary steps in the progress to something more certain; and nearly everything which is now theory was once hypothesis. The desire to verify or disprove a hypothesis is the motive which determines the mind to make one experiment rather than another. Those delicate, unobvious, cumbrous experiments which have thrown most light on the general constitution of nature would not have been undertaken at the time and by the persons that they were unless some general theory, conjectured but not proved, seemed to depend on them whether or not they should be admitted.¹ "Neither induction nor deduction would enable us to understand the simplest phenomena if we did not often commence by anticipating on the results; by making a provisional supposition, at first conjectural, as to some of the very notions which constitute the final object of the inquiry."² The minds of lawyers and judges follow this method in eliciting the true history of an occurrence. Some fact suggests a clue or hypothesis, and the mass of testimony is unravelled gradually, and is woven into a theory, which was at first an *a priori* guess, and is rejected or accepted according as it will square with and explain the phenomena presented in the testimony.³

Says Prof. W. Stanley Jevons⁴: "All inductive investigation consists in the marriage of hypothesis and experiment." Even when observing phenomena that we cannot modify, attention should be guided by theoretical anticipations. Prof. Jevons and

¹ Mill's Logic, Vol. II., p. 16.

² Comte's Positive Philosophy, II., 434-7.

³ Mill's Logic, Vol. II., p. 17.

⁴ Principles of Science, 2d ed., Macmillan, London, 1883, Bk. IV. ch. 23.

J. S. Mill both point out numerous examples of this principle in the achievements of Galileo, Gilbert, Newton, Huyghens, Horrocks, Young, Herschel, Huxley, Tyndall, Whewell, etc. Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences," and his "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," furnish many more similar illustrations. The investigator begins and ends with facts. He uses facts to suggest probable hypotheses; deducing other facts which would happen if a particular hypothesis is true. Says Jevons: "Throughout Newton's works deductive reasoning wholly predominates, and experiments are employed, as they should be, to confirm or refute hypothetical anticipations of nature."¹

3. *The criteria of legitimate hypotheses.* So much for the nature and use of hypotheses. The criteria of legitimate hypotheses might be examined at length, and the evolution hypothesis tested in their light, the only legitimate method of examining it. Hamilton gives several criteria of a good hypothesis in the tenth lecture of his *Metaphysics*, and in his discussion of the "Representative Theory of Perception" (Lect. 26th). They are in substance as follows: 1. The facts to be explained must really exist. Prove ghosts before explaining them. Establish *an sit* before *cur sit*. 2. The phenomena cannot be explained by any known cause or principle. 3. The hypothesis must involve no internal or external contradiction. It must be consistent with its parts, and not contradict other known truth. 4. It must explain the phenomena better than any known or supposed law or cause. 5. It must explain the phenomena simply and *fully*, independently of subsidiary hypotheses to help it out. 6. It must save the facts to be explained and not subvert, distort, or mutilate them. Prof. Jevons,² however, in giving the requisites of a good hypothesis, considers "*agreement with fact the sole and sufficient test of a true hypothesis.*" He mentions the three marks of a good hypothesis given by Hobbes and Boyle, viz.: (1) It should be conceivable and not absurd. (2) It should allow of phenomena being necessarily inferred. (3)

¹ Principles of Science, 2d ed., Macmillan, London, 1883, Bk. IV., ch. 23.

² Jevons's Principles of Science, Bk. IV., Ch. 23. London: Macmillan, 1883.

It should not be inconsistent with any other truth or phenomena of nature (Boyle). After remarking that unless by *inconceivability* and *absurdity* were meant self-contradiction or inconsistency with the laws of thought and nature, this mark could not be accepted, because "*some satisfactory theories involve suppositions which are wholly inconceivable*"—(the theories of gravitation and the undulatory theory of light are afterwards cited as "the two best founded theories in physical science, and yet involve the most absurd suppositions")—he adds, "there is but one test of a good hypothesis, viz., its conformity with observed facts, which involve three conditions: 1. It must admit the application of deductive reasoning, and the inference of consequences capable of comparison with the results of observation. It must allow the precise calculation of results. 2. It must not conflict with any laws of nature or of mind which we hold to be true. 3. The consequences inferred must agree with facts of observation."¹

Now whether the evolution hypothesis presents all these criteria it is not our purpose here to discuss. Our object is to point out in the rather unmeasured condemnation of hypothetical methods and teaching expressed in our church journals and courts, that the principles implied in the terms and manner of condemnation are opposed to those of sound philosophy and practical life. The framing or acceptance of hypotheses as mental feelers thrown out in the world of facts, as instruments of research, are legitimate and necessary. And when it is declared that nothing but established truth, demonstrated doctrines, shall be taught even as *probable, i. e., provable*, then it seems the door to further progress in knowledge is shut, and no scope or play is given to the personal peculiarities of different minds in their modes of viewing and presenting truth. Individuality must be swallowed up in the unbroken uniformity of the body. The harmony must not be that of many notes blending in an orchestra, but the monotone of many voices sounding in the same pitch and key.

¹ Jevons's Logic, *ad supra*.

II. *The Validity of Probable Reasoning Denied by the Majority and Assent to Doctrines on the Grounds of Probability Forbidden.*

Now all that was claimed by Prof. Woodrow for Evolution was probable truth, enough to win his acceptance of it as defined and limited by him, it is true, but still not as a demonstration. The quantity of evidence, or its quality, was such as to win his personal faith in its *probability*. Of course all who accept Evolution do so on the belief that as an hypothesis it meets the requirements and presents the credentials of a just hypothesis, as given above. If it be a truth, and if it be finally accepted as such without a dissenting voice, it will rest on the only basis which supports nearly every doctrine of science, viz., probability. Some of the evidence adduced in support of Evolution is inductive, a large part of it is analogical; and deduction and analogy cannot go beyond the establishment of probability, which may indeed produce the conviction of moral certainty, but still remain a probability.

If hypotheses must not be taught, held, or allowed, because the evidence in favor of their truth amounts only to probability, then the great body, not only of our received science and philosophy, but some of our distinctive theological tenets, must be abandoned.

“Probability is the guide of life,” says Butler; and Jevons,¹ in expounding the methods of induction, rests them on the theory of probability. Reid² teaches that the evidence by which the known laws of nature have been discovered, and the effects which have been produced by them, or which may be expected in future, is probable. He makes this splendid statement: “*The laws of nature are the rules by which the Supreme Being governs the world. We deduce them only from facts that fall within our own observation, or are properly attested by those who have observed them.*” The philosopher’s knowledge of these laws differs from that of the masses, not in the first principles on which it is grounded, but in its extent and accuracy. Our

¹ Principles of Science, Bk. II., Ch. 10.

² Int. Powers, Essay VII., Ch. 3.

knowledge of nature, consisting of facts reduced to general rules, the consequences flowing from them, and the belief in their continuity, rests on *probable*, not demonstrative evidence. These rules may have unknown exceptions and limitations, or they may be changed by Him who framed them, but our very constitution compels us to rely upon their continuity with as little doubt as if it was demonstrable."¹ Dugald Stewart² states very clearly that probability does not imply *deficiency* in the proof, but only makes the particular *nature* of that proof, as distinguished from mathematical evidence. It is opposed not to what is *certain*, but to what admits of mathematical demonstration. In popular speech *probable* means mixed with some degree of doubt; philosophers, while using the term similarly, apply it also to events that are considered *certain*. Hence the philosophical meaning of the word is more comprehensive than the popular, the former denoting that particular *species of evidence* of which contingent truths admit, the latter being confined to such *degrees* of their evidence as fall short of the highest. These different degrees of *probability* constitute a *series* from bare possibility to apprehended infallibility or moral certainty. Stewart thinks the word *probable* is inapplicable to their last term of the series. Says Locke³: "Demonstration is the showing the agreement or disagreement of ideas by the intervention of one or more proofs which have a constant, immutable, and visible connexion with one another. So probability is nothing but the appearance of such agreement or disagreement by the intervention of proofs, whose connexion is not constant and mutable, or, at least, is not perceived to be so, but is, or appears for the most part to be so, and is enough to induce the mind to judge the proposition to be true or false, rather than the contrary." Probability, he adds, is *likeliness* to be true. The mind's acceptance of *probable* truth Locke terms belief, assent, opinion, *i. e.*, the reception of a proposition as true on proofs that persuade us to receive it as true without certain

¹ Works of Thomas Reid, ed. by Sir Wm. Hamilton. Edinburg, 1846. Int. Pow., Essay VII., Ch. 3.

² Elements of Philosophy, Par. 2, Ch. 2, § 4.

³ Locke on the Understanding, Bk. IV., Chaps. 15, 16.

knowledge that it is so. Locke, Reid, and President Noah Porter,¹ agree substantially in pointing out that probable reasoning rests on contingent truth, while demonstration rests on necessary truth.

The grounds of probability are: 1. The conformity of anything with our own knowledge, observation, and experience. 2. The testimony of others vouching their own observation and experience. 3. The evidence furnished by analogy and induction. Other grounds are sometimes given, such as (1) the authority of good judges, (2) the recognition of identity—of things and persons, (3) knowledge of the general principles of human nature and conduct, (4) probability of chances (Reid), Locke mentions the "opinion of others," and adds, "There cannot be a more dangerous thing to rely on, nor more likely to mislead one; since there is much more falsehood and error among men than truth and knowledge. And if the opinions and persuasions of others, whom we know and think well of, be a ground of assent, men have reason to be heathens in Japan, Mahometans in Turkey, Papists in Spain, Protestants in England, and Lutherans in Sweden."² Says Jevons: Probability belongs wholly to the mind, to our mental condition, to the light in which we regard events, the occurrence or non-occurrence of which is certain in themselves. It refers to the quantity of knowledge, not to the quantity of belief. The theory of probability does not measure what the belief is, but what it should be. The quantity of belief is proportional to the quantity of knowledge.³ The same information being pre-supposed, the quantity of belief should be the same in all minds (quoting Prof. Donkin).⁴ LaPlace happily describes the theory of probability as "good sense reduced to calculation." And he, reasoning from the known phenomena of heat, and the laws of cooling bodies in rotation, etc., propounded the now generally accepted nebular hypothesis, or the

¹ "The Human Intellect," pp. 454-5. Prof. Noah Porter, D. D., of Yale College. Scribner, N. Y., 1869.

² Locke's Essay, Vol. II., p. 184.

³ Perhaps *quantity of evidence* would be more strictly accurate.

⁴ Principles of Science, Bk. II., Chap. X., p. 199.

doctrine of Cosmical Evolution. The grounds of probability form the basis of assent to the truth or falsity of any proposition, and the quantity of evidence (substituting this phrase for Jevons's "quantity of knowledge") is the measure whereby the various degrees of assent are to be regulated. In this statement is involved one of the differences between demonstration and probability. In demonstrative reasoning one argument is as good as a thousand; a multiplication of demonstrations is logical tautology; but the strength of probable reasoning depends, usually, not upon one argument, but upon many, which unite their force and lead to the same conclusion. Any one alone would not convince, but the whole taken together may have a resistless force. A rope, made of many threads twisted together, may be more than strong enough to bear the stress laid upon it, while no one of its threads singly would bear the weight. A rope does not necessarily break because one or two of its strands snap, neither does the failure of one argument always disprove the truth of the conclusion it is intended to uphold, otherwise there are few truths which could survive the ill-considered arguments adduced in their favor. The dictum "*falsus in uno falsus in omnibus*," urged by some against Dr. Woodrow's position as a whole, on the supposition that some of his arguments had been destroyed, does not logically apply. If it does, then the recent abrogation of the "Deceased Wife's Sister" clause in our Confession because of its error, logically undermines our creed; and the recent revision of our Book of Church Order, because of discovered heresies, wrongs, etc., in the Old Book (false allegation and slander against the Old Book, by the way, according to Dr. Lefevre and others, both living and dead), invalidates our theory of church polity.

Must nothing be taught, held, or allowed, which is only probable? So it seems, according to the "*Received-Interpretation of our Church*" logic. The very term employed by the majority, construed by strict logic, in ejecting him because his teachings are contrary to the "received interpretation," proves him to be in harmony with that interpretation. See,

"Evolution is an hypothesis." (Received Interpretation.)

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“Evolution is an hypothesis.” (Prof. Woodrow.)

“Evolution is an undemonstrated hypothesis.” (Received Interpretation.)

“Evolution is an undemonstrated hypothesis [*i. e., probable, does not admit of demonstration; it is likely, does not involve absurdity or contradiction*]. (Prof. Woodrow.)

Of course it will be said that the terms are employed by the two parties in different senses. But what we are criticising in this paper is the sense in which terms are used and the procedure based thereon, as subversive of sound philosophy and the principles of common sense. The position maintained is virtually this: the framing, teaching, holding, or allowing of hypotheses is forbidden. The assent to an hypothesis, on the theory of probability, unless the degree of probability amounts to certainty, is unlawful. Hypotheses must not be accepted, or taught as *probable*, until they are verified—demonstrated, *i. e.,* until they cease to be hypotheses. Now, who is to draw the line between hypothesis and established theory? Who is to judge the quantity of evidence which is to measure the degrees of probability and regulate the assent? Dr. Dabney cannot be accused of partiality to the hypothesis of Evolution, nor can he be credited with any fixed purpose of tolerating the teaching of it in our theological schools as probable when he teaches that the *dividing line between hypothesis and demonstrative induction cannot be clearly drawn*. He quotes a sensualistic philosopher's comment on some theory accounting for a group of phenomena: “This is not valid because it is only hypothesis.” He replies, “*But what, I pray, is the dividing line between hypothesis and demonstrative induction? And why is the former, without the latter, invalid? The answer is metaphysics. ‘The post hoc does not necessarily prove the propter hoc.’ Tell us why? It cannot be told without talking metaphysics.*”¹

III. *Consequences of these errors.*

(1) Grounds for receiving and teaching nearly all science destroyed. Virchow's declaration at Munich in 1877 at the 50th

¹ “Sensualistic Philosophy,” p. 5. A. D. F. Randolph & Co., N. Y., 1875.

meeting of German Naturalists and Physicians, was approvingly quoted and referred to several times in the course of the discussion in our Church, viz., "Nothing shall be taught that is not absolutely certain. None but objective and absolutely ascertained knowledge is to be imparted by the teacher to the learner; nothing subjective, no knowledge that is open to correction, only facts, no hypotheses."¹

Now, according to Kant, "in every science only as much objective knowledge—demonstrative truth—is to be found as it contains mathematics." Human nature is full of inconsistencies which are sometimes happy, sometimes woful. Virchow and Haeckel have for years been warm friends. Haeckel was Virchow's enthusiastic and admiring pupil. In their philosophic and religious views they were and are birds of a feather. Until lately they were both *equally* denounced as typical free-thinkers and materialists. But as Huxley wittily says, "Like the two women grinding at the mill, one has been taken and the other left. Since the publication of his famous oration, Virchow has been received into the bosom of orthodoxy and respectability; while Haeckel remains an outcast." Virchow stock sells above par in certain circles on three mistaken—surely not *hypotheses*, for the "majority" condemn hypotheses!! Yes; hypotheses; majority

¹A few remarks are proper here. 1. Virchow made this speech in reply to Prof. Haeckel's proposal to remodel the text-books and schools for German children so as to teach them Evolution, *four days* after Haeckel spoke. It contains many good things, and the short time given to its preparation may account for some things in it which were so sharply criticised on the Continent and in England. 2. It is distinctly an argument against instilling into the minds of young people the doctrine of Evolution on the ground that it was not absolutely proven. 3. Huxley, in commenting on it, says it owed its extraordinary reception not to its undoubted literary and scientific merits, but to an "*imputed righteousness*." "It is mistakenly supposed to be a recantation and a death-blow to Evolution; but though I certainly hold that doctrine with some tenacity, I am able, *ex animo*, to subscribe to every important general proposition which its author lays down." Huxley adds, "Virchow nowhere repudiates the doctrine. He says it is not proven and hence should not be taught to children. If Prof. Virchow will make this good rule absolute and apply it to all subjects taught in our schools, I should be heartily disposed to concur with him."

hypotheses at that, viz.: (1) that his views on Evolution coincide with theirs; (2) that he could be safely cited in defence of their doctrine on hypotheses; (3) that he was a good orthodox Christian, *i. e.*, held to the "received interpretation." Virchow's address is before us: (1.) He does not affirm the doctrine of *immediate* creation out of a lump of clay. (2.) Gives liberty of *opinion* as between this and creation by the process of evolution. (3.) He is an agnostic on the subject of *æquivoca generatio*—involving the connexion of organic and inorganic. (4.) He acknowledges that he found it impossible every year to give up subjective notions, *i. e.*, hypotheses. (5.) He says we must teach for *fact* only what we *know*. If we go further, we must say, "This is not *proved*—this is *my opinion, my idea, my theory, my speculation*." We may investigate problems, and publish or speak *our opinions* thereon. "Our favorite problems must be set forth as problems only. Let us never tire of saying: 'Do not take this for confirmed truth; bear in mind that this may perhaps be changed; only for the moment we are of opinion *that it may be true*.'" (Really this sounds more like Prof. Woodrow than the majority.) (6.) He goes on: There are probably *few naturalists who are not of the opinion that man is allied to the rest of the animal world, and that a connexion will possibly be found, if not indeed with apes, then perhaps in some other direction*, as is now the opinion of Prof. Vogt. (7.) "I acknowledge openly that this is a *desideratum* (a thing *desirable* and wanting) of science. I am quite prepared for it," (are you all ready, brethren?) "and should not be for a moment alarmed if the ancestors of man belonged to some other order of vertebrates." (8.) He says man's animal descent is "only a problem, however *probable* it may appear." Really this is too much like Dr. Woodrow again. Surely these utterances were made years ago, when Virchow and Haeckel were such friends! No; they are from the Munich address. Verily, then, some "Received-Interpretation-Theory" Jay Gould has watered the Virchow stock and unloaded on the anti-evolution market. There is one *hypothesis* which might relieve the difficulty, viz., the translation of J. Fitzgerald, A. M., may be wrong; for as translators sometimes

err there are *probabilities* that this one errs here.¹ Other hypotheses, supported by probabilities equally strong might be presented, such as Virchow's position was misinterpreted by some hypothesis of the majority, or his views were taken second hand on the *hypothesis*—supported by *probability*—that the witnesses vouching for them were credible. But none of these subterfuges will do; they are all condemned methods of procedure; for the majority neither uses nor allows hypotheses, nor assents to them on the grounds of probability. The literal face-meaning of all documents, books, etc., must be taken without inventing hypotheses to explain and harmonise its statements. It will not mend matters by saying the hypotheses applied to various passages of *one book* are simply the basal truths, the general trend of the system contained in it—it is a mere hypothesis, supported only by probable evidence, that the method is legitimate.

Before leaving Virchow, two remarks are proper. 1st. If the general character of his religious opinion be correctly represented in the epithets "notorious materialist," "advanced radical," "great supporter of the atheism of science," before 1877, then, according to Virchow, the doctrine laid down by him above, and accepted by the majority, involves the rejection of Christianity. 2d. Happily for Virchow, perhaps, he did not follow out his own theory. "The great service rendered by Virchow to pathological science, anatomy, and physiology depends chiefly, not on the many new facts he discovered, but on the theories and hypotheses by which like an inspired pioneer he sought to open a way through the dead waste of pathological knowledge and to form it into a living science." Says Haeckel, "These new theories and the hypotheses on which they were founded, Virchow then propounded to us, his disciples, with such incisive assurance that every one of us was convinced of their truth; yet later experience has shown that they were in part insufficiently proved and in part wholly false." He cites as an example Virchow's theory of connective tissue (for which Haeckel, in several of his early works, 1856 to 1858, broke a lance),

¹The oration was first translated for *Nature* and then revised for the *Popular Science Monthly*.

which seemed to explain many pathological and physiological phenomena, and though finally proven false was of great service as a provisional hypothesis and guiding clue to investigations. Haeckel proceeds: "Virchow belied his Munich teaching daily. Every hour he taught his disciples some unproved theory and problematical hypothesis. . . . The charm of his instruction lay in this, that Virchow as a teacher constantly let us, his pupils, enter into those problems with which he was occupied. He propounded to us his personal hypotheses for the elucidation of the given facts. *And what really gifted teacher who lives in his science would not do the same?* Where is there, or where has there ever been, a great master who in his teaching has confined himself only to imparting certain and undoubtedly ascertained facts? Who has not found that the charm and value of his teaching lay precisely in propounding the problems which link themselves with those facts, and in leading the uncertain fluctuating hypotheses which may serve to solve these problems? Or is there for the young and struggling mind anything better or more conducive to culture than to exercise the intelligence in problems of investigation?"

Leaving Virchow, and applying the principle under criticism, the greater part of the natural sciences, according to it, must be abandoned. Newton's theory of gravitation, regarded as the most important and certain theory of physics, is an hypothesis resting only on probable evidence; hence, while accepted without hesitation, it is only "probably true." The degree of probability perhaps amounting nearly to moral certainty, yet it involves some "absurd suppositions" according to Prof. Jevons.¹ It positively contradicts the old dictum that nothing can act but through some medium. It puzzlingly acts independently of intervening obstacles. Light pays some respect to matter, for opaque bodies stop it, transparent ones in a degree absorb and deflect it; but to gravity all media are transparent, or non-existent; two antipodal particles on the earth draw each other as if no globe were between. Gravity acts instantaneously throughout the cosmos. No time is required to act across all space. Change

¹ Principles of Science, Bk. IV., ch. 23.

the position of one atom and the grip of every other through space is changed. The myriad cords joining each atom to its countless myriads of fellows are every instant changing their length or tautness, and no one ever breaks or is displaced. What is this but an undemonstrated—yea, an unverifiable hypothesis—supported only by probable evidence? Must it therefore not be held or taught as probably true?

The undulatory theory of light is only an hypothesis involving equally absurd suppositions: it asks us to give up our prepossessions and believe that interstellar space, which seems empty, is not empty at all, but full of something more solid and elastic than steel. Young says, "The luminiferous ether pervading all space and penetrating all substances, is not only highly elastic but absolutely solid!" Herschel calculated the force which, according to the undulatory theory of light, is constantly exerted at each point in space, and found it to be 1,148,000,000,000 times the elastic force of air at the earth's surface, hence the pressure of ether per square inch is about 17,000,000,000 pounds. Yet we live and move without sensible resistance through this medium immensely harder and more elastic than adamant. All our common notions must be abandoned in accepting such an idea; yet it is no more, says Jevons, than the known phenomena of light and heat force us to accept. He agrees with Young in thinking there may be independent worlds, some possibly existing in different parts of space *pervading each other*, unseen and unknown in the same space. Now, according to the principles enounced by the majority, this doctrine of science must not be taught, because it is only an hypothesis resting on probable evidence.

The same remarks apply to chemistry as well as to physics. "The whole theoretical side of chemistry is an airy structure of hypotheses," says Haeckel. Every student knows that within the last half century chemical theories have rapidly followed each other; none of them demonstrably true, yet some one of them held by every professor of chemistry. What may be termed the base of all chemical theories, the atomic theory, is but an unverifiable hypothesis. An atom was never seen, on land or sea. It

is accepted on the probable evidence that it works well in guiding investigation and helps investigators to calculate results. And so it might be shown that the whole hierarchy of physical sciences, geology, botany, zoology, etc., must not be taught because they rest on or involve hypotheses which are incapable of verification, and hence only probable.

2. It will fare no better with those metaphysical and moral sciences dealing with psychology, philology, political economy, jurisprudence, etc. Subtract from these all hypotheses and theories resting on the grounds of probability, and the remainder will be very small. We would have to light a candle and use magnifying glasses to find it.

3. Our theology will share no better fate. "The faith of history and the judgment of solemn tribunals," says Reid, rests on probable reasoning. Our system of apologetics and Christian evidences rests upon principles virtually condemned by the majority. To the majority of Christians in the world, who have studied the Bible as faithfully as we have, it may be, and claim the promise of the Spirit's guidance as confidently as we do, our Presbyterian polity and the *peculiar* doctrines of our creed are not only hypotheses, but not even probable hypotheses. To us they are supported by a degree of probability that amounts to moral certainty. When we study the Bible to learn and to teach, our method of procedure is, or should be, the method of inductive philosophy. Scripture facts, phenomena, words, and propositions suggest to our minds an hypothesis of the Bible doctrine on the subject in hand (corresponding to the hypothesis of causes and laws of phenomena in nature suggested by material facts). We make an induction of facts; the processes of analogy, generalisation, and inference are all employed; at every step the "theory of probability" conditions both process and result, and the final outcome of it is probability (not mathematical demonstration). Such a high degree of probability, it is true, that we can very often say, "I know and am persuaded." We repeat, that the *peculiar* features of our doctrine and polity are our hypotheses (suppositions, beliefs) of Scripture teaching. And we receive them on *probable* grounds, however certain those grounds may appear to

us. And if hypotheses are forbidden fruit, and probability only a foundation of sand, then we surrender our position as Presbyterians. Let it be noted here that our contention is not that the *degree* of probability for Evolution is as great as that for our system, but that the logical principles *employed by the majority* in our Church, their method of procedure to destroy Evolution is vicious and suicidal. Logical dynamite has been used to put out a supposed fire, in the upper story of our house. And all the family in the house at that. There MAY BE (if we may be pardoned for using *hypothetical* language) some patent hand-grenade fire-extinguisher that will put that Evolution fire out. But, maybe, that fire will not do any harm, for it may be in the chimney; or maybe it was just a light shining through the door; or maybe it was all a false alarm (but we beg pardon, we are suggesting *hypotheses* again).

The arguments employed to prove Evolution untrue, and inconsistent with Scripture, strange to say, involved the inconsistency of employing the very methods and principles so severely condemned in the position of the majority on the subject of hypotheses and probable reasoning as a ground of assent, as we hope to show more fully in a future paper. In forbidding assent to or acceptance of hypotheses on "mere probable grounds," it was hardly to be expected that the position would be maintained and the mandate enforced by employing the contraband weapons. Now, the main reliance in attempting to show Evolution to be an unproved hypothesis was the authority of scientists. What is this but mere *probable reasoning* in support of the *unproved hypothesis* that the testimony of these men was conclusive evidence, verifying the proposition laid down? How was Evolution proven to be inconsistent with Scripture? Both parties appealed to Scripture—one to show that it was probably *silent* as to the mode of creation, and as to the condition of the dust of which Adam's body was made; the other to show that it was not silent on this subject. Scripture was the supreme authority with both. It would be begging the whole question therefore to say that the proof of one side was drawn from Scripture, while that of the other was not. It is begging the whole question also to cite

Scripture as a "parol witness" in proving Evolution to be false and atheistic. Whether, therefore, Evolution is inconsistent with Scripture is an hypothesis or belief, however the probabilities may be on either side, and the method of reasoning, even on Scripture, by both sides, involved the theory of probability. The reasoning in each case was clearly probable, and the result reached was only probable, and could be nothing more on either side. The other method of proof that Evolution is anti-scriptural was confessedly that of probable reasoning, viz., the appeal to the consensus of Christendom, the *opinions* of theologians. This reasoning was in support of the unproven hypothesis, supposition, belief, that the testimony of these men was conclusive proof of the doctrine maintained. We hope to test the validity of this argument hereafter. It may be said here that if the consensus of Christendom be a reason for condemning Evolution as anti-scriptural, it is also a reason for abandoning the distinctive features of our creed and polity. Further, before condemning Evolution as atheistic, etc., with the consensus of Christendom as a reason therefor, it would be well to heed the caution, "Be sure of your facts." You might be startled with a conclusion opposite to the one anticipated. An unexpected boomerang sometimes flies back from our premises.

We have confined ourselves in this paper to a review principally of what we conceive to be the formal errors in the reasoning of those who differ from us on the allowableness of Prof. Woodrow's views as consistent with our doctrines. We shall barely touch, in closing, the relation between theology and Evolution as held by Prof. Woodrow. There is a sense in which all science—theology, metaphysics, and natural science—is anthropological, the creation of human faculties, the symbol of human culture, the mirror of mind interpreting God, self, and nature. Theology is anthropology, in a sense very different from that intended by Prof. Steinthal, of Berlin. Science is nature explained by man; theology is God and nature explained in and through man. Man has conceived God's relationship to the world in various ways. Aside from Scripture, he borrows from nature the symbols for articulating his faith. Thought may

change or refine these symbols, but can never break away from the ideas they represented. "The phenomena of generation and light have suggested an emanational relation of God to the world.¹ Those of organic life are immanent; those of adaptation are architectonic." The theistic idea and the cosmic form may then so grow together as to seem one and inseparable. A growing acquaintance with nature may change our cosmic conception, which was the mould of our theistic faith. The old cosmic forms may seem a necessary frame in which to hold the idea of God. Hence conflicts arise, and theology and science may be put in battle array against each other on the *radically false issue that a given cosmic conception is essential to faith in God*. But faith in God does not die with changing notions of nature. Like a jewel, the idea of God, in his essential character, as a being to trust, love, obey, and reverence, is unchanged and changeless; though the cosmic setting in which the mind places him may be changed. God, like an eternal mountain, stands fixed in faith; man's cosmic conception, his shifting ideas of nature, are but robe, girdle, and coronet of cloud which drape the mountain. The clouds flee, melt, change their hues; the mountain stands immovable.

Men think they fight for or against God in fighting for a given conception of nature. Is the theory of creation by the art or technic of a manlike artificer—by outward, mechanical fashioning or framing immediately from dead dust—necessary to theism, to teleology, to Scripture? Has God been banished from his universe if it be said that the process by which he made man was not that of a manufacturer shaping furniture, or an artist modeling a cast in clay? Does a denial of this mode of creation contradict his word? We answer, No, for that word represents him as creating by speech, the symbol of thought, by a command, the symbol of will. The world was the expression of the divine thought, the creation of the divine will. If any process is indicated by these wondrous expressions, it is not an artificial constructive, but a natural productive process. All nature is speech.

¹ See Jonathan Edwards's fine figure of the universe and its God being related as body and image in a mirror.

God *spoke* stars, mountains, rivers, seas, trees, rocks, and animals—these are God's language. All science is man's commentary, interpretation of God's visual speech in nature. The Bible is God's speech, a revelation of his mind. Why should men make mistakes in studying one of these books more than the other? Men are no more apt to err in studying human speech, *i. e.*, revelation of mind, in works of human art and industry than in studying written human thought in books. Christians have the guidance of God's Spirit in all their life, in business, duty, worship, study, whether it be in God's word or works. Nature is the art of God, and like the work of all artists, it expresses his thought. Are we liable to err in one? so are we in the other. Nature being God's thought, types, copies of his ideas, fuller acquaintance with it will make us nobler, richer, better in mind and heart, keener eyed, quicker witted, to catch his meanings in the written word. Fuller knowledge of the written word will strengthen us, multiply our powers for reading the art gallery of his cosmos. We have studied the written word more, longer. Yes; and maybe we have not obeyed sufficiently the many implied commands to study his works. Suppose we find that by not studying the nature book enough, *and as his book*, we have *misread* his meanings in some things he says in his word about his works?

If we wish to learn *how* an artist works, we do not stop with reading a catalogue of his works; we go to his studio, to his statues, pictures, and watch and study. God says to us in his word, "*I made your home—this earth and all things thereon. I am still busy in it, ordering the stars, draping the earth with clouds, spreading my morning on the mountains, and lighting their face with my sunsets. 'Come and behold the wondrous works of the Lord.'*" The Bible tells us *how* to live, how to obey God, how to be saved, and as a motive to loyalty, worship, gratitude, honor to him, holiness of character, he tells us *that* he made all things wisely and well. Now, if we would know *how* God created, how he wrought, we must go and watch how he works. A statement *that* he created, given to us as a motive to holiness, coupled with so many invitations to study his works, so many eulogies on those works, is almost a plain statement by

the Bible itself that to learn the *method* of the worker we must study his *works* and *watch his mode of working in the present*.

We fear not only that injury has been done to a faithful and nobly useful servant in our Church, but that harm has been brought upon our Seminary and the cause of truth by rejecting principles which are but the dictates of wisdom. The evil of declaring war where God declares peace is too great to affirm, on the slender grounds of tradition, that the Bible is imperilled by a doctrine which so many great and good men accept as a probable description of God's plan of creation. Our Confessional doctrine on man's liability to err should have made our Synods and Councils more cautious and tolerant. The following words of John Locke should be carefully weighed by all; they breathe a noble spirit: "I cannot but own that men's sticking to their past judgment and adhering firmly to conclusions formerly made is often the cause of great obstinacy in error and mistake. May we not find a great number of men that think they have formed right judgments of several matters, and that for no other reason but because they never thought otherwise? Who imagine themselves to have judged right only because they never questioned, never examined their own opinions? Which indeed is to think they judged right because they never judged at all: and yet these of all men hold their opinions with the greatest stiffness; those being the most fierce in their tenets who have least examined them. What we once know we are certain is so; and we feel sure that there are no latent proofs undiscovered which may overturn our knowledge or bring it in doubt. But in matters of probability we cannot always be sure we have everything before us that any way concerns the question; and that there is no evidence behind, and yet unseen, which may cast the probability on the other side and outweigh all that at present seems to preponderate with us. Hence, it seems, it would become all men to maintain peace, and the common offices of humanity and friendship in the diversity of opinions; since we cannot reasonably expect that any one should readily and obsequiously quit his own opinion and embrace ours with a blind resignation

to authority which the understanding of man acknowledges not.

“We should do well to commiserate our mutual ignorance, and endeavor to remove it in all the gentle and fair ways of information; and not instantly treat others ill, as obstinate and perverse, because they will not renounce their own and receive our opinions, or at least those we would force upon them, when it is more than probable that we are no less obstinate in not embracing some of theirs. For where is the man that has incontestable evidence of the truth of all that he holds, or of the falsehood of all that he condemns; or can say that he has examined to the bottom all his own or other men’s opinions? The necessity of believing without knowledge, nay, often upon very slight grounds, in this fleeting state of action and blindness we are in, should make us more busy and careful to inform ourselves than constrain others. At least those who have not thoroughly examined to the bottom of their own tenets must confess they are unfit to prescribe to others, and are unreasonable in imposing that as truth on other men’s belief which they themselves have not searched into or weighed the arguments of probability on which they should receive or reject it. Those who have fairly and truly examined, and are thereby got past doubt in all the doctrines they profess to govern themselves by, would have a juster pretence to require others to follow them; but these are so few in number, and find so little reason to be magisterial in their opinions, that nothing insolent and imperious is to be expected from them: and there is reason to think that if men were better instructed themselves, they would be less imposing on others.”¹

J. WM. FLINN.

¹ Locke’s *Essay on the Understanding*, Bk. IV., chap. 15.

ARTICLE V.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE
OF THE SOUTH.¹

[It is not easy to obtain a trustworthy account of the condition of the colored population of the South. The territory over which they are scattered is so extended, and the condition of their lives is so varied, that different results will be attained by observers in different sections. In estimating the importance of the statements, therefore, made in this valuable article by Colonel J. T. L. Preston, of Lexington, Virginia, it may be well for the readers of the *New Englander* to know that President E. H. Fairchild, of Berea College in Kentucky, who, it may be remembered, felt compelled to criticise some of his statements made last spring before the American Missionary Association, says: "It gives me pleasure to express my accord with almost the whole of this article."—*Ed. New Englander.*]

For more than two centuries the questions connected with the African race in the United States have been momentous in importance, acrimonious in discussion, and difficult of decision. In some of the colonies there was a struggle about the original introduction of negroes. In Georgia, under Oglethorpe, slavery was prohibited. Yet Whitfield, the great evangelist, writes in 1748: "Georgia can never be a flourishing province unless negroes are employed."

At the adoption of the Federal Constitution the slavery question entered into the adjustment of the balance of political power between the different sections of the country, and so again upon the cession and settlement of the Northwest Territory, and yet again, in 1821, it determined the Missouri compromise. Soon after appeared abolition, and thenceforth philanthropy, religion, and politics operated as conjoint factors in an agitation steadily increasing in violence, up to its culmination in civil war and the emancipation of the slaves. Emancipation brought with it citizenship, citizenship demanded protection, and as one means of granting protection, and at the same time of securing certain political ends, the voting franchise was conferred. By the several

¹ Republished from the *New Englander*, September, 1878.

steps the external relations of the colored people were sufficiently defined, and may now be considered as universally fixed. Some attempt was made to establish their social position by positive law, but was soon abandoned, as all except a few fanatics recognise the fact that social status is the resultant of origin, history, culture, and other conditions of which only society can take cognisance, as potential arbiter.

We see thus that self-interest, government, philanthropy (including religion), and society have determined the history of the negro race, as indeed of necessity they have determined that of every other race. And it is plain that they must continue to do so. What is peculiar to every enslaved race is that the operation of these agencies is but little affected by any independent action of the race itself. For the African race in the United States this peculiarity was of course immediately obliterated by emancipation. For them the new factor of liberty has now been introduced, and it must henceforth be regarded as more potential than all others. Not, however, so as to render the others inoperative, or unimportant. Government must still control, protect, and to a certain extent provide for this portion of its subjects. Society must recognise the fact that the colored man is no longer a slave, and philanthropy and religion must respond to the obligation to do good to all men, and especially those whose condition calls most loudly for assistance.

In view of these considerations, the present is manifestly a time of urgency. Every crisis in the history of an individual, or of a people, is such, and every new important departure is a crisis. The colored race are now entering upon a career new to them, and not lighted by the analogous experience of any other people. The burden of slavery has been suddenly lifted off them, without any gradual approach to liberty, and without preparation for it. At the same time the props of slavery have been suddenly removed, and if subsidiary support is needed by the green walls of the hastily run-up edifice, it must be applied now. By timely instruction just now they may be saved from serious error, which once become inveterate will be without remedy.

The exclusive topic of this paper is the *religious* education of

the colored people, and the aim of the writer is to encourage those who are engaged in this work, and if possible to make some suggestions of a practical nature, such as occur to a Southern man interested in the religious improvement of the colored race, and not entirely without experience in the premises. I shall therefore purposely abstain from inquiring what ought to be done for this race by government, and what may be fairly expected from society in the treatment of them, except so far as these considerations are necessarily implicated in religious instruction, which I assume to be the function neither of government nor of society, but of Christian philanthropy.

In order that we may receive as clear a view as we can command of the work to be done, and the best means of doing it, we must inform ourselves of the actual condition of those upon whom we propose to operate. And here it is important to disabuse ourselves of misleading errors.

Some good people, pleading in behalf of this race, in order to arouse our sympathies, speak of them as barbarians and heathen. Now, the colored people are neither barbarians nor semi-barbarians, neither heathen nor semi-heathen. They are in full possession of American civilisation, and of Protestant Christianity, though not fully appropriating the benefits of either.

Every particular of American civilisation possessed by the white man is shared by the black. The present generation has inherited, along with the whites (though by no means in an equal degree), all the fundamental facts and ideas of civilisation. He uses the same speech, dresses after the same fashion, lives under the same laws, and accepts the same religion, the same code of morals, and the same organisation of domestic and social life. All the results of civilisation are familiar to him—agriculture, manufactures, steam, railroads, the telegraph, the photograph, the printing press, the school, banks, public holidays, and, in short, the essentials of our civilisation, in its theory and its actual operation. Further—and this is not to the credit of either race—there is no crime nor immorality peculiar to the colored race, and only two found among the whites, from which they are exempt—they never commit suicide, and they never fight duels! Nor

have they any religious fanaticism or superstition which may not find at least an analogue among some white Christian churches. But they are clear of the great threatening evil of modern times—scepticism. Their faith is simple, resting upon the Bible in its obvious interpretation. The conflict raging between science and religion is for the present so far above their heads that its fury is unfelt by them.

Thus there is no clashing of fundamental ideas. Not even in the matter of nationality, where we might expect it. They differ from us in race, and how important this difference is we shall presently see, yet we are but one nation, even in sentiment. It requires more than one generation to eliminate the memory and sentiment of their non-American nationality from the bosoms of our Irish, German, and even English populations. The green is worn for St. Patrick on every recurring 17th of March, the Germans have their *fests* and *bunds* and *vereins* without number, and in Virginia a settlement of loyal Englishmen, loyal at once to Virginia and to England, celebrate the birthday of Queen Victoria. But the negro has no sense of exile to disturb his allegiance to the land of his birth, and no sentimentality about the land of his birth, and no sentimentality about the land of his forefathers, nor about his forefathers themselves. He unites with all the Christian world in a hearty celebration of Christmas, and with all patriotic fellow-citizens in making a noise on the 4th, but he never talks about coral strands and palmy plains, except when he sings over the poor benighted heathen. He is an American, nothing but an American, and a Southerner. Thus, not only is the negro not a barbarian, nor a semi-barbarian, but the possessor, though in an inferior degree, of complete American civilisation. This fact is of sufficient importance to justify the illustration and further verification of it by contrast. Compare the negro with the Indian, and with the Chinese. Let us take the two committee reports made to the lower house of Congress, upon the Indians and the Chinese respectively.

Beginning with a brief summary of the efforts that have been made for the civilisation of the Indians in the past thirty years, the Committee on Indian Affairs go on to say that in spite of all

that has been done, the work of civilising the Indians has hardly begun; the savages of thirty years ago are savages still; the wild and nomadic tribes are wild and nomadic still; they refuse to be taught and to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, but adhere to all their savage superstitions and modes of life; they know nothing of agriculture, and refuse to learn. "Look," the Committee say, "even at the boasted progress of the five civilised tribes. Banish from their territory to-morrow all the whites and mixed bloods that are there and all progress and improvement is at an end. The farms will grow up for want of culture. The schools will disappear. The churches will be closed and go into decay, and in a very few years the full bloods would relapse, or rather return to their primitive barbarism." The report on the Chinese question declares that the personal and moral habits of the Chinese, their revolting immorality and low ideas of religion, labor, women, and virtue, make them undesirable members of society. It urges against them that though they have been in this country over a quarter of a century, and by their employment as house servants and laborers have been brought into close contact with our people, no change has been wrought in them. What they were when they came they are to-day, the same in dress, in disposition, in language, in religion, and in political feeling. They do not assimilate with the American people, but remain a distinct and alien element. The report closes by proposing the following resolution:

"Whereas it appears that the great majority of Chinese immigrants are unwilling to conform to our institutions, to become permanent residents of our country, and accept the rights and assume the responsibilities of citizenship; and whereas they have indicated no capacity to assimilate with our people; therefore,

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to open correspondence immediately with the governments of China and Great Britain, with a view of securing a change or abrogation of all stipulations in existing treaties which permit unlimited immigration of Chinese to the United States."

It is not necessary for our present purpose to maintain the absolute accuracy of the above statements of facts, regarding the Indians and Chinese, and much less to agree in the results

reached in the report. I wish to signalise the difference between them and the colored population in the particulars here brought to view, and for this end it is sufficient to observe that no one, in whatever temper, or with whatever object, could frame such an indictment against the black man. No one would think of saying of this race that they refuse to be taught, and to earn their bread with the sweat of their brow, that they adhere to savage superstitions and modes of life, know nothing of agriculture and refuse to learn. Or that they are unwilling to conform to our institutions, to accept the rights of citizenship, and are incapacitated to assimilate with our people.

But I am not content that the question of their actual civilisation, and the degree of it, should rest upon a comparison with that of the Indians and of the Chinese. I will adduce some positive proof, to show that their civilisation is actually the civilisation of the whites in kind, and considering the circumstances, surprisingly near to it in degree. A compendious, yet satisfactory mode of doing this will be to exhibit the progress they have made in the acquisition of property. Property is the creature of civilisation, and its first and most enduring characteristic. The recognition of it implies law, the desire for it is stimulated by wants unknown to the savage, and the possession secured by arts he is ignorant of, and efforts of which he is incapable. One real criterion of advancing civilisation is the multiplication of wants, and the possession of property is among men the readiest, though often unjust measure of social consideration. Now, fifteen years ago the colored people did not own themselves, and under our law, in this respect less liberal than the Roman, they could not own anything else. Fifteen years is a short time in which to make a fortune, even with the help of some capital to begin with, and very few men, who begin life without something to start them, in that time lay up anything considerable. But the negro began without money or credit, and without even any handicraft trade; with nothing but their simple muscle. Moreover, they were without experience in self-support, and without self-reliance. Had they as a class become a pauper burden on the community, it would not have been surprising; to simply support themselves would be credit-

able, but that any appreciable amount of property should be acquired by even the best of them was a thing not to be expected. Take now the following authenticated statistics from the State of Georgia, the only State, as far as I know, in which such statistics have been collected. I do not offer them as a fair average; I am inclined to believe it is much above the average; but no people not thoroughly civilised could have made such a showing, and fifteen years ago the slaves of Georgia were not superior to those of other States. "The Comptroller of Georgia reports that there are 84,164 colored voters in the State, who own 457,635 acres of land, the valuation of which in the tax list is \$1,244,104, and also own city property, valued at \$1,790,725, besides about \$1,000,000 worth of horses, mules, hogs, and cattle, and \$2,100,000 in other property not enumerated, making an aggregate of \$6,134,829."

I may add a small corroborative item of the same purport, within my personal knowledge. In my tax district, in the County of Rockbridge, in Virginia, are about six thousand inhabitants, two thousand of them blacks. The latter are assessed for about \$50,000 of real estate, and \$10,000 of personal property, and are rated for about \$1,800 tax, of which they pay \$1,500, not more than \$300 being returned insolvent.

These instances, which may be taken as specimens, more or less exact, of the state of things in other parts of the country, are proofs of real and important advance in civilisation. Men who own property have a stake in society. To the acquisition of property immediately succeeds the defence of it against others. This is to be done by suits at law. Possibly a litigious spirit is unchristian, but judges, juries, and lawyers are agencies of civilisation.

A distinguished judge has informed me that at a late session of court in one of the counties of his Circuit, one half of the suits on his docket were brought by colored men.

I could multiply indefinitely the proofs of the actual and comparative civilisation of the colored race, for they are to be found in the whole range of social life, but to do so, after what I have adduced, is needless, and would be tedious. I turn now to exhibit their religious condition.

The extreme view, adverse to the negro, was thus strongly stated by Mr. Redpath, in an influential journal of wide circulation: "The freed negroes have no idea of religion as civilised men understand it. Shouting, shrieking, falling down in cataleptic fits; going from the seat of the penitent to the bed of the next neighbor's wife, and to the hen-roost of the next planter's yard; listening to sermons that bear the same relation to expositions of Christian faith that endmen's speeches bear to collegiate oratory . . . our black ward is in very truth, a barbarian."

To this statement the present writer made, in the same journal, the following reply, which is here reproduced entire, inasmuch as it exhausts this particular topic belonging to the subject in hand.

"Of the region of which I am about to speak, with personal knowledge, this statement by Mr. Redpath is *not true*. *The Colored Valley Baptist Association of Virginia*, met in Lexington, Virginia, during the month just past, about the date of Mr. Redpath's article, and I attended one of its sessions expressly to compare it with like ecclesiastical bodies of white people. My surprise at what I witnessed was no less than my gratification. I found a very large assembly of colored people, going through the ordinary routine of business, in an orderly manner, under the control of a moderator more efficient than many a presiding officer I have seen in the chair at conventions of whites. The debates were spirited, sensible, and practical. The desire to speak was so great that the gavel had to be used very authoritatively. The topics for consideration were identical with those met with in a Presbytery—reports of individual churches, ministerial support, foreign and domestic missions, education, and temperance.

"The report upon ministerial support is so true, so pithy, and so brief, that I hope you will allow space for it, as I transfer it from a neatly printed copy of the minutes of the meeting.

"Ought ministers of the gospel to receive such support from the churches they serve, as to free them from worldly care? The argument in support of this proposition may be put in a few words, under the following heads: the first source of proof is the Bible—Paul, in 1 Cor. ix. 6–14. In this chapter the apostle argues and settles this question of ministerial support.

“The second class of arguments for the truth that ministers ought to be freely supported by the church, is derived from the evils of inadequate support. Sub-divisions: 1st. The minister's piety will likely suffer from constant contact with the world, for he must be compelled to bargain and trade for his living. 2d. The lack of this support often burdens the conscience of the minister with debts which he cannot pay. 3d. When this support is withheld, it necessarily affects the minister's feeling toward his people. The last argument is, that the notion that the church is to be served by men who, while serving it, are to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, will deter many from entering the ministry.’

“I was present at the reading of the report upon education for the ministry, and was much struck with the earnestness of the speakers, and the gradual development of the subject by the pressure of discussion. The first speakers dwelt upon the necessity that those who undertook to teach should have knowledge. Some of the illustrations were of a rare character, and would amuse your readers, if I could give them. Then followed others, who said it was in vain to attempt to educate the old. The next idea presented, was that the young men in the ministry should strive to educate themselves; and, finally, it was insisted that this should be done *systematically* (this was the very word used) by the combined efforts of the Church.

“Here was the scheme of the education of young men for the ministry of the Church—the idea of an education society—worked out by the good sense of these colored Christians. Of course I am not to be understood as saying that the speeches were as good in thought, arrangement, or diction, as those of white men would be; but I do say that they were, in all these particulars, highly creditable, and, under the circumstances, very surprising. Most of the prominent speakers had white blood in their veins, but the most impressive one was a full-blooded African. This Association has, according to its minutes, ninety-six churches in connexion with it, and the amounts contributed for the support of their ministers surprises me, as I read over the financial column. The church of Lexington pays a salary of \$600 to its pastor, another pays \$450, another \$300, and so on down the scale.

“These facts, to which I might add many others, illustrate the condition of the colored Baptists in the Valley of Virginia. I have reason to know that that of the colored Methodists is altogether as good. I will add, in order to show that I am acquainted with the general subject upon which I am writing, that I am the senior superintendent of a colored Sabbath-school, which, for the character of the instruction, discipline, and progress of the pupils, will compare favorably with any white school with which I am acquainted.”

This reply to the statement by Mr. Redpath, above given, admits of no rejoinder. What he says cannot be true, if applied to the colored people of the Valley of Virginia. The facts that I have given are incompatible with it. These facts are sufficient, without further corroboration, to establish what I deem it important to impress, that the colored people are neither heathen nor semi-heathen, but are in real possession, though not to an equal extent with the whites, of the Christian religion of the nineteenth century. I have no disposition to withhold the fact, that the colored people of the Valley of Virginia were, before emancipation, in advance of the race in general, in most parts of the South. And it is fair to suppose that their advancement since has been proportionally more rapid. But their superiority was due, not to difference of race or status when in slavery, but simply to the fact that they were brought into nearer association with their masters, because they were not so numerous, and because also the husbandry of a farming region is more varied than that of a planting region, and thus the diversity of occupation cultivated a higher intelligence in the laborers. These influences now operate upon the whole race, and the same effects, in a shorter time, may be expected under the stimulus of freedom.

II. While truth compels us to recognise the negro as a civilised and Christian man, we must not forget that he is of a different race from ourselves, nor disregard what this difference implies. Any attempt to Anglo-Saxonise the negro must be futile, and most probably would be fatal to him. A race may be modified and improved, or may be amalgamated with another race, but one race cannot be converted into another race. How conspicuous an

example of this is the North American Indian. But he is not an exception. The Hebrew nation has been preserved from destruction and absorption as an act of a special providence, but each individual Jew has preserved his race characteristics of feature and character simply under the operation of established laws of nature. For more than seven hundred years the Turk has encamped in Europe, but he is nevertheless an Oriental. The Anglo-Saxon has made himself a home in every quarter of the globe, but he remains an Anglo-Saxon still. And so must the unamalgamated negro, however educated, refined, and civilised, ever be essentially—*intus et in cute*—an African.

Let us not then regard the colored man as an actual heathen, or a possible Anglo-Saxon. Either error would nullify our efforts in his behalf.

III. It is likewise a mistake to overestimate the importance of others to the black man. His future, under God, depends upon himself. He cannot be *lifted* by exterior force to a higher plane; all that can be done (but it is a great deal) is to aid him in his exertions to ascend, according to the controlling conditions of race and position.

IV. Confining myself now strictly to the proper subject of this paper, the religious education of the colored people, I would advert to two encouragements to those who would aid in it. Two things have above others characterised the race since emancipation: eagerness for education, and a passionate attachment to their churches. The first of these, though intimately connected with the topic in hand, I will pass over and signalise only the last.

To the feelings of the colored man, his church represents not only his religion, but also, and most vividly, his freedom, his civilisation, his socialism, his spontaneity. In politics he is necessarily controlled by one party or the other; society at large does not admit him as an equal, and the remuneration for his labor must come mainly from the whites. But in the autonomy of his church he meets with no interference. He owns his own sanctuary, supports his own minister, manages his own finances, conducts his services after his own notions, and takes a lively

part in the debates and discipline in which, according to the ecclesiastical system of his choice, each has an equal voice.

They have in great variety the associate sub-organisations of the church, brotherhoods and sisterhoods of unique titles, taken for the most part from Old Testament history, of which the objects are partly religious, partly charitable, and partly social. Almost nightly they have their meetings, which enthusiasm protracts to unreasonable hours, sensibly to the detriment of their employers' interests. Processions, with music and banners, are their delight, and the master or mistress would be counted unfeeling who should deny, at whatever inconvenience, the house servants the solemn luxury of attending a funeral. Such impetuous zeal produces a liberality which at once astonishes and rebukes the whites. All give, and very few grudgingly, a per cent. of their means, the like of which adopted by white Christians would fill our treasuries to overflowing. But their leaders are too wise to trust for their supplies to spontaneous liberality. They assess every member and collect the assessment unsparingly, under the penalty of dismissal. The result of all this is the erection of church buildings at a cost seemingly quite out of proportion to the means of the builders. I think no people, except those under the welding fires of persecution, have more loved their church. In Richmond a church has been recently erected costing more than \$40,000, and in the small town in which I reside are two Baptist churches, one costing about \$4,000. I wish that space allowed me to give an account, drawn from my personal knowledge, of the truly heroic efforts made in rearing this building. But what has been already said must suffice to set before the reader the passionate zeal of this people for their churches. It is stated officially that during the past year not less than fifty churches have been built in Virginia alone.

The other existing encouragement which I present, coming from a different direction, is the very general interest felt in this race and the liberal efforts that are making to aid their improvement. Of what is being done by the Southern States' governments for their education I shall say nothing, as it pertains to a branch of the subject which I have purposely put out of hand.

Here are some statistics,¹ which, though by no means complete, are sufficient to impress us with the magnitude of the operations conducted under the impulse of Christian philanthropy for their religious education:

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS FOR COLORED PEOPLE.

Methodist.—In eleven Southern States, theological schools proper, 3—Baltimore, Orangeburg, S. C., and New Orleans. Theological classes in all the schools. Of a total of 3,170 pupils, 393 are classified as Biblical.—*Freedman's Aid Society, M. E. Church Report, 1877.*

Baptist.—The Baptist denomination has ample provision for theological education among the colored people in eight schools, at Washington, Richmond, Raleigh, Columbia, Augusta, Nashville, Natchez, and New Orleans.—*Rev. H. M. Tupper.*

Congregational.—Total number of schools, 26; pupils, 5,404. Of these, 74 are theological.—*American Miss. Association Report, 1877.*

Northern Presbyterian.—Theological students, Lincoln University, 14; Biddle University, N. C., 9 (36 in academical course studying for the ministry); Howard University, D. C., (number not given).—*Rev. Dr. Mattoon.*

Southern Presbyterian.—Theological Seminary, Alabama.

Episcopal.—

A moderate estimate from these statistics would give not less than three hundred young men preparing for the ministry for four and a half millions of blacks—not very far short, perhaps, of the number provided for eight and a half millions of whites.

These figures exhibit a remarkable concurrence of sentiment and effort in the Protestant Churches of this land. Nor is the Roman Catholic Church neglecting the same field. It is stated that in the single State of Louisiana not less than one hundred Catholic priests are laboring among the colored people, and that

¹The statistics of this paper, though carefully compiled for 1878, would require to be materially changed for the present date. The changes, however, would much strengthen the argument.

a number of colored youth have been sent to Rome to be specially trained for this work.

We are almost justified in asserting that with such appliances at command, no further multiplication of them is required, and that the main thing is to keep them well supplied with men and money, and to determine how they may be most judiciously used. A full discussion of this subject would call for the consideration of the social condition of the negro, the necessity of his secular education, and the character and extent of it. But I confine myself to the religious aspect.

As we seek to aid in the improvement of his religious character, we must look for the weakest points in it. They are quite obvious, and belong to fundamentals.

1. They lack intelligence in their religion, and they lack sobriety in their worship. Reform in these particulars must proceed from the pulpits. An intelligent and judicious ministry is the great need therefore. What liberal provision has been made for theological education has been shown. Still we must not be too impatient. There has not yet been sufficient time for the maturing of much fruit. Nevertheless there has been an obvious and important improvement. Doctrine essentially sound, enforced by preaching quite respectable in all particulars, is heard from not a few colored pulpits. And this, aided by other more general influences, is having a perceptible effect upon the congregations. There is a general elevation of the tone of their church services, and even this is not enough to satisfy not a few of the most intelligent. The Rev. Dr. Crummell, rector of St. Mary's (colored) church, Washington, lately said in Baltimore: "In Washington there is a division between old Africa and young Africa; the old are clinging to their plantation religion, while the young are after enlightenment." I have the authority of a distinguished gentleman of Lynchburg, Virginia, that the same tendency is manifesting itself in that city. Their readiness to imitate those above them in everything contributes to this.

2. There is a grievous inconsistency between religious profession and their practical morality. They are alarmingly deficient in honesty, truth, chastity, and industry. Family discipline is

almost unknown, and, worst of all, there is no such sense of character as to make immorality, or even crime, a cause of social degradation among them. True, they exercise very promptly the discipline of dismissal for open offences, some of them of minor character, as dancing, going to the circus, and the like; but then the facility of readmission indicates that the motive is rather to maintain church authority than to enforce or vindicate morality. Again, however, we must not disallow the plea of extenuation. Does the most enlightened of our churches live up to its creed, not to speak of the spiritual requirements of the gospel? It is cruel to require more of the servant of one talent than of him who has ten.

With a clear view, then, of what is most needed in the way of help, and bearing with us a charitable spirit, what especially should we attempt, ever remembering that dictation is impossible, and that ostentatious superiority would defeat the best meant efforts?

In general, the gospel can be promulgated anywhere only by three instrumentalities: preaching, teaching, and personal intercourse.

1. *Preaching.* The pastors of colored people must be colored men. This is settled. An ecclesiastical fusion of whites and blacks is impossible. The opposition to it by the latter would be even stronger than the repugnance against it on the part of the former. Nor, if practicable, would it be desirable. Self-help is indispensable to development. Yet in many communities, I am inclined to suppose in most, it is easily practicable for a white preacher to find frequent access to the pulpits of colored congregations, and thus to address, under the most favorable conditions, congregations much larger than were formerly within his reach. [For it is noticeable that while the growing up of their own interests has made more marked the separation between the races, it has diminished the feeling of antagonism.] Here he will have not only before him a congregation to be instructed, but also by his side in the pulpit a minister quite disposed to be improved, by imitating his manner. This will demand effort and zeal, and it may be some sacrifice of taste and feeling—and the minister

who does not possess these qualities has no call to preach to colored people, possibly no call to preach at all.

2. *Teaching.* This, as distinguished from preaching, is to be done by dissemination of the Scriptures, and religious reading, and by Sabbath-schools. If the Bible Society is not furnished by the churches with sufficient means to supply abundantly and superabundantly the colored population with the Bible, then it is time to inquire as to the completeness of our own religious education.

Of the importance of Sabbath-schools the colored churches have no need to be convinced. Scarcely a congregation is without them. Naturally there will be some jealousy felt in trusting the instruction of their children, even in a supplementary way, to churches of other denominations. But in most cases this feeling can be overcome by kindness and by fairness. If attention to them is shown, and no efforts are made to proselyte, pastors will not oppose, and parents will consent readily. Of the children, the writer can bear testimony that they are easily interested and docile in handling.

3. *Personal Intercourse.* As the church is with them the object of supreme interest, so there is no subject upon which they are more ready to converse, and easy and fruitful opportunities are presented for wholesome religious instruction, which would be kindly received if judiciously offered. Herein all Christian men and women may share the minister's privilege.

Now, for the utilisation of these several means mentioned, and other subordinate ones, no special agency would seem to promise better results than the labors of evangelists, supplementary to the regular ministry. Let there be selected with great care, an evangelist (colored) for a region not too extensive. Let him be the very best man whose services can be secured for the best salary. He must be thoroughly educated and trained, full of zeal, in complete sympathy with his own race, and free from prejudice towards the whites. Especially let him be approved as a judicious man, who has control of himself, and who can deal with error, and yet not treat as enemies those whom he would reform. To preach the gospel must be his comprehensive object,

but specially in its bearing upon the points above indicated, as particularly needing strengthening—intelligence in religion, sobriety in worship, and the requirements of Christian, practical morality.

Expository preaching, with warm application, should be his mode, his style must be simple but dignified, and absolutely free from rant, and his personal deportment unfastidious but scrupulous. His work will be easiest if he belongs distinctively to one of the two leading denominations among the colored people—these people have no fondness for undenominational, broad church wanderers—but he should so hold his own views as to be acceptable to his own Church, without repelling those of the other great favorite denomination. And let him have it distinctly in mind that his mission is not revivalism—a much inferior man can get up an excitement, easily, at any time—indeed the home-made preachers are competent for this—but that he has consecrated all his powers to the great work of enlightening, solidifying, purifying, and making efficacious in daily life the religion of his race, in this forming crisis of their spiritual history. Can such men be obtained? Certainly not in great numbers, and possibly not one who will be all I have described. But just such men are needed, and all that can be done, is to secure for the service the best, in these respects, that can be obtained. And this can be done, if the honor and importance of the position are recognised and manifested by attaching to it the highest salary, without supplement from collections, given in the Church. It may by some be supposed that the presiding elder of a Methodist Conference fills just this place. But I think not. The evangelist should not be clothed with official, supervisory authority, which would require him to exercise discipline, and thus become involved in dissensions, either local or general. He should rely upon the power of the truth, accompanied with prayer; and upon personal influence and example, to accomplish his special objects.

Two general observations shall close this article:

1. The weightiest obligation in the matter of the religious education of the colored race rests upon the Baptist and the Methodist Churches. This, for the obvious and sufficient reason,

that within these Churches are included so large a proportion of the race that those belonging to other denominations might almost be left out without sensibly affecting the result. It is estimated that there are in the United States (few of course in the North) 690,000 colored Methodists, and at least 500,000 Baptists. The Congregationalists report about 4,000, the Northern Presbyterians 9,000, and if we give 6,000 to the Southern Presbyterians and the Episcopalians together, we will be liberal, and 20,000 will certainly include all colored church members other than Methodists and Baptists.

The relative proportions before emancipation were not much different. This fact is not the result of accident, but finds its origin in the distinctive doctrines, modes of worship, and forms of church government, in the several evangelical denominations respectively, and in the characteristics of the race. And such necessarily will continue to be the fact for an indefinite time to come.

Yet this does not relieve the other Churches from the obligation unjealously, heartily, and liberally to coöperate in this great work. Undoubtedly the best thing any particular Church can do is to bring men into its own communion, if the way is open; but if it is not, Christ's command to evangelise the world still is not thereby frustrated as to them. Perish the bigotry which would unconcernedly see men left in ignorance, if they cannot be induced to become Presbyterians or Episcopalians. In after times, according to the light of history, and under the operation of the laws of mind, and the influences of various causes, we may look for the affiliation of colored Christians with other denominations. In a few places, and under peculiar circumstances, it is so now. In such places the door is open; let each Church work for itself, but elsewhere, and for the present, let all work together, rejoicing in the catholic spirit of our common religion that gives the highest reward to the most disinterested labors.

2. Let us not be impatient, nor despise small things. The work to which we are invited connects itself with the temporal and spiritual interests of more than four millions of our fellow citizens, with the prosperity of two continents, with civilisation, with liberty, and above all, with the kingdom of Christ.

The history of the black race in the United States has never been under the control of man. It is a subject too large for his grasp, and too far reaching for his forecast. Whatever have been the purposes and agencies of men in connexion with it, God's overruling hand has ever made itself manifest, in establishing his purposes. With all our mistakes before us, we can but look up humbly to his providence. Let us follow what seems to be the path of duty, even walking amid uncertainties. If the race is to deteriorate, let it not be because we have withheld our aid; and if they survive and are aggrandised, we will have been co-workers with God in his wide providences for good to his creatures.

ARTICLE VI.

"AM I FREE?" CONSIDERED.

The American Institute of Christian Philosophy is doing a noble work. Its professed objects are to investigate questions of philosophy and science bearing upon the great truths revealed in Holy Scripture, to associate men of science and authors in order to strengthen their efforts by coöperation, to examine and discuss supposed scientific results with reference to final causes and the fundamental principles of philosophy, based upon faith in the existence of one eternal God, and to interest Christian thinkers in the production and circulation of a literature promotive of intellectual and religious culture. These are worthy ends. It is to be hoped that a career of success and brilliancy equal to that attained by the Victoria Institute awaits this more recent effort to establish a similar association in America. Besides its monthly meetings the Institute has a summer school, or rather courses of lectures, delivered at such points as may be deemed suitable, and by lecturers selected for that purpose. The fifth summer school was held in July, 1884, at Key East, near Ocean Grove. A series of able and brilliant papers were read and discussed. The lecture of the second day was delivered by Prof. Noah K.

Davis, of the University of Virginia, who considered the question of free agency under the title "Am I Free?" The paper bristled with Aristotelian syllogisms and created much discussion. The paper appears in the November number of *Christian Thought*, the bi-monthly organ of the American Institute. *Christian Thought* is a magazine of great value and conducted with signal ability. The writer being a member of the Institute regards it as unnecessary to disclaim any desire to retard its noble work, or to say that the present critique upon one of the lectures delivered at Key East should not be construed into an attempt to injure that body or its organ. The vital importance of a correct doctrine of freedom is the only apology the writer offers. Every lover of truth wishes to see the cardinal fact of free agency stated in its purity and simplicity, and free from all self-contradictions. Such a wish alone prompts this effort to point out some of the fallacies in this closely knit and well argued theory.

Prof. Davis has displayed great acumen and ingenuity in thinking out and setting forth a new doctrine of the will. Yet it is one which is not new, for it is but a phase of the theory of contingency. A less able production could not have come from the pen of Prof. Davis.

I. The question, "Am I Free?" happily presents the problem of "free agency." The author has thus saved himself from the ambiguity of the term "free will," and presented clearly and definitely the question of the freedom of the soul or agent, and not of a faculty. "Free will" may refer to the specific faculty of volition itself, or generally the whole active part of man's nature, now termed by psychologists the conative powers. The scholastic name "liberum arbitrium" is not only inaccurate and misleading, but involved the question in a fog which kept both parties in the dark. Long debates resulted, because neither knew what his opponent asserted. Let us then fix it in our minds that this question is not one about the freedom of a faculty, but concerning the freedom of the person. The truth that persons, not faculties, are subjects of freedom, was clearly pointed out by Locke and Edwards. Locke, referring to such terms as "free will" and "freedom of the will," says (B. II., Chap. 2):

"This way of speaking of faculties has misled many into a confused notion of many distinct agents in us, which have their several provinces and authorities, and did command, obey, and perform several actions as so many distinct beings, which has been no small occasion of wrangling, obscurity, and uncertainty in questions relating to them." He indeed hoped that a clear understanding of this position would put an end to this long agitated question. "*Whether man's will be free or no?*" he calls "an unreasonable, because an unintelligent question." No such happy result as Locke anticipated would be realised, as the history of philosophy shows. Yet a correct statement and discriminating terms will no doubt simplify the problem and bring the issue more clearly before the mind. Locke himself removes the ambiguity and clearly gives us the naked issue. "It is," says he, "as insignificant to ask whether man's *will* be free, as to ask whether his sleep be swift, or his virtue square, *liberty* being as little applicable to the *will* as swiftness of motion is to sleep, or squareness to virtue, . . . and when any one will consider it I think he will as clearly perceive that *liberty*, which is but a power, *belongs only to agents*, and cannot be an attribute or modification of the will, which is but a power." Then, according to Locke, to ask whether the *will has freedom*, is equivalent to putting the question, whether the *will is an agent or a distinct being*. Evidently the last is not the issue, but this, *whether man is free*.

It would seem almost unnecessary to dwell upon this evident distinction, were it not for the fact that nearly every determinist insists upon using the ambiguous term. It is to be supposed that their motive is to hide the manifest absurdities of their doctrines. Edwards saw that it was important to remove this cloud. In the line of Locke he remarks, "Actions are to be ascribed to agents and not to the powers of agents . . . so when it is said that will decides or determines, the meaning must be the person in the exercise of a power of willing and choosing." Now it is important to grasp this, for from a failure to do so arises the whole plausibility of the scheme of contingency. Does not that plausibility lie in these facts? All necessitarians grant that freedom from constraint or co-action, is a condition of perfect freedom,

and that any external force brought to bear upon the agent destroys its freedom. Now if the faculty of the will be conceived of as an agent, does it not follow that even a necessitarian will have to grant that any causative influence of motives destroys freedom? Indeed, would not motives be external forces arising in another department of the soul and exercising an influence of co-action upon the will, now conceived of as a separate agent distinct from the other conative powers? But remove this conception of the will as a distinct agent and every notion that motives are forces of co-action in the production of volition. Motives may now be viewed as causes of volitions, but they are not external co-active causes—they are subjective to the conative powers of the soul, and arising out of it only by virtue of the soul's own spontaneity are as thoroughly expressive of its self-hood as the volition itself could be. They are more truly τὸ ἐφ' ἐμοί than the acts of will, because more primary in their goings forth. While Prof. Davis has correctly defined the question in the heading of his article, yet the logic of a theory is inexorable, and frequently we find traces of this confusion. That this charge is not unfounded, the following quotations fully establish: "Moreover, I cannot be conscious of liberty, for liberty is a pure essential negative, the absence of constraint." This statement the author supports by the following from Schopenhauer: "The conception of liberty is properly negative. . . . We think simply the absence of all *that hinders and limits.*" Evidently the last words from Schopenhauer are only true because when he uses the words "*hinders or limits,*" the idea is conveyed that the will must be freed from the hindrance and limitation of another agent. Consider also the following statements in the seventh section of Professor Davis's lecture: "The liberty which is essential to personality and responsibility, is quite another thing. It is not the absence of restraint, but the absence of constraint; not the absence of subsequent hindrance or prevention, but the absence of antecedent compulsion or coercion." True; but only true provided we conceive the conative principles and desires previous to volition as external forces, *compelling* the will and driving the soul to act contrary to its own inclination. Again, note the same confusion:

"A free will as distinguished from the bond-will of the necessitarian, is not a will free to act according to its nature, that is, free from impediments in accomplishing its intent, but a will whose nature is to act freely, that is, free from determinants in forming its intent." The illusion is indicated by the term applied to the necessitarian doctrine—"bond-will"! This implies master and slave, two distinct agents, one compelled by the other. Thus is shown the justice of our indictment that the faculty of the will is conceived of as a distinct agent under the co-exercise or compulsion of another separate agent, the motive. A free will is free "from determinants in forming its intent." If the separate faculty of the will is that which is the subject of liberty, it must be free from all external determinants and any other affection or emotion of the soul would be such an external determinant. But remove this confusion, and hold that the soul or agent is the subject of liberty, and at once the difficulty vanishes; volition may now be rational, the cause subjective, intelligent motives are no longer considered forces of coercion from a foreign agent, but influences truly subjective, arising freely and expressive of the very self-hood of the agent. It is demonstrated, then, that the rational soul or person, not the faculty of the will, is the proper subject of freedom.

II. The writer in *Christian Thought* correctly points out the true position of freedom as man's crowning attribute. Freedom is essential to personality, responsibility, and to all philosophy. Should not this fact have led him to expect to find freedom an ultimate dictum of consciousness, and not a mere inference? Yet instead this is emphatically denied. Referring to those philosophers who hold that we are conscious of liberty, he says their "claim cannot be established; the statement is not true. I am conscious of a deep and ineradicable conviction that I am free, but this consciousness of a belief is easily distinguishable from a consciousness of its object. Moreover, I cannot be conscious of liberty, for liberty is a pure essential negative, the absence of constraint. Now I cannot be conscious of the absence of a thing." Sound philosophers have usually held the doctrine of free agency as an ultimate fact—neither needing proof nor

capable of deductive demonstration. The appeal is ever to consciousness. It has ever been supposed that such an appeal cut short all arguments adduced by theological fatalists from the divine foreknowledge and providence, or those of sensualistic necessitarians from their doctrine of the passivity of the soul under the influence of sensations propagated efficiently by the external object, and so making the soul the slave of circumstances. Whether we can expose the sophisms or not, consciousness contradicts their doctrines, and no higher evidence than that of consciousness can be found. A simple appeal to consciousness ends the debate as to whether I am free. Consciousness gives at once the *existence* of liberty. It is not upon the existence, but upon the *nature*, of liberty that this great problem turns. The soul of man is ever in the lofty sphere of conscious power to choose. While we do not agree with Cousin in his doctrine of freedom, yet he clearly states that we are conscious of performing free acts. He says: "An action which is done with *consciousness* of being able not to do it, is what men have called a free action." So many other passages. He also maintains that, being an ultimate fact of consciousness, any one disputing the fact has destroyed the only basis for an argument for liberty. Every element of such proof must be sought from that consciousness whose testimony has been already denied, and thus the objector has committed a *felo de se*.

We thoroughly dissent from Hamilton's doctrine that the "*a priori* forms of thought are as negative inabilities to know in which the mind is shut in between two contradictory extremes or poles of thought, yet one of which is necessarily true." His attempts to prove that volitions are not included in the "series of effects and causes" is therefore utterly futile. He grounds his doctrine of freedom in consciousness, and says "only by accepting that primary datum of consciousness can it ever be proven that we are responsible originators of our actions." His words are: "At the same time, if the causal judgment be not an affirmation of mind, but merely an incapacity of positively thinking the contrary, it follows that such a negative judgment cannot stand in opposition to the *positive consciousness*, the affirmative deliverance that we are truly the authors of our actions."

Again, in a note "P" to Reid's works: "The philosophy which I profess annihilates the theoretical problem—how is the scheme of liberty or the scheme of necessity to be rendered comprehensible?—by showing that both schemes are equally inconceivable; but it establishes liberty practically as a fact by showing that it is either itself an *immediate datum* or is involved in an *immediate datum* of consciousness." Yet more pointed are the following: "We may claim it as a fact of actual reality, though of inconceivable possibility, the testimony of consciousness," and, in a word, "man is conscious of his liberty to act."

Many self-determinists are utterly overthrown by the necessitarian logic which is so powerful and invincible, and confess that they have no method of escape save by appealing to consciousness, and thus we will find most of them holding that freedom is a simple fact of consciousness, which it is not necessary to prove, and which no possible array of logical syllogisms can disprove. They are correct in their inspection of consciousness, for that witness does give unequivocal testimony to the fact that man is a free agent, that liberty really *exists*. We, of course, may not expect as immediate and explicit testimony in regard to the nature of volition.

Sidgwick (Bk. I., ch. 2) rests his whole cause upon "the immediate affirmation of consciousness in the moment of deliberate volition." "This consciousness of freedom," he declares, "is so strong as to be absolutely unshaken by the evidence brought against it." Reid is equally emphatic in asserting "every man is conscious of a power to determine in things he conceives to depend upon his determination." We reach then the conclusion of sound philosophy that true freedom is *a fact of consciousness, original, ultimate, and universal*.

We come nearer the problem of the nature of volition when we examine the reason assigned by the writer in *Christian Thought* for his position that we are not conscious of freedom. That reason is a proposition equally false with the one it is brought forward to sustain: "Moreover, I cannot be conscious of liberty—a pure essential negative, the absence of constraint. Now I cannot be conscious of the absence of a thing, but only

am not conscious of its presence. This unconsciousness yields nothing." Is liberty a mere negative? Is it not essentially positive, and, as such, may it not be realised in consciousness? Is this much discussed problem of the ages, which will not down, and at whose solution, as Kant remarks, "the centuries have labored," the mere absence of constraint? The doctrine of the will has divided the wise from the dawn of philosophy to the present, and it must be much deeper and more profound in its nature than this solution would indicate. The absence of restraint or coercion may be a *condition*, but it is not that *wherein* it consists. A mere opportunity for a thing to act does not reveal to us its internal nature, or how it comes to act. If by absence of constraint the able lecturer meant that any external force of coercion destroys liberty in the agent, we have no occasion to differ with him. But if by absence of constraint he would intimate that any ground, reason, or causative influence inducing the agent to volition, or any influence entirely from within outward and essentially subjective to the willing agent, is destructive to true liberty, he has given us a definition which in the very outset begs the question at issue between himself and the necessitarian, and then upon a mere definition proceeds to argue that we are not conscious of freedom. The very question in debate is, Does the causal influence of subjective motive privy and conducive to specific acts of volition destroy their freedom? The absence of constraint from another agent is of course essential to freedom, but that fact does not describe the nature of rational spontaneity which constitutes an agent truly free. The first is mere external liberty of outward action; the second is back of that, more original and constitutive, and that wherein man is a fountain of responsible volitions. If liberty is merely the external absence of constraint, how is man's freedom differentiated from the freedom of the waters in their unimpeded flow to the ocean? Let us go back of the mere external negative of coercion and look in the face man's spontaneity of soul, his power to emit impulses from within outward. The liberty of free agency takes in the whole expression of the agent's self-hood. The absence of constraint is the mere opportunity of the conation to

come into full fruition, or, to speak differently, the mere opening for the outflow of the spontaneous appetencies. Kant saw clearly that liberty lies back of its mere external condition. He says: "Will is that kind of causality attributed to living agents, in so far as they are possessed of reason. And freedom is such a property of that causality as enables them to originate events." One of our greatest living metaphysicians says: "Nor is the action of the free agent sufficiently explained by saying that his free agency consisted in the liberty to execute his own determinations. . . . The real question of free agency remains still untouched; it is this, How did the determination of mind then and there to use that opportunity arise?" (Sen. Phil. of 19th Cent.) We reach then the truth that consciousness of liberty is more than a mere absence of constraint, consisting of a *conscious spontaneity giving expression in appetencies and resultant volitions to the subjective nature of the agent.*

III. We now proceed to the very heart of the debate and find ourselves at the centre of this all-important subject around which the philosophers of the centuries past have joined battle in constant conflict. Let us place before our minds the whole problem. The logic of the necessitarian is clearly, simply, and forcibly stated in *Christian Thought* as follows:

A. Every change is caused.

A volition is a change.

∴ A volition is caused.

B. Whatever is caused is necessitated.

A volition is caused.

∴ A volition is necessitated.

Verily is it not invulnerable and a perfect demonstration? Well might the dissenting author ask, "Who will question it?" The major in A, Every change is caused, is a primitive, necessary, and universal truth. The major in B is equally intuitive and necessary. The minor in B is proven by the syllogism A. Where, then, may an attempt upon this iron front be made? Can a breach be found in the wall? The author of "Am I Free?" thinks that he has found a weak point in the minor of A, A volition is a change. Here, then, the attack will be made, and

on this simple proposition the eternal debate for the moment turns, but with the same inevitable result, for the necessitarian logic is invincible.

Before going further, we will pause a moment to have an understanding with the reader about the use of certain terms. Indeterminate use of words is the main cause of difficulty and misapprehension, but especially so in the consideration of the nice and intricate question of freedom. The author shows in a remark made upon the foregoing syllogisms, that his own mind has been led astray in this very way. "So then this process being a simple and strictly logical deduction mainly from axiomatic truths claims to be a close demonstration that volition is *necessitated*, or that *no act of will is free.*" (Italics my own.) Here evidently there is a misconception of the term "necessitated"; this, then, as well as other terms, is to be defined. Necessity is indeed used of a result *compulsorily* caused from without. This use of the term we freely grant is inconsistent with freedom, and such necessity destroys all free agency. But philosophically and classically it means, "*quod non cedit,*" the unfailing, the certain. Necessity as used by rational psychologists is equivalent to certainty. The psychological fatalist alone uses necessity in the vulgar sense, and holds that volition is efficiently caused from without. According to Hobbes and those of his school, feeling determines volition, and feeling or sensation is compulsorily caused by external objects. Thus man becomes a puppet to the influence of the objective world. We utterly repudiate this doctrine and the false psychology on which it is based. It is unfortunate that different terms have not been used by the schools of psychological fatalism and of true free agency. The confusion has greatly damaged in the popular estimate the true doctrine. Even Dr. Bledsoe was deceived by the words, and classed together Edwards and Hobbes, who represent two distinct schools poles apart, the one denying all freedom, the other defending in an immortal treatise a true rational freedom. Let it be understood, then, that we use necessity only in the sense of certainty.

What, then, renders volition certain? The only possible answer for one who truly studies consciousness is motive. What is

motive? That this all-important question may be intelligently answered, we must recur to Kant's trichotomy of the soul into (1) Intellect; (2) Feelings; and (3) Conation. This division Sir William Hamilton has fully unfolded and luminously illustrated. The two classes with which we now have to do are (*a*) feelings, sensibility, or susceptibility, and (*b*) conative or orectic powers, divided into (1) appetencies, (2) executive volitions.

Now, first and negatively, *sensibilities* are not motives. They are caused from without in the soul, the *passive* recipient subject of them. Sensibility does not express the agent's active nature or disposition, but is impressed upon the agent. Whether willing or not, sensibility, then, is not the cause, but may be the occasion of the use of volition.

Secondly and positively, motives are a complex of the judgment of the intellect and appetencies of the soul. The subjective appetencies are spontaneous, and only rise from within and tend outward. They truly express the nature or disposition of the agent and cause a volition, giving a correct index of the soul's states and nature. Here is self-action according to the soul's own nature regulative thereof. We see at once that *motives* causing or determining volition implies *no* external compulsion whatever. Volitions, then, are *certain*, because caused by the agent's own subjective, free, and spontaneous appetencies. So we see a certain caused or necessitated act may be a perfectly free act.

Motive is not the passive sensibility of the soul or the objective inducement propagative thereof, but the free, rational, and spontaneous desires or appetencies causing free acts of will. Motive is to be sharply distinguished from inducement, which is the mere objective towards which the activity of the soul goes forth. The inducement is but the object, not the cause of the volition. The power influential of acts of will proceeds from within outward to the object, but never from the object inward. Motive, then, in the sense of this debate, is neither the objective inert inducement, nor the feeling of the sensibility propagated thereby, but only the active appetencies and desires arising solely from within, expressive of the causation of nothing external, but wholly of the subjective nature and self-hood of the agent. The ap-

petencies are the true originating powers of the soul. They are spontaneous and uncontrolled by any force or law save the law of the agent's own nature or disposition. Then, when these free spontaneous appetencies cause a volition, is it not for that very reason supremely free and rational? They are the activities of a rational agent, and so motive is a combination of a judgment of the intellect and of the appetencies of the soul. Thus we have a rational freedom and not a lawless contingency. Those who contend for a contingency of choice uncaused by motive as thus defined give us in place of man's crowning glory, rational free agency, a license of will, a self-determining above and possibly contrary to all rule, expressive neither of the rationality nor the disposition of the agent. Truly, the idol of the free-will is the fickle goddess of chance, casting the die for right or wrong, for good or evil, according to my desires, or directly opposed to them, wisely or foolishly, rationally or irrationally. Surely, this "choice" stands apart, "alone, peculiar, a genus, wholly distinct in kind from all things else." The author of "Am I Free?" is welcome to play priest at that shrine and to offer sweet incense to his "peculiar" goddess. We prefer volition regulated by rational motive arising according to the law of our own nature. That only is free which acts in accordance with these essential laws and is determined by nothing else.

The theory of the certainty of volition is thus shown to grow out of the received doctrine of the trichotomy of the soul. How far from the truth then is it when a voluminous writer, in defence of self-determination, bases his central objection upon the fact that the advocates of necessity proceeded upon a false psychology, namely, the denial of the very analysis given above. He says: "We may proceed to show that the system of necessity is founded on a false psychology, on a dark confusion of the facts of human nature. It is very remarkable that all the advocates of this system will allow the human mind to possess only two faculties—the understanding and the will. The will and the sensibility are expressly identified by them." Far from this false psychology having "rendered great service to the cause of necessity," it is held only by sensualistic fatalists, while the

advocates of an enlightened free agency triumphantly refute Hobbes's denial of freedom by the very distinction which we are charged with denying. So far is this true, that while Kant first made this threefold division of the powers of the soul popular in philosophy, and Sir William Hamilton made it the "mode" in the Scotch school, yet it had in reality been made for centuries by the Augustinian systems of theology. Thus we see that the system of certainty is based upon a sound psychology, on which it has securely stood from the earliest times down to the present day. The work of the centuries has been adding breadth, security, and solidity to its unshaken foundation.

IV. The corner-stone of the necessitarian system is an intuitive, necessary law of thought. It will be evident at once upon an examination of the syllogisms upon which we rest our cause, that the law of causation is the basis of the demonstration and the prime factor in the truth. Some phase of this *a priori* law constitutes the major of A and of B. This law is a *first truth*, and not the result of any induction. It is implied in and essential to the very first efforts of the induction, and hence cannot be a result thereof. It is also a *necessary* truth to the human mind and all its thinking. "It is impossible to consider occurrences otherwise than as bound together in the *relation of cause and effect*." So testifies Sir James Mackintosh. This law must always have been, and always will be true. All rational thought in heaven and earth must have this as its norm. If we imagine a change, we cannot avoid supposing that that change came about by virtue of a cause. Man's research in philosophy, his curiosity in regard to phenomena, and all the legal actions of society, would cease to exist were it not for the necessary character of the principle of causation. Moreover, it is a principle universal in its conception and application. It is applied by all minds to all cases, times, and places without possible exception in the physical, spiritual, or intellectual world. This intuition impels us to think this law of cause and effect as reigning in the external world of physical force, in the spiritual energies of the intellect, and none the less in the inscrutable realm of volition or conation. We believe that thoughts and feelings could not arise without a

cause, and that appetencies and volitions have some regulative rule. This is why men resort to character or disposition as absolutely necessary to explain a series of desires and volitions of a given character.

Any injury inflicted upon this law of thought will cut very deep in its consequences. On it rests the cosmological and teleological arguments for the divine existence. It is the very citadel of theism. The principle of causation is, as Cousin expresses it, "the father of the external world." A sensation or perception is reported in consciousness. How shall the soul know that it came from an external world? Being conscious that it was not caused from within, the law of the reason impels the mind to refer it to an external reality as cause of the modification. But deeper yet. If the spirituality of the function of conation make it so unique that we must not apply this principle to its phenomenon, what right have we to demand a cause for the powers of conation in the soul? Is this large portion of the soul without a creator? And if the conative powers, why not the whole inscrutable realm of the soul? Is the whole world of spirits, human and angelic, uncaused, and so without a creator? Nor are these remarks upon the necessity and universality as well as importance of this law out of place in this argument, because, as we shall see, every advocate of contingency, in whatever form it appears, is compelled, directly or indirectly, to attack this principle. The author of "Am I Free?" is not beyond the force of his own logic, and while paying this law of the mind formal respect, he attempts, in parting, to deal it a deadly blow. The knight as he enters the lists, gracefully salutes this part of our demonstration, and pays it the following encomium: "The Alps cannot be overturned. The axioms of causation and uniformity are steadfast and eternal. The argument of necessity is impregnable at these points, and so far is demonstrative. For our part, we shall not break a lance against this iron front." This promise is forgotten before the conflict is over; nor did we expect anything else. It was not the knight, but his logic, and its inexorable power over himself, that caused him to deal the blow. His doctrine is a phase of contingency, and he himself tells us, "it seems that

libertarians have constantly tried either to set aside or to undermine these intuitive truths." Verily they have, and that evinces the falsehood of every shade of their theory. That this new phase of contingency also necessitates an attack upon the universal law of causation the following quotations fully demonstrate. "Taking this as a major, we have the following simple reasoning:

"Every effect is a change.

"Choice is not a change.

"∴ Choice is not an effect.

"By this, choice is taken entirely out of the category of causation; . . . it stands apart, alone, peculiar, a *summum genus* wholly distinct in kind from all things else. . . . By this discovery, that the fact called choice does not lie in the category of causation, we are enabled to reach a conclusion more positive. Choice being uncaused, is *eo ipso* unconstrained. . . . In other words, we have found an unconstrained fact in the election of one or two available alternatives." Then this theory denies to causation one-half of its legitimate sphere, and would have us believe that those acts, most important to man, most vital to his happiness here and his immortal destiny hereafter, arise only at the beck of fickle chance. Can it be possible that philosophy and ethics, the science of rights, duty, and obligation and responsibility are founded upon a contingent irrational "choice"? We are here reminded of a passage similar to the one above quoted in the works of an able advocate of self-determinism and contingency of the will. It will also serve to illustrate the inevitable tendency in all such systems to attack in some way the law of causation. Hence if we would place the doctrine of liberty upon solid grounds, it becomes necessary to modify the categories of M. Cousin. "All things," says he, "fall under the one or the other of the two following relations: the relation between subject and attribute, or the relation between cause and effect. This category, we think, should be subdivided so as to give two relations: one between cause and effect properly so called and the other between agent and action. Until this be done, it will be impossible to extricate the phenomenon of the will of all mechanism of cause and effect."

Any philosophy of mind or of matter which does not grant full scope to this primary, necessary, and universal principle of thought, is *eo ipso* false, and upon this ground we impeach this new philosophy of uncaused "choice."

V. We now approach the centre of this theory, and are face to face with its most plausible analysis. Remember the issue is joined on the minor in A: A volition is a change. The lecturer supposes that he has found a weak joint in that harness upon which the lance of every opponent has shivered from the days of Scotus. But alas, the joint proves invulnerable, and the lance of the gifted Professor shares the fate of all.

Volition is to be analysed, and Professor Davis states that it is composed of two elements: *choice* and *effort*. His task is to prove that volition is not a change, and, in order that the demonstration may be perfect, each of the component elements must be shown not to be a change. This is undertaken in regard to the first element, choice; while the other element, effort, is quietly overlooked, if indeed it is not granted that it is a change or event, and therefore caused. So that if we granted the main position of our opponent, that choice is not a change, his doctrine will be but one-half proven; and unless, in another paper, he gives us some evidence that effort is not a change, the minor of A remains intact and our logic uninjured.

Let us consider the first element of volition, choice. What is the nature of the notion choice? Our author says it is "the election of one of two available alternatives. Its very essence is freedom. A free choice is a pleonastic phrase. A constrained choice is a contradiction in terms. No liberty, no choice; no choice, no liberty."

We remark that, of course, in the sense of external constraint, it is true that a constrained choice is a contradiction in terms; but influence arising from subjective motive is not such constraint, for it is perfectly compatible with liberty and choice. The doctrine that choice is "the election of one of two available alternatives" reduces freedom to a very narrow sphere. The nature of choice is illustrated by two roads that lie before me. "On reaching the fork, shall I take the right or the left? I take the left.

The choosing the left is an event; but the preference of the left instead of the right is not an event, is not in itself a change from something prior. . . . When there are alternative paths my preference for one, while believing I could take the other, is not in itself alone considered an event. The change from indecision to decision is caused by the presence of alternatives between which I must choose; but the decision in favor of A rather than B is not a change from B to A, nor from non-A to A, for by the very terms themselves the state immediately prior was one of indecision." Now, we maintain that consciousness reveals a broader freedom than that set forth above. Does it not cover three points, namely, the taking of the right or left or *neither*? This new theory of contingency would retrench by one-third the scope of freedom. Such, then, is the nature of choice.

Now, is choice a change? In the first place, the author concedes this fact. He says the "choosing the left is an event. . . . But the preference of the right instead of the left is not an event." Now motive, the very point in debate, is granted, viz., that choosing is an event. "The choosing the left is an event" and so caused, and there is not a legitimate argument from the notion of choice to the fact that it is uncaused. Determining among external objects of choice is indeed different from determining the act of choice itself among possible acts of choice. The first, however, is not the question in debate, but the last, viz., the determining the act of choice itself. It was granted by the author of "Am I Free?" that "choosing the left is an event." *Ergo*, choice is an event, and hence *choice is a change*.

Again, while we may grant that decision in favor of A rather than B is not a change from B to A, yet it certainly is a change from indecision to decision. This change from indecision to decision is the very knot of the problem, and here is the point of the debate concerning the will. Indecision is one state of soul, decision is another. Is not the passing from one state to another an event, a change? None will deny. Hence choice is an event. *Ergo*, the conclusion, *choice is a change*.

Once more: if choice is an event, choice is a change. But what is an event? Let the essayist define it. He says, "Event

may be fairly defined as what was not and has begun to be." Now, while the agent was in a state of indecision, decision was not. Yet it began to be. The agent is now in a state of decision. It was not. Has it not begun to be? Then, according to his own definition of event, the passage from indecision to decision—electing—choosing to act—is an event. But an event implies a change, hence *choice is a change*.

Fourthly, let us consider these possible cases and they are exhaustive. Choice either never existed, or it came into existence, or it is eternal and self-existent. Now, none will assert that choice never had an existence. Consciousness reveals to us thousands of instances of choice in our own spirits and observation in those of others. Moreover, none will maintain that volition or choice is self-existent, unless they mean to hold a semi-panthestic theory of the impersonality of the will similar to Cousin's. The able author of "Am I Free?" is certainly to be acquitted of such affinities. Only one other possible doctrine remains—that choice comes into existence or begins to be; but if so, choice by an inexorable logic is an event. Event implies change. *Ergo*, choice is a change. And again our premise comes forth unscathed.

Last, in order to hold his position, the author is driven to divide volition into two elements—*choice* and *effort*. This is a vain distinction. Willing and choosing are the same thing and coextensive. Choosing is all of willing, and no additional element can be found in volition. Says Edwards, "The will is plainly that by which the mind chooses anything." Again, "An act of the will is the same as an act of choosing or choice." This distinguishing of two elements of choice and effort in volition compels the excepting an extensive class of volitions in which "the higher desires conditioned on intelligence directly cause a strenuous effort to attain their objects." Now this position is clearly dictated by the stress of hypothesis. These higher desires when conditioned on intelligence cannot produce effort without an exercise of choice. There may not be an alternative in two objective inducements, but there is an opportunity for the play of choice deciding for action or non-action. Antecedent

desire, especially the higher desire, in an intelligent agent results in subsequent effort only through volition or choice, unless the act is wholly irrational. The essayist holds that wherever there is "strictly no desire there is no effort," and hence he infers that "desire is the cause and the only cause of effort." Yea. But one step in the process is omitted. When desire is present, effort always arises. We might grant it and yet deny that it is a clear induction that desire is always the cause of effort. The correct statement is that desire or appetency as motive causes volition; volition as the next result induces effort. The proof is simple and complete. Desire may be present, but until it has ripened into volition no effort is ever put forth. Desire may exist and no effort result, but when volition or choice exists, effort always results. Hence by the methods of agreement and difference it is clearly proven that the attempt to make effort the sole result of desire and to place choice in a distinct category totally uncaused, breaks down, and it is clearly shown that effort is the immediate effect of volition. So the whole induction proves that choice or volition grows out of the active appetencies or desires of the soul. Volition cannot be split into two elements—effort and choice. Effort is caused by desire only through another effect—choice, which is mediated between them. Choice is then the next effect of desire. Choice, therefore, is an event. "It was not and has begun to be." An event implies change, so again we learn that *choice is a change*.

Now, suppose we grant that volition is correctly analysed into choice and effort, and if for argument we should concede that choice is *not* an event (a position which we have just thoroughly disproven), our minor premise is still impregnable. It is to be proven by our opponent that volition is uncaused. That the sum of two quantities may be equal to zero, the two quantities themselves must be equal to zero. If $v = x + y$, in order to demonstrate that v is equal zero, it will not suffice to prove that x only is zero. The same must be proven in regard to y . So choice may be uncaused, but if effort is caused, volition is yet a caused quantity. That effort is caused, the proof given above fully demonstrates. The following words from Prof. Davis's lecture

concede this important truth: "Hence by the double method of agreement and difference, we may inductively infer that desire is the cause, and the only cause, of effort. . . . But when the desire is not hindered, its direct effect is voluntary effort." Volition, then, by concession, contains a caused element. The minor of A, "A volition is a change," stands unshaken.

Again, note the quiet sophism of the author in having substituted the term choice for volition. This he cannot consistently do, for according to his own analysis, choice and volition are not coextensive. Volition is choice plus effort. Having notified us that he proposes to overthrow the necessitarian proposition, he only proves that *choice* is not a change. The result of his demonstration is given in the following syllogism: "Every effect is a change; choice is not a change; *ergo*, choice is not an effect." Evidently, in order to overthrow syllogism A, the above syllogism should have used the word *volition* instead of *choice*. The result of our demonstration is this, that both effort and choice are included within the category of causation, and that *volition is a change*.

The iron front of the necessitarian remains unbroken. The lance goes to pieces in the very "joint of the harness." The theory of common sense will ever triumph. In a nutshell, it is as follows: Volition is *certain*. Motive, subjective and spontaneous, arising according to the soul's own essential nature, is the efficient of choice. Such is the *motivum* of volition, external things are mere *objectives*, dead and inert, towards which the activity of the soul goes forth in volition. So volition is a full expression of man's spontaneous self-hood. How perfect such freedom!

Let us formulate the true logic of the correct theory of the will:

1. Every change is caused.
A volition is a change.
∴ A volition is caused.
2. Whatever is caused is *certain*.
A volition is caused.
∴ A volition is *certain*.

A. R. COCKE.

ARTICLE VII.

THE THIRD REVISION OF THE DIRECTORY OF WORSHIP.¹

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE REVISION OF THE DIRECTORY OF WORSHIP.

The Committee on the Revision of the Directory of Worship, would respectfully present the following Report, embracing, first, the facts touching the action of the Presbyteries and the history of this revision; and, secondly, the Directory, revised as far as it was practicable by this Committee.

Papers embodying the action of fifty Presbyteries in regard to the Revision are in the hands of the Committee.

Of these, twenty-five expressly approve the continuance of the work of revision, and many of them furnish criticisms and suggestions for the use of the Committee, to wit: Fayetteville, Augusta, Columbia, Western District, Western Texas, Brazos, Central Texas, Bethel, St. Louis, Arkansas, West Lexington, Mississippi, Tombeckbee, St. John's, South Carolina, Atlanta, Tuska-loosa, Roanoke, Louisiana, Harmony, Chesapeake, Louisville, Abingdon, Cherokee, Knoxville.

Twenty imply approval, and contribute criticisms and suggestions, to wit: Charleston, Greenbrier, Montgomery, Lexington, Ebenezer, Enoree, Savannah, South Alabama, Florida, Orange, Transylvania, Athens, West Hanover, Mecklenburg, Memphis, New Orleans, Macon, East Hanover, Holston, East Alabama.

Two express disapprobation of any revision, but furnish criticisms, to wit: Potosi and Winchester.

Three discountenance revision, and furnish no criticisms, to wit: Concord, Missouri, East Texas.

The criticisms of all Presbyteries furnishing them have been

¹ This Report, which will be submitted to the General Assembly at Houston, is very willingly allowed a place in our pages, both as of convenience to the Committee and as of interest to the Church. Two hundred copies of it will be forwarded by the Chairman, to be laid before the members of that body.—EDITORS *So. PRES. REVIEW*.

carefully considered by the Committee, and great regard has been paid them in the changes presented in this Revision. Of course they could not all be embodied, for this reason among others, that they were found to be on some points irreconcilably opposed to one another.

Our former revisions reported have been carefully compared with the old Directory, and an honest effort made to combine the best things found in them all.

For convenience of coöperation, the Atlanta Assembly added to the Revision Committee Drs. Girardeau and Boggs, to act with Dr. Woodrow as a Sub-Committee. These brethren did what was possible to them in the following year to produce another revision of the Directory. During the past year circumstances occurred, leading Dr. Woodrow to withdraw from the Committee, and he has therefore not of late been acting with us. It has not been practicable during this year to obtain the counsel or coöperation of any of the other members of the Committee as formerly constituted, and accordingly this present effort at preparing a more acceptable Revision is submitted to the General Assembly at Houston on the sole responsibility of those whose names are appended to it.

The preliminary statement which introduces our work was prepared and is here furnished at the special request of several Presbyteries.

Two hundred printed copies of this Report are herewith submitted, that the Assembly may the more conveniently and thoroughly examine it, preparatory to such disposal of it as to the wisdom of the body may seem good.

For the Committee.

JNO. B. ADGER, *Chairman.*

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

1. Sinners cannot approach God except through a public minister of worship, who as a priest offers gifts and sacrifices for them not without blood. Infinite mercy has provided for us such

a Minister of Worship in the person of Jesus Christ, who, having offered himself a sacrifice to satisfy divine justice for our sins, appears in the heavenly holy of holies, and presents for us the incense of his perpetual intercession. They who come unto God by him, defiled as are their praises and their prayers, find gracious acceptance for their persons and their worship.

2. Jesus Christ has made the Church a holy priesthood, and individual believers priests unto God even his Father, to offer in worship sacrifices, not of expiation, but of thanksgiving, supplication, and intercession: the spiritual sacrifice of themselves in the service of God, of prayer and praise to him, and of their substance for the advancement of his kingdom and the relief of the poor.

3. The adorable Agent, who produces in us the temper of true worship, teaches us what it should include and how it should be offered, moves us to its performance, and assists us to render it, is the Holy Spirit.

4. The elements of worship are either essential and immutable, or accidental and changeable. The essential, growing out of the nature of God and that of the creature in relation to each other, are imposed by moral law, and are therefore permanent features of every dispensation of the gospel; but the special forms of public worship in the Church, being matters of positive divine enactment, have varied as each economy has changed. Hence the ritualism of the Jewish temple, though formerly enforced by God's command, having been fulfilled in Christ, has, by the divine will, given way to the simple worship of the Christian dispensation, in which, excepting the symbolical ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the only forms required are such as are necessary vehicles of expression for the essential and permanent elements of worship.

5. The great principle, defining the limitations upon public worship, is, that whatsoever is not either explicitly commanded in the word of God, or cannot be deduced from it by good and necessary consequence, is forbidden. A divine warrant must be furnished for every element of the public worship of the Church. All else is the product of human wisdom and taste, and is reprobated as will-worship; which, as it is condemned by God, should

be rejected by the Church. In the spiritual sphere she has no discretion; all that she possesses is in the natural sphere, common to human societies with herself in which the circumstances, necessary as conditions to the performance of the joint acts of all of them, such as time, place, and the like, are subject to her control; but they cannot enter as elements or modes into the peculiar acts of the Church as a religious society.

6. The Christian Church, as it has no atoning human priest and no material altar, so has no outward temple. Its sanctuaries are not designed, in their structure and adornments, to symbolise the divine perfections, but derive their only glory from the presence of Christ in the ordinances of his gospel and the operations of his grace. The practice, therefore, of decorating houses of worship with statues, paintings, flowers, branches of trees, and the like, is illegitimate and ought to be avoided.

7. A Directory of Worship for the Church in this dispensation, for reasons stated above, should be confined to those things which Christ her King has either explicitly or implicitly authorised in the New Testament Scriptures, as confirming the essential elements of worship common to every dispensation, abolishing those peculiar to the Jewish, and prescribing those distinctive of the New.

CHAPTER I.

PUBLIC WORSHIP ON THE LORD'S DAY.

I. The nature of the Sabbath, or Lord's Day, and the way in which it is to be kept holy, are set forth in the Confession of Faith, Chapter XXI., Sections 7 and 8, and the Larger Catechism, Answers 116-119.

II. In the public worship of God on the Lord's day, all the people should be careful to assemble at the appointed time, that, being present from the beginning, they may with one heart engage in every part of it gravely and reverently; and none of them should, without necessity, withdraw until the benediction shall have been pronounced. They should prepare themselves, by prayer and meditation, for the proper observance of the services of God's house. And such as are heads of families should

exercise care, that the arrangements of their households for that day be so ordered as not to prevent children, servants, and others from attending public worship, or otherwise to hinder them from sanctifying the Sabbath.

III. The standing posture in public prayer is sanctioned by Scripture, is expressive of reverence and service, is recommended by the practice of the primitive Church and by the immemorial usage of Presbyterians. It is, therefore, an eminently appropriate attitude for prayer by a congregation in the worship of the Lord's day; and the sitting posture should be avoided, except when required by bodily infirmity.

IV. The public ordinances of God's house, authorised and enjoined in Scripture, are prayer; singing praise; reading, expounding, and preaching the word; making offerings for the relief of the poor and other pious uses; and blessing the people;¹ also administering the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and exercising discipline on suitable occasions.

V. On the Lord's day morning it is proper that the following parts of service be observed:

1. *Invocation.*—This should consist of a brief prayer, in which the Divine presence and blessing are earnestly besought.

2. *Singing Praise.*—The praise of God by singing appropriate psalms or hymns is to be regulated by the Session; and in thus praising God as a part of public worship the whole congregation should endeavor to unite. Ordinarily, the selection of tunes, and the manner of singing them, should be such as to promote this end. And the Session should take such measures for training the people in singing, as will qualify them for the proper discharge of this duty.

3. *Reading the Scriptures.*—The public reading of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments should be by the minister, who should be careful to fit himself for the edifying performance of this office; and to his discretion it is left to determine how large a portion, and what particular part or parts, of Scripture shall be read. This reading of the Scriptures shall be from the most approved translation in the vulgar tongue, that

¹ Form of Government, Chapter II., Section IV., Article V.

all may hear and understand ; and the minister, when he thinks it expedient, may expound any part of what is read.

4. *Prayer.*—That before sermon should embrace :

First. Adoration of God, as he is made known in creation and providence, and especially in the clear and full revelation of his holy word.

Secondly. Thanksgiving to God for his varied mercies ; above all, for the gift of his Son Christ Jesus, for the hope of everlasting life through him, and for the mission and work of the Holy Spirit.

Thirdly. Humble confession of sin, both original and actual ; of sins against God, against our neighbor, and against ourselves, whether pertaining to us as individuals, or as a church, or as a people, together with their special aggravations.

Fourthly. Earnest supplication for the removal of guilt, for peace with God through the blood which cleanseth from all sin, and for all other fruits of justification ; for the Holy Spirit to regenerate and sanctify, and for abundant supplies of his grace in the discharge of every duty ; for support and comfort under trials ; and for all needed mercies ; it being always remembered that they flow in the channel of covenant love, and are intended to subserve the preservation and progress of the spiritual life.

Fifthly. Intercession and petition for others, including the whole world of mankind ; for the increase and spread of the entire Church, for the particular church then assembled, and all other churches associated in one body with it ; for ministers of the gospel ; for baptized children and other young persons ; for the sick, dying, and bereaved ; for the poor and destitute ; for the community in which the church is situated ; for civil rulers ; and for whatever else may seem to be necessary or suitable to the occasion.

The prominence given to each of these topics must be left to the discretion of the minister.

While the Church has no authority to confine ministers to prescribed forms of public prayer, yet it is the duty of every minister to prepare for this as well as for the service of preaching, that it may be discharged with dignity and propriety, and to the edification of the people.

5. *Offerings for the poor and for other pious uses.*—It is both a privilege and a duty plainly enjoined in Scripture to make regular, systematic, and liberal offerings for the support of religion, and for the propagation of the gospel in our own and in foreign lands, as well as for the relief of the poor. And this should be done as an exercise of grace and an act of worship.

6. *Singing praise a second time.*

7. *Preaching the word.*—The minister, whose work this is by Divine appointment, must apply himself diligently to it, and prove himself a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.

It is recommended that ordinarily sermons should be preached without being read.

8. *Prayer after sermon.*—This should generally have relation to the subject treated of in the discourse; and all other public prayers to the circumstances that give occasion for them.

9. *Singing praise a third time, with a doxology; and*

10. *The congregation dismissed with the benediction.*

VI. A second public service, with preaching, should, when practicable, be held on the Lord's day.

VII. The exercises appropriate to the Sabbath-school, are prayer, singing praise to God, and the study of the Holy Scriptures, together with the Catechisms of the Church. Its services must not be allowed to interfere with attendance upon the regular public worship of the Lord's day on the one hand, or with parental instruction on the other. And the school is always to be under the supervision and control of the Session.

CHAPTER II.

PUBLIC WORSHIP ON OTHER OCCASIONS.

I. Under the New Testament dispensation no day is commanded to be stately kept holy, except the Lord's day, which is the Christian Sabbath. Nevertheless, it is scriptural occasionally to observe days of fasting and humiliation, as well as days of thanksgiving, and of prayer for special objects, set apart as the extraordinary dealings of divine Providence may prompt. And when such seasons are appointed by the proper ecclesias-

tical authorities, the people should be assembled for public worship, and the entire service be adapted to the occasion.

It is left to Sessions to determine upon the propriety of complying in this matter with any similar appointment by the civil authorities.

II. Special services, protracted from day to day, may be held when in the judgment of Sessions it appears expedient; but it is highly important that such exercises should not in any way be permitted to bring about the depreciation of the stated ordinances of the gospel, or the labors of a settled ministry.

III. It is in accordance with scriptural example that meetings for prayer be held on other than Sabbath-days, and it pertains to Sessions to take order concerning them. They may be maintained either statedly, where that is possible, or at seasons specially appointed where the scattered condition of congregations renders stated meetings of this kind impracticable. Such meetings should be conducted by ministers, by some other members of Sessions, or by any duly qualified members of the Church; and the exercises should be prayer, singing of praise, the reading of the Scriptures, and exhortation.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM.

I. The nature of baptism, and the scriptural authority therefor, are fully set forth in the Confession of Faith, Ch. XXVIII., and the Larger Catechism, Answers 165–167.

II. Baptism is not to be unnecessarily delayed, nor to be administered in any case by a private person, but by a minister of the word, and, ordinarily, by the minister of that particular church with which the household is connected. It is usually to be administered in the presence of the congregation, on the Lord's day, yet there may be cases when it will be expedient to administer this ordinance in private houses, of which the minister is the judge.

III. The Scriptures teach that the children of a professed believer are born members of the visible Church. Their baptism involves now, as their circumcision did under the Old Testament,

a public acknowledgment both by the Lord and his Church of their relation to the covenant.

IV. THE BAPTISM OF INFANTS.

1. When this sacrament is to be administered, the congregation ought, ordinarily, to be instructed in regard to its nature, and its scriptural warrant.

2. *The parents presenting the child shall be addressed in some such words as these :*

You present your child, that it may, by God's appointment, receive the sign and seal of membership in his visible Church, and of its covenant relation to him; and you profess your sense of its dependence for salvation upon the atoning blood of Christ, and the renewing grace of the Holy Ghost.

The parents shall answer, We do.

Do you, then, in humble reliance upon the grace of God promise to teach this child to read the word of God; to instruct it in the principles of our holy religion, as contained therein, and as set forth in the Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms; to pray with and for it; to set before it an example of piety and godliness; and thus to endeavor by all the means of God's appointment to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord?

The parents shall answer, We do.

3. Then the minister is to pray that what is signified and sealed in this sacrament may be accomplished by the Spirit in the child; after which, calling it by its name, he shall say, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." As he pronounces these words he is to baptize the child with water, by pouring or sprinkling, without adding any other ceremony, and the whole shall be concluded with prayer.

V. THE BAPTISM OF ADULTS.

1. Baptism is to be administered to adults upon a credible profession of saving faith in Christ, and involves the public and solemn acknowledgment of the fact, that the person receiving it has been admitted by proper authority into communion with the visible Church. When there is an existing church the baptism should be administered by order of the Session, and usually in

the presence of the congregation on the Lord's day and by the minister of that church.

2. When the profession of faith is to be made in public, the minister, addressing the person to be baptized, may say: Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament, wherein Christ hath ordained the washing with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to be a sign and seal of ingrafting into himself, of remission of sins by his blood; and regeneration by his Spirit; of our partaking of the benefits of the covenant of grace; and our engagement to be the Lord's.

3. And it is deemed advisable that he should then propound to the candidate the following questions:

Q. 1. Do you, in the presence of God and of this church, profess your adoption of these fundamental articles of the Christian faith?—

That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the inspired and only infallible rule of faith and practice.

That there are three Persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that these three, while different as Persons, are not three Gods, but one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory.

That the eternal Son of God became man; that he obeyed the law, in his life and in his death on the cross, as the atoning Saviour of sinners; that he was buried; that on the third day he rose from the dead; that he ascended into heaven and sits on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, where he intercedes as Priest and reigns as King; and that thence he shall come to judge the living and the dead.

That in our natural, fallen condition we are depraved, liable to eternal death, and wholly unable to save ourselves.

That the Holy Spirit convices us of our sin and misery; enlightens our minds in the knowledge of Christ, renews our wills, and persuades and enables us to embrace Jesus Christ freely offered to us in the gospel.

That by the works of the law, that is, by our own personal righteousness, we cannot be justified before God, but by his grace are freely pardoned and accepted as righteous in his sight,

only on account of the righteousness of Christ received by faith alone.

That as we are justified in Christ, so we must be sanctified in him by his Spirit; and that it is our privilege and our duty, in humble dependence upon divine grace, to obey the holy commands of Christ as the indestructible rule of life.

That thus all Christ's people are brought into union and fellowship with him, and with one another, in one body which is the holy catholic or universal Church.

That at death the souls of believers do immediately pass into glory, and the souls of unbelievers into the place of torment; that there shall be a general resurrection of the bodies of the dead; and that from the Judgment Bar the wicked shall go into everlasting punishment, and the righteous into everlasting life.

Do you so believe?

The candidate shall answer, I do.

Q. 2. And do you now profess, that, out of a true sense of your sin and apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ, you do, with grief and hatred of your sin, turn from it unto God with full purpose of and endeavor after new obedience; thus, as far as you know your own heart and in reliance upon divine strength, engaging to be the Lord's, to receive his word as the rule of your faith and practice, to take his cross, to renounce the vain pomps and the sinful indulgences of the world, and to submit yourself in the Lord to the constituted authorities of his Church; walking in brotherly love with its members, studying its peace, and praying and laboring for its prosperity? Do you?

The candidate shall answer, I do.

4. After prayer, the minister shall baptize the candidate with water, by pouring or sprinkling, saying: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

Then the minister may give his hand to the person baptized, in token of his cordial reception into the communion of the Church; and let the administration of the sacrament be concluded with prayer.

VI. The baptized children of the Church are entitled to come

to the Lord's table, upon a credible profession of saving faith in Christ made before the Session, without any other formality.

Should it, however, be deemed expedient that they make a public appearance before the congregation, let it be only that they may receive from the minister an address suited to their circumstances, and that they may be personally known to the members of the church.

VII. The names of persons making a profession of faith, and of those admitted to the communion of a particular church upon letters of dismission from other churches, shall be announced to the congregation from the pulpit.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

I. The nature of the Lord's Supper, and the scriptural authority therefor, are fully set forth in the Confession of Faith, Chapter XXIX., and the Larger Catechism, Answers 168–177.

II. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper, commonly called the Communion, is to be administered frequently ; but how frequently is a question to be determined by the Session of each particular church. It is proper that public notice should be given to the congregation, at least one Sabbath before the administration of the ordinance ; and that, either then or on some other day of the week, the people be instructed in regard to its nature, and urged to make due preparation for it, that all may come in a suitable manner to this holy feast.

Since, by our Lord's appointment, this sacrament sets forth the communion of saints, the minister, before the administration begins, should invite all communicants in good standing in evangelical churches, who may be present, to participate in the ordinance.

It is proper that non-communicants be invited to remain during the sacramental service.

Ordinarily, the minister shall read the account of the institution of the sacrament as contained in Matt. xxvi. 26–30, or Mark xiv. 22–26, or Luke xxii. 19, 20, or 1 Cor. xi. 23–34. He may then, if to him it appear expedient, either read consecutively

the Answers to Questions 169, 170, 172, and 174 of the Larger Catechism, or explain and apply the truth taught in the passage of Scripture read, showing, substantially, that the Lord's Supper is a sacrament, wherein by giving and receiving bread and wine according to the appointment of Jesus Christ, his death is shewed forth; and they that worthily communicate feed upon his body and blood to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace, have their union and communion with him confirmed, testify and renew their thankfulness and engagement to him, and their mutual love and fellowship each with the other as members of the same mystical body, and that this sacrament is to be observed in the Church until he come.

As the ignorant, the scandalous, the profane, and those who secretly indulge themselves in any known sin are not entitled to partake of this holy ordinance, the minister should warn them against coming to the Lord's table. On the other hand, he should tenderly invite to this table such as, being instructed in the gospel doctrine, have a competent knowledge to discern the Lord's body; such as, sensible of their lost and helpless state of sin, depend upon the atonement of Christ for pardon and acceptance with God; and such as desire to renounce their sins and are determined to lead a godly life.

Now let a suitable psalm or hymn be sung.

The table on which the elements are placed being decently covered, the bread in convenient dishes and the wine in cups, and the communicants orderly and gravely sitting around the table (or in their seats before it), in the presence of the minister, let him offer prayer with thanksgiving, in which the elements may be set apart from a common to a sacramental use.

The minister is then to take the bread and break it in the view of the people, saying, in expressions of this sort:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the same night in which he was betrayed, having taken bread, and blessed and broken it, gave it to his disciples, as -I, ministering in his name, give this bread unto you: saying [here the bread is to be distributed], Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me.

After having given the bread, he shall take the cup, and say :

After the same manner our Saviour also took the cup; and having given thanks, as hath been done in his name, he gave it to the disciples, saying [while the minister is repeating these words, let him give the cup], This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins: drink ye all of it. For, as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.

The minister himself is to communicate at such time as may appear to him most convenient.

The minister may, in a few words :

Put the communicants in mind of the grace of God, in Jesus Christ, held forth in this sacrament; and of their obligation to be the Lord's; and exhort them to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are called; and, as they have professedly received Christ Jesus the Lord, to be careful so to walk in him, and to maintain good works.

The minister may also give a word of exhortation to those who have been only spectators :

Reminding them of their duty; stating the sin and danger of their living in disobedience to Christ, by neglecting this holy ordinance; and calling upon them to be earnest in making preparation for attending upon it at the next time of its administration.

It is expedient that a part of the time occupied in the distribution of the elements should be spent by all in silent communion with their Lord and Saviour, who is peculiarly present with them at his own board.

It is proper that the minister should call upon any of the communicants who may have been passed by in the distribution of the elements, to signify it by rising (or holding up the hand); and if there be any, they should now be served.

Then let the minister offer prayer :

Giving thanks to God for his rich mercy and inestimable goodness vouchsafed to the communicants in that sacred ordinance; imploring pardon for their sins and defects in the whole service; pleading for the acceptance of their persons and performances;

and for the gracious assistance of the Holy Spirit, to enable them, as they have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so to walk in him; to the end that they may hold fast that which they have received that no man take their crown; that their conversation may be as becometh the gospel; that they may bear about with them, continually, the dying of the Lord Jesus; that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in their mortal body; and that their light may so shine before men, that others, seeing their good works, may glorify their Father who is in heaven.

Now let a psalm or hymn be sung, and the congregation dismissed with the following, or some other, gospel benediction:

Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

It is fitting that a collection for the poor be made in connexion with the communion service, at such time as to the Session may seem meet.

CHAPTER V.

SECRET AND FAMILY WORSHIP.

I. Besides the obligation resting upon all to worship God in public with the congregations of his people, the Holy Scriptures also make it the indispensable duty of each person in secret, and of every family by itself, to worship him.

II. Secret worship, which should not be hastily and carelessly performed, consists of prayer, reading the Scriptures, and, if practicable, singing of praise, which are usually to be accompanied by holy meditation and serious self-examination; but of the time and attention to be devoted to the several elements of that worship the enlightened conscience of each individual must be the judge.

III. Family worship, which should be observed by every household morning and evening when practicable, consists of prayer, reading the Scriptures, and singing praise.

IV. The head of the family, who is, ordinarily, to lead in this service, should be careful that all the members of his household are present; that none withdraw unnecessarily from any part of it; and that, abstaining from their common employments, the whole family reverently attend to its observance.

One who is subject to the temptation, arising from diffidence, to neglect this duty, should endeavor to overcome it by resolute effort, and by supplicating the assistance of the Holy Spirit who helpeth our infirmities, and who, the Lord Jesus assures us, will be given by our heavenly Father to all them that ask him.

The worship should not be so protracted as to render it tedious to the young or infirm; and care should be exercised to make it attractive as well as useful, by adapting it to the varying circumstances of the family and to the differing ages and capacities of its members.

V. The heads of families should be careful to instruct their children and servants in the knowledge of our holy religion. Every proper opportunity should be embraced for such instruction; but especially should some hour of the Sabbath be set apart for this purpose. And to this end, the practice of paying unnecessary private visits and, except when necessity or charity requires it, of admitting strangers into the family, on that day, should be avoided; and any other practices, whatever plausible pretences may be offered in their favor, which interfere with the discharge of this vitally important duty.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.

I. The Lord Jesus, who when on earth dispensed healing to the diseased bodies of men, and who from the Judgment throne will say, "I was sick and ye visited me," has laid upon all his people the obligation to minister to such as are afflicted with bodily maladies. Yet this office he has made eminently incumbent upon ministers of the word and ruling elders.

Hence, it is a duty, before the strength and understanding of sick persons fail them, that they or their friends should send for the minister or some other elder of the Church, and make known

to him, with prudence, the spiritual state of the sick, in order that the instructions and consolations of the gospel may be judiciously and tenderly administered to their immortal souls.

II. It is proper, when the condition of the sick person will allow of it, that a suitable portion of Scripture be read, and that prayer be offered with and for him.

The ministrations should be carefully adapted to his spiritual state. If he be ignorant or careless or hardened, let the instructions and warnings of the divine word be applied to the end that, being convinced of his guilt, danger, and need of salvation, he may, by the blessing of God, be led to believe in Christ and repent of his sins.

If he be troubled by doubts, temptations, or fears, let such instructions be afforded as are suited to remove his difficulties.

If he appear to be a child of God, mourning under the hidings of his face, misapprehending the purpose of his fatherly chastisement, or laboring under bondage to the fear of death, let him be directed to the exceeding great and precious promises of the gospel, the freeness and unchangeableness of God's love, and the compassionate sympathy of a merciful and faithful High Priest.

And even if he seem to have passed beyond the reach of all human communications, still let the invitations and promises of the gospel be uttered in his dying ear.

In fine, let instruction, warning, or consolation be administered as the case of each sick person may require; and these occasions may be profitably used for the speaking of a word in season to attending relatives and friends.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

I. The exercises suitable for funeral occasions are:

1. The singing of an appropriate psalm or hymn.
2. The reading of some suitable portion or portions of Scripture, with such remarks as the officiating minister may deem proper.
3. Prayer, which should have reference to the teachings of

God's afflictive providence, and should be adapted to the needs of the living, especially of the surviving relatives of the deceased person.

4. The benediction.

The order and details of these services must be left largely to the discretion of the officiating minister, with these brief cautions: That the circumstances of the bereaved family should not be too minutely dwelt upon in the prayer; that the discourse should not be indiscriminately eulogistic; that in such allusion as may be made to the gifts and graces of deceased persons the purpose should be to magnify the grace of God; that the principal design of the service is the spiritual benefit of the living, it being borne in mind that some of them are only on these occasions brought into contact with the pure gospel; and that care be had to avoid abusing God's word by associating the hope of salvation with any other manner of life, or experience in death, than one which springs from faith in Christ.

II. *A Funeral Service which may be used when there is no minister present to officiate:*

1. The service may begin with reading all, or any, of the following passages of Scripture:

"Man that is born of a woman is of a few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down. He fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not."

"For we are strangers before thee, and sojourners, as were all our fathers: our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding."

"All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field; the grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it; surely the people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand for ever."

"I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."

"For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

“This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.”

“The hour is coming in the which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.”

“Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.”

2. Let a suitable psalm or hymn be sung.

3. Then one or both of the following passages of Scripture may be read:

Psalm xc.: “Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God. Thou turnest man to destruction, and sayest, Return, ye children of men. For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is passed, and as a watch in the night. Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as a sleep: in the morning they are like grass which groweth up. In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth. For we are consumed by thine anger, and by thy wrath are we troubled. Thou hast set our iniquities before thee, our secret sins in the light of thy countenance. For all our days are passed away in thy wrath; we spend our years as a tale that is told. The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow: for it is soon cut off, and we fly away. Who knoweth the power of thine anger? even according to thy fear, so is thy wrath. So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom. Return, O Lord, how long? and let it repent thee concerning thy servants. Oh, satisfy us early with thy mercy; that we may rejoice and be glad all our days. Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil. Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us: and establish

thou the work of our hands upon us ; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it."

1 Corinthians xv. 20-58: "Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came 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 cometh 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 that shall be destroyed is death. For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he saith, All things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him: And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all. Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead? And why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily. If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners. Awake to righteousness, and sin not; for some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame. But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool! that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die: and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or of some other grain: but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body. All flesh is not the same flesh: but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds. There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. There

is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonor; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly. Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. Behold, I shew you a mystery: We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, 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. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord."

4. Here another psalm or hymn may be sung, if it be deemed expedient.

5. After the body has been lowered into the grave [or sea], the following words, or the like, may be said:

Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God, in his wise provi-

dence, to take out of this world the soul of our deceased friend [or this child], we do now commit his [or her] body to the ground [or deep], till the great day of the Lord Jesus Christ; when he shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; the earth and the sea, at his call, shall give up their dead; and we shall all appear before his judgment-seat, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

6. Then the service may be concluded with the following prayer, or any other appropriate to the occasion:

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. *Amen.*

CHAPTER VIII.

MARRIAGE.

I. Marriage is of divine institution, yet it is not a sacrament, nor peculiar to the Church of Christ. And as it is of a public nature, and the welfare of society is involved therein, every commonwealth ought to regulate it by statutes not at variance with the laws of God, which enactments all citizens are bound to obey. Marriage should always be solemnised before a competent number of witnesses, and, ordinarily, on some other day than one of public humiliation or the Sabbath; and in performing it, the minister should be careful that he transgress neither the laws of the commonwealth nor the laws of God; of which last a brief summary is given in the Confession of Faith, Chapter XXIV.

II. When the parties present themselves to be married, the minister may say, in these or like words:

You have presented yourselves before God and these witnesses to be united in the bonds of matrimony; and I charge you, that, if either of you know any lawful impediment to your being joined together in this relation, you will now confess it; and if

there be any one here present who can show just cause why these parties may not be lawfully married, let him now make it known, or ever after hold his peace.

If no sufficient impediment be alleged, let the minister pray for the divine blessing upon the relation about to be constituted.

Now let the minister address the parties to the following effect:

That God hath instituted marriage for the comfort and happiness of mankind, in declaring that a man shall forsake his father and mother, and cleave unto his wife; and that marriage is honorable in all; that he hath appointed various duties, which are incumbent upon those who enter into this relation: such as a high esteem and mutual love for one another; bearing with each other's infirmities and weaknesses, to which human nature is subject in its present fallen state; encouraging each other under the various ills of life; comforting one another in sickness; in honesty and industry providing for each other's temporal support; praying for and encouraging one another in the things which pertain to God, and to their immortal souls; and living together as the heirs of the grace of life.

Then the minister shall cause the bridegroom and bride to join their right hands, and shall first address the man in these or like words:

You take this woman, whom you hold by the hand, to be your lawful and married wife; and you promise, and covenant, in the presence of God and these witnesses, that you will be unto her a loving and faithful husband until God shall you part. Do you?

The bridegroom shall express his consent by saying, I do.

The minister shall next address the woman in these or like words:

You take this man, whom you hold by the hand, to be your lawful and married husband; and you promise, and covenant, in the presence of God and these witnesses, that you will be unto him a loving, faithful, and obedient wife until God shall you part. Do you?

The bride shall express her consent by saying, I do.

Then the minister is to say, in these or like words:

Forasmuch as these parties have consented unto wedlock, I do

now, in conformity with the ordinance of God, pronounce them husband and wife; what therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

It is proper that the ceremony be concluded with the following benedictions :

The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord be gracious unto you, and make his face shine upon you; the Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you. *Amen.*

Let the minister keep a proper register for the names of all persons whom he marries, and of the time of their marriage, for the perusal of all whom it may concern.

J. B. ADGER.

J. L. GIRARDEAU.

W. E. BOGGS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Omitting for once the commentaries, and most of the treatises in support of the Christian dogmas, we begin with a series of works in Apologetics, and place at the head of the column Drummond's masterly effort to extend the realm of natural law beyond the physical, and throughout the spiritual domain. The book is a sort of historic sequel and logical completion of the Duke of Argyle's celebrated disquisition on the "Reign of Law." Mr. Drummond's contention is that the laws in the physical sphere are not only similar to the laws in the spiritual sphere, but that the physical and spiritual laws are strictly identical. While we are not yet prepared to accept this conclusion as established, we regard it with no little respect and interest.¹ Dr. Medd's volume is well spoken of.² Of all the New England Unitarians since the elder Channing Dr. Hedge has struck us as uniting most happily the charms of diction with the force and scintillation of an original mind.³ The fatal errors of Socinianism are not so apt to crop out in the field of apologetic argument. The endless rejoinder of reason to scepticism is still going on, and the lectures given last year on the Boyle and Bampton foundations are alike designed to strengthen the defences of the Christian faith against the assaults of the current naturalistic infidelity. Bishop Temple is reported to have succeeded to admiration in meeting the wishes of all the variant schools of Christian thought.⁴ The book, then, one should say, ought to be a very tame one,

¹ *The Natural Law in the Spiritual World.* By Henry Drummond, F. R. C. E., F. G. S., 454 pp. New edition. Price \$1.50. James Pott & Co., Publishers, 12 Astor Place, New York.

² *The One Mediator.* By Peter Goldsmith Medd, D. D. 1 Vol., 8vo, \$4.50. E. & J. B. Young & Co., New York.

³ *Atheism in Philosophy, and other Essays.* By the Rev. Frederick H. Hedge, D. D. 16mo, cloth, price \$2.00. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

⁴ *The Relations between Religion and Science, being the Bampton Lectures, 1884.* By the Right Rev. Frederick Temple, Lord Bishop of Exeter. 12mo, \$1.50. Macmillan & Co., New York.

but it is declared to be the very reverse. Canon Curteis¹ is alleged to have discussed his kindred topic in a manner altogether satisfactory. We are not able to vouch for either book from personal examination. It is refreshing to turn from the chilling atmosphere of modern atheistic and agnostic materialism to the serene, but by no means frigid, air of mediæval idealism. Nor could we find a more perfect representative of the system than the reviled and adored Jew of Rotterdam, the "divine" Spinoza.^{2 3} The deviser of the scheme of continental rationalism, and *avant courier* of the leaders of the German Pantheism, was the Euclid of metaphysics, with the single difference that his demonstrations are invalid. *Anaemia* and nervousness⁴ are pronounced by very high authority to be the two great pathological evils of our day; but to be, in all likelihood, a transient, not a fixed phenomenon, due to an abnormal and temporary strain from over-work. The book is from a famed expert in physiologico mental researches, and is written with ability and clearness, and is full of interest. President Porter⁵ reawakened the gratitude of thousands not long ago by a work which deserves repeated and emphatic mention in these and other notes of observation and criticism. The Dr. Barrows, who has written on Purgatory,⁶ is not that sound and sterling divine, Dr. E. P. Bar-

¹ The Scientific Obstacles to Christian Belief, being the Boyle Lectures for 1884. By G. H. Curteis, Canon of Lithfield, and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. *Ibid.*

² The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza, translated from the Latin, with an introduction. By R. H. M. Elwes. 2 Vols., pp., 387, 420 (Bohn's Philosophical Library). London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Scribner & Welford.

³ Benedik Baruch von Spinoza's Stellung zum Judenthum und Christenthum. Von Dr. Alfr. Chr. Kalischer. (Deutsche Zeit-und Streit Fragen.) Berlin. Carl Habel. 8vo, pp., 88.

⁴ Ueber Nervosität. Vortrag von Prof. Dr. von Krafft-Eling. Zweite Auflage. Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky.

⁵ Science and Sentiment, with other papers, chiefly Philosophical. By Noah Porter, D. D., LL.D., pp., 506. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

⁶ Purgatory: Doctrinally, Practically, and Historically opened. By William Barrows, D. D. Pp. 228. New York: American Tract Society.

rows, of "The Companion," yet he has the imprimatur of the Tract Society. Dr. Hill's work on Geometry and Faith,¹ is one of those works that are to be heartily applauded when they first come out and welcomed as often as they reappear. The subject discussed in this thin volume is one of absorbing interest to a certain class of minds. It was one of the princes of human genius who spoke of God as "the Divine Geometer." Only such a mathematician and thinker, and such a reverent theologian as Dr. Hill, could have written this book. Stormouth's Dictionary of English,² although but lately from the press, is already fast getting to be the approved standard on both sides of the water, being not only endorsed, but panegyriced, both in Europe and America, and accepted by the Duke of Cambridge and the central representatives of authority on matters of English throughout the world. Its only rival in the way of freshness is Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary, which is a work of sterling value and convenient form. But Stormouth has the advantage, not only on the score of recency and compactness, but also of accuracy and essential excellence. The only improvement (so far as now appears) that could well be made in it for certain uses, would be in the line of systematic amplification, and this would wholly unfit it for other uses, render it unwieldy, and place it beyond the reach of those who did not happen to be millionaires. While of course we protest against the application of the word "Catholic" on the title page, we thank the authors of the other new dictionary for thus candidly warning off the majority of Protestants at the very threshold.³ The work will nevertheless be of value in set-

¹ Geometry and Faith. A supplement to the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise. By Thomas Hill. Pp. 109. Boston: Lee & Shepherd.

² Stormouth's English Dictionary. A Dictionary of the English Language, pronouncing, etymological, and explanatory, embracing scientific and other terms, numerous familiar terms, and a copious selection of old English words. By the Rev. James Stormouth. The pronunciation carefully revised by the Rev. I. H. Phelps, M. A. Now complete in an imperial octavo volume of 1248 pp. Cloth, \$6.00; half roan, \$7.00; full sheep, \$7.50. Also in Harper's "Franklin Square Library," in 23 parts, 25 cents each part. *Muslin covers for binding furnished by the publishers on receipt of 50 cents.* Harper & Brothers. N. Y.

³ A Catholic Dictionary. By William E. Addis & Thomas Arnold, M. A. \$5, New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

ting the meaning of terms and furnishing us with definitions. Professor William Gordon McCabe is a scholar and teacher that Virginia and the South are justly proud of. He has largely rewritten Bingham's Grammar,¹ as Professor Allen² has largely rewritten Hadley's. Mr. McCabe was a favorite pupil of Professor Gildersleeve, from whom he received his Greek diploma, and is up to the modern requirements in every department. The only exception we have seen taken to his work is to what he says under the head of Prosody. The averment is that he has merely rehashed for us dishes that had been served before. We suspect this criticism to be of that oracular and baseless sort which led the art-censor of a famous London journal the other day to speak contemptuously, not only of the music dramas of Wagner, but the symphonies of Schumann.

Dr. Sauveur has brought out a new and capital French grammar in French.³ It is of course based on Noël and Chapsal, which can never be wholly superseded, and can boast an *envoi* from the philosopher, lexicographer, and *litterateur*, the late E. Littré. The "Meisterschaft" system⁴ is the best that has yet been suggested for learning to *speak* a distant foreign tongue. Professor Brandt's⁵ German grammar is for advanced students, and is much lauded.

Few things are more fascinating or more deceptive than the study of history as pursued by the average reader. Professor Seeley⁶ has gone so far, we believe, as to argue for the ruthless

¹ Bingham's Latin Grammar, revised and rewritten by Prof. W. G. McCabe. E. H. Butler & Co., Philadelphia.

² Hadley's Greek Grammar, revised and largely rewritten by Prof. F. D. Allen, of Harvard. D. Appleton & Co.

³ *Grammaire Française pour les Anglais*. By Dr. L. Sauveur. Modelled upon Noël and Chapsal, and containing an *envoi* from E. Littré. F. W. Christern.

⁴ Dr. Rosenthal's Conversational Spanish Grammar, one of his famous "Meisterschaft" series. Estes & Lauriat.

⁵ Prof. H. C. G. Brandt's German Grammar. G. P. Putnam & Sons.

⁶ On History and the Study of History. By William P. Atkinson, Professor of English and History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Uniform with Professor Atkinson's "On the Right Use of Books." 16mo., cloth, price 50 cts. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

exclusion of the *entertaining* quality from the historical writing of the future. We have several objections to this idea, but mention only two of them. One is that we should thus be cut off from the pleasure of reading any histories by Professor Seeley himself. The other is that if *dulness* were the criterion of historical excellence Rapin must be preferred to Macaulay or Herodotus. The trouble is not that so many histories are entertaining, but that so many entertaining histories are untrue. What we desiderate is a class of histories that are graphic, and at the same time philosophical and just.

Mr. Edward Everett Hale is becoming a prolific as well as miscellaneous writer. His present theme, "Franklin in France,"¹ is one of the most attractive he has yet fallen upon. Those who have read Miss Sarah Randolph's book on Jefferson will call to mind the scene in which the author of the Declaration of Independence visits the aged philosopher and diplomat shortly before Franklin's death, and what he says about him. New and strong light has been shed on this subject by recent investigations. After Washington there is no more imposing figure in the Revolutionary period than Benjamin Franklin. Intellectually we are disposed to think he had scarcely a peer, and literally no superior. Mr. Leslie Stephen's great collection of English biographies² is said to give promise of an excellence rivalling that displayed by the similar works which have appeared in Belgium and Germany. It is, however, probably too much to hope that the Christian religion will receive a fair treatment in this colossal work. Two other collections we notice with pleasure. One³ is

¹Franklin in France. By Edward Everett Hale. "The purchase by the United States Government of the Franklin papers puts us for the first time in possession of material for a history of Franklin's life in France, which has never been properly written. The first volume is in preparation." *Ibid.*

²Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by Leslie Stephen. Further volumes will be issued at intervals of three months, and it is confidently expected that the work will be completed in about fifty volumes. The price of each volume will be \$3.25. Macmillan & Co.

³British Orations. A selection of the more important and representative political addresses of the past century. Edited, with introductions and notes, by Charles K. Adams, Professor of History in the University

a group of famous English speeches of the eighteenth century; the other,¹ a group of famous English essays of the modern era. We put these two collections together here on account of their similarity of plan and representative character, though only the first could be classed as in any special sense historical.

The author of "Eece Homo" is to be trusted for an able, if not a wholly satisfactory, account of the wonderful development of the British empire.² We are always glad when such men as he confine themselves to literary and political topics. Mr. Davidson's endeavor in his "New Book of Kings"³ is to portray and characterise the kings of England, and is said to have done so admirably well. He has played the part of a modern Suetonius. Philadelphia⁴ has a story richly worth the retelling. Doctor William Hand Browne, of Baltimore, is one whose name should be better known than it is to Northern no less than Southern readers. He is a man of rare talents and accomplishments, and one of the best critics we have in the country. As an historian he challenges our respect in the present volume. His work entitled "Maryland,"⁵ is of a more limited scope than its title might indicate, but is of great and permanent value, and is the result of exhaustive first hand labors. Opinions will differ as to the estimates here recorded of certain men and measures, but none can question the honesty or intelligence of these judgments. Cassell's encyclopædic books on English History⁶ and Greater London of Michigan. Three volumes, 16mo., uniform with "American Orations." \$3.75. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

¹ Prose Masterpieces from the Modern Essayists. Large paper edition, with portraits. 3 vols., 8vo., cloth extra, gilt top, rough edges, \$7.50. *Ibid.*

² The Expansion of England. By Prof. J. R. Seeley, author of "Eece Homo." "Natural Religion," etc. Crown 8vo., cloth, price \$1.75. Roberts Brothers & Co., Boston.

³ The New Book of Kings. By J. Morrison Davidson (of the Middle Temple), author of "Eminent Radicals," etc. 16mo., cloth, price \$1.00. *Ibid.*

⁴ A Short History of the City of Philadelphia. From the Foundation to the Present Time. By Susan Coolidge. 12mo., cloth. *Ibid.*

⁵ Maryland. By Wm. Hand Browne. (American Commonwealth Series.) \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

⁶ The Dictionary of English History. Edited by Sidney J. Law, B. A.,

have become an acquisition to the shelves of many libraries.¹

Max Müller's fast coming volumes are not altogether so diversified as to their subjects as they would appear to be. They are nearly all connected with the study of language or of Oriental religions. The present work² is not wholly exceptional in this respect as to its matter, although it has the singularity of being biographical as to its form. We have here lives of Rammohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, two Japanese students, and others. It is a work of great value and much popular attractiveness.

Mr. Hamerton seems to be broadening and at the same time deepening his current as he moves onward.³ He is one of the most expert and accurate of art critics, and one of the few who know the exact significance of the English language. There are serious drawbacks to Mr. White, but he is at his best when writing about Shakespeare,⁴ and has not many competitors as a Shakespearian editor. The Riverside edition of the dramatist is by a high Shakespearian authority affirmed to be the most satisfactory one extant. Robert Browning⁵ is like olives and caviar. Once acquire the relish for him, and you not only take him with-

late scholar of Baliol College, Oxford. Lecturer on Modern History, King's College, London; and F. S. Pulling, M. A., late Professor of History, Yorkshire College, Leeds. In one large 8vo. volume of 1,119 pages, bound in extra cloth. Price \$6.00. Cassell & Co., New York.

¹ Cassell's Greater London. A Narrative of its History, its People, and its Places. By Edward Walford, M. A. With *Map of London* and illustrated throughout with original engravings, specially executed for the work. In two volumes, 8vo., extra cloth, price \$4.00 per volume. *Ibid.*

² Biographical Essays. By Max Müller. Charles Scribner & Sons, New York.

³ Human Intercourse. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton. Square 12mo., cloth, price \$2.00. "This work, upon which Mr. Hamerton has been engaged for many years, is the complement of his 'Intellectual Life.'" Roberts Brothers & Co., Boston.

⁴ Shakespeare's Works. *New Riverside Edition*. Edited by Richard Grant White. In three volumes. Vol. I. now ready. Crown 8vo., \$2.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

⁵ Browning's Complete Works. *New Edition*. A new and uniform edition of the Complete Poetical Works of Robert Browning. In seven volumes, crown 8vo., *sold only in complete sets*, \$12.00. *Ibid.*

out making wry mouths, but defend him and advocate him without moderation. Yet he is, with all his glaring blemishes, a poet (the poet for poets) as well as a thinker and scholar, and a vigorous and original genius. The author of "Rab and his Friends" is as racy and delightful a writer as if he had belonged to Scott or Wilson's charmed circle.¹ The book sent off by the Quaker poet and the radical tribune has much to recommend it to the lover of history, literature, and personal gossip.² Of course we do not occupy the view-point of this book either in politics or theology. Ole Bull³ was by no means such a *virtuoso* in the strict musical sense as Joachim, Sarasati, or Wilhelmj; but he was an extraordinary personality, had a remarkable career, and impressed the great multitude somewhat after the sovereign fashion of Jenny Lind. He was the true connecting link between Paganini and Romeny. There is a mystic fascination about the word "Siberia" that ought of itself to sell Mr. Lansdell's new edition.⁴

We accept every fresh (and good) book of reference with open arms. This time it is one on art, heraldry, and every sort of *bric-a-brac* and antiquities.⁵ The man is to be thanked who conceived the idea of making such a book. The reminiscences of such a man as the late Thurlow Weed⁶ can hardly fail to tickle

¹Spare Hours. Third Series. Locke and Sydenham, and other Papers. By Dr. John Brown. 16mo., \$1.50. *Ibid.*

²Letters of Lydia Maria Child. With a Biographical Introduction by Jno. G. Whittier, and an Appendix by Wendell Phillips. With portrait. 16mo., \$1.50. *Ibid.*

³Life of Ole Bull. By Sarah C. Bull. With a fine steel portrait and several illustrations. 8vo., \$2.50. *Ibid.*

⁴Through Siberia. By Henry Lansdell. Illustrated with about 30 engravings, 3 route maps, and a photograph of the author. *New Edition.* In one volume, 8vo., \$3.00. *Ibid.*

⁵An Illustrated Dictionary of Words used in Art and Archæology. Explaining terms frequently used in works on Architecture, Arms, Bronzes, Christian Art, Color, Costume Decoration, Devices, Emblems, Heraldry, Lace, Personal Ornaments, Pottery, Painting, Sculpture, etc. By J. W. Mollett, B. A. Illustrated with about 750 wood engravings. Small 4to. *Ibid.*

⁶(In preparation.) The Autobiography of Thurlow Weed; edited by his daughter, Harriet A. Weed; and Memoir of Thurlow Weed, by his

the palates of a host of pampered literary *gourmets*. Of the two books which bring up the rear of our quarterly procession, and which both record the sad and heroic story of DeLong and his companions, the first¹ is the most melancholy and also the most important; but the second² is less familiar and more copious, and thus (in a way, at least) more readable.

grandson, Thurlow Weed Barnes. With steel portraits and other illustrations. In two volumes, 8vo. *Ibid.*

¹(In Preparation.) *The Voyage of the Jeannette. The Ship and Ice Journals of Lieutenant-Commander DeLong, U. S. N.* Edited by his wife, Emma DeLong. With a steel portrait of Lieutenant-Commander DeLong, a map, and other illustrations. In two volumes, 8vo. *Ibid.*

²*In the Lena Delta. Narrative of the Search for Lieut.-Commander DeLong.* By George W. Melville. Edited by Melville Phillips. With maps and illustrations, \$2.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

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SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW,

CONDUCTED BY

AN ASSOCIATION OF MINISTERS.

Vol. XXXVI.

JULY, MDCCCLXXXV.

No. 3.

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THE SOUTHERN
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VOL. XXXVI.—NO. 3.

JULY, MDCCCLXXXV.

ARTICLE I.

A CALM AND CANDID REVIEW OF SOME SPEECHES
ON EVOLUTION.

Whether for praise or for blame, it cannot be doubted that the whole agitation all over our Church respecting Columbia Seminary, has had its main origin with two individuals. Has it been, indeed, the unearthing of a dangerous concealed influence, which, brought chiefly by two men into the clear light of day, is being *slaughtered*? Then the Church has these two men to hold in especial honor for this great and useful service. On the other hand, has it been an unnecessary and hurtful excitement about nothing, arousing our fears about dangers imaginary, and stirring up baseless apprehensions through the exaggeration of trifles into real and frightful evils? Then the chief responsibility will still lie at the doors of two men alone. One of them has had an official position—in fact, two official positions—giving him enormous powers of both good and evil. But whether he has been doing our Church great beneficial service, or great damage, in these two official positions, is to be ascribed mainly to the support given him by his truly eminent colleague in all this work. The most popular and best beloved minister in our Synod, distinguished as a scholar and a theologian, eloquent as the golden-mouthed John of Constantinople, gentle and tender and affection-

ate as the John of Patmos, enjoying the confidence of our whole communion in the very highest degree, it was the support of this John, from the beginning to the end, more than any other influence which gave this movement its power; and to him really belongs the commendation or the condemnation that must follow.

This acknowledged leader of the "Anti-Woodrow" debate at Greenville has published his two speeches there. They were not very correctly reported in the papers, but it is possible now to ascertain precisely what he held, and to judge deliberately of the real value of his arguments. We believe that we can fairly estimate it. Bound to each other for long years by peculiar ties, co-laborers in more than one arduous and responsible service for the Church so much loved by us both, sympathising hitherto fully in every sentiment and opinion perhaps of our whole lives, and now divided thoroughly for the first time, the claim is not an extravagant one, on our part, that we can weigh impartially whatever he has uttered on this subject. On page 29 of the "Two Speeches" will be found a paragraph which sets forth the conclusion to which their author came at the late Synod of South Carolina. The paragraph is as follows:

"If, now, these propositions have been sustained by competent proofs: first, that a scientific hypothesis which has not been proved, so as to have become an established theory or law, and which is contrary to our Church's interpretation of the Bible, and to her prevailing and recognised views, ought not to be inculcated and maintained in our Theological Seminaries; secondly, that the Perkins Professor's view of Evolution is a scientific hypothesis which has not been proved so as to have become an established theory or law, and which is contrary to our Church's interpretation of the Bible and to her prevailing and recognised views—the conclusion is irresistible, that the Perkins Professor's view of Evolution ought not to be inculcated and maintained in our Theological Seminaries. The practical result ought to be, that the Synod should prohibit its inculcation and maintenance, even as probably true, in our own Theological Seminary."

There appear to be two main positions of which our eminent friend is the inventor and on which he relies for his justification in the course he has been pursuing. The one, briefly stated, is that the Theological Seminary course of instruction ought to be only dogmatic, so that no unverified hypotheses are admissible there; the other, that there are two senses of Scripture, both

binding on our consciences: the absolute sense, and the sense accepted by the Church, so that what the Church holds, whether true or false, binds our conscience as well as what the word really teaches. We propose a fair and candid examination of both positions. These are the foundations on which rests all our friend has said and done, and influenced so many others to say and do. If these positions are baseless, the whole superstructure falls, and our Church must see what a lamentable operation has been its erection in her name.

First, now: *as to the dogmatism that must characterise theological investigation and instruction.* This precise expression was not used at Greenville and will not be found in the published speeches. Yet the idea was and is distinctly put forth. At top of page 16 are defined the nature and design of a theological school: "It is designed to teach what the Church holds and believes. For it to teach the contrary is to violate its very nature and end." "The great end of a theological seminary, I have urged, is to teach the Church's interpretation of the word of God. For this it exists; this is the law of its being." Accordingly, at close of page 15 we read, "A scientific hypothesis which has not been proved, so as to have become an established theory or law, and which is contrary to our Church's interpretation of the Bible, and to her prevailing and recognised views, ought not to be inculcated and maintained in our Theological Seminaries." And at top of page 17, "Even a proved truth of science ought not to be inculcated in a Theological Seminary when it contradicts our standards as the Church's interpretation of the Scriptures. The only true course, in this case, is for the Church authoritatively to expunge the untrue interpretation and substitute for it that which has been proved to be true. But, until that is done, the standards unchanged are the law by which all official teaching must be regulated. That law cannot be legitimately resisted and violated. The teacher is not the judge; the Church alone is the judge in the premises." Further, on page 19, at the top: "It is our right, it is our duty, to dictate what, as a teacher in his official capacity, a Professor can or cannot teach in a Theological Seminary." On page 22, at the bottom: "I maintain that a Theo-

logical Seminary is not the place, and instruction in its halls not the means, to create sentiments adverse to any objectionable features of our doctrinal standards, or to attempt the inauguration of measures looking to their elimination from them. There are other relations sustained by Theological Professors, and other means accessible to them, through which they may legitimately exert their influence for the attainment of that end. Chiefly, there are the church courts, which alone have the power to alter the standards, and the Professors are members of those courts. There they may put forth their energies to secure emendations of the constitutional law. Theological Professors, as such, are absolutely debarred from opposing by their teachings the standards of the Church." And at middle of the page: "No Professor in a Theological Seminary, as Professor, is at liberty in the class room or in the chapel to inculcate views contrary to the standards of the Church, or to oppose any element of those standards."

Now, the unquestionable meaning of all this would appear to be that theological instruction must wholly consist of dogmatism in the most absolute sense. And our friend in private correspondence did not hesitate to say, "The very genius of a theological school is dogmatic." In the extracts just given he says, the very nature and design of such a school is to teach what our Church holds. Its great end is to teach the Church's interpretation of the word of God; for this it exists, this is the law of its being. The teacher is not the judge of what he should teach—the Church alone is the judge. She dictates what he may or may not teach. Theological Professors are absolutely debarred from teaching anything else. No Professor in the class room or the chapel may oppose any element of the standards. Still, a distinction is drawn between the Professor, as such, and the same Professor as a presbyter in church courts. There is no appreciable difference between the oath of fealty to the standards sworn by the Professor and by the ordained minister, yet it is maintained here that while the Professor at the church court may put forth his energies to bring about emendations of our doctrines, he may not open his lips in the class-room or the chapel on return-

ing from Presbytery, Synod, or Assembly, to explain to the inquiring students anything which they did not comprehend in his utterances there.

The first remark to be submitted touching this statement is, that the position taken is unquestionably right, if the meaning be that the settled doctrines of the Church must not be contravened by the teaching of other and opposite doctrines. This is perfectly manifest and needed no argument at all. A theological school is not endowed and maintained at great expense for the purpose of overturning the creed of the Church that creates it. As evidently, however, that is not the kind of case we are considering. Neither has Dr. Woodrow been *teaching* Evolution; as will appear to all candid minds from the note here appended,¹ nor does the opinion he expressed in his Address contravene any doctrine of Revelation; for, whilst Scripture makes known that God created all, it does not inform us *how* or *of what* he created the body of man. This can easily be made to appear, because it is very questionable what is meant by the word translated *dust* in our English Bible.

But our friend writes, and he spoke, as though he was not addressing Protestants. What he says about teaching what the Church holds and about the Church's dictating what a Professor may or may not teach—these, and other similar expressions, have a disagreeable sound as they fall from his lips. Is it true that we

¹ Note by Editor SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN to a communication from "Presbyter," published May 28, 1885:

"Presbyter has fallen into an error on this point. The truth is that the Perkins Professor never once from January 1st, 1861, to December 10th, 1884, referred to the doctrine of Evolution, even in its limited application, as probably true. He taught for many years before 1880 that even if true it did not contradict or in any way affect the truth of the Scriptures, yet that in his opinion it probably was not true. But as it does not affect the Scriptures it was a matter of indifference to believers in the Bible whether it is true or not. From 1880 to December, 1884, he taught his students nothing whatever on the subject—it was not referred to in the class-room. But he had been diligently studying, and when he came to form an opinion in preparing the Address delivered last year, the numerous additional facts with which he had become acquainted, convinced him that the doctrine as set forth by him is probably true. [Signed] JAMES WOODROW."

ever do thus set up the Church as the authorised interpreter of God's word? With all the devotion to our standards which ministers and theological professors are required to declare, solemnly engaging not to contravene these doctrines directly or indirectly, is it true, nevertheless, that we regard these standards chiefly in the aspect of their coming from *the Church*? Our standards do not so represent themselves. The Confession says (Chap. I.), "The authority of the Holy Scripture for which it ought to be believed and obeyed dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or Church." If we do not get the Scriptures on the Church's testimony, but "our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts," how can we get the interpretation of them on her testimony and not in the same way? Does any theological Professor bind himself not to contravene the standards, because they come to him from *the Church*, or not rather because he perceives that they come out of the Bible? Does he submit to be brought under an obligation laid on him by *the Church* which he did not previously feel with the fulness of his whole mind and heart? If he were that sort of a man, verily he had no fitness for the position.

In like manner the Larger Catechism says (Q. 4), "The Scriptures manifest themselves to be the word of God;" and it does not represent the Church as the source of our instructions in the meaning of the word. It recounts (Q. 63) the privileges of the visible Church, but to interpret for us the word is not one of them. If it were, there would be an end of that most sacred right amongst us Protestants, the right of private judgment concerning the meaning of the word. The Form of Government sets forth (Chap. II., Sec. 3) the sole functions of the Church, but this is not amongst them. There is but one place in all our Church Books which at all squints at representing the Church as the interpreter of Scripture. It is where our Rules of Discipline define "*Offence*," and refer to the standards as accepted expositions of Scripture. But who is it that accepts them in this character? It is "the Presbyterian Church in the United States," that is, it

is all of us who compose that Church, all especially of the ministers and elders of that Church who, when ordained to office, declare their acceptance. Surely there is nothing here answering to our friend's expressions. His way of speaking about "what the Church holds," and "the Church's interpretation of the word," and the Church "dictating" what may be taught, would set forth the Church as no longer a humble inquirer asking to be taught herself and seeking in a docile spirit to learn, on many points, the meaning of the word. Our Father in his good providence raises up from time to time individuals, not only extraordinary but ordinary men as well, who from our Seminaries, or from their pulpits, or through the press, give forth fresh light, whether on new or old points of doctrine, and it is given to these individuals to lead "the Church" out of the doubts and darkness in which sometimes she becomes greatly involved; but our brother's "Church" would seem to be fully capable of always guiding herself as well as all her sons and of sharply correcting them when they presume to teach anything she has not declared! The thing to be done, therefore, by all teachers in her name, not only (it would seem to us) Professors in the Seminaries, but all the ministers she ordains and pledges to teach her doctrines, is not by any means to try to learn what the word says, but what "the Church" has said. "The Bible, the Bible alone (said Chillingworth) is the religion of Protestants;" but our friend says the religion of Southern Presbyterians, which must be taught by the teachers whom their Church accredits amongst us, is what *that Church holds and what she dictates!*

It is hard to discover any force whatever in the representation that the Seminary Professor is the especial object of the Church's dictation as to his teaching. One other eminent speaker at the Greenville Synod insisted that a theological school had a peculiar character in this particular. It was then we heard a Protestant minister assume courage to confront the world's condemnation of the persecution of Galileo. He declared that Galileo got his just deserts for daring to teach what his Church did not dictate to be taught. But on what ground is the Professor to be hampered any more than the preacher? Both are ordained by the Church to teach;

and both make equally solemn pledges not to contravene the system of doctrines which they have accepted; and unfaithfulness on the part of either would be equally criminal and equally hurtful. If the reader will look over page 16 of these Speeches, it may surprise him to observe how elaborate is the demonstration from the nature and design of a theological school that the Professors must not violate their pledges. The point is plain and the argument very simple, namely, that a theological school is not a secular one, and so nothing contrary to sacred truth is admissible. Of course not; this is all quite patent. But what was needed and should have been forthcoming was another sort of elaborate demonstration not at all like what was furnished, *namely*, that the theological school is in nature and design essentially different from the pulpit. The position taken is that the Professor in a Theological Seminary must teach only what the Church has declared, but it is admitted (p. 23) that in the church court the same Professor may "put forth his energies" to have our standards altered. We cannot see the distinction. And the question immediately arises, What of this Professor's rights when he preaches in the pulpit? Is he less free than other ministers? They do not confine themselves strictly to what the Church has distinctly pronounced. They discuss matters of morals and religion that are not settled definitely yet. But if the Professor is free in the pulpit, what is it that makes him any more the Church's bondman in the theological school? Can this new *theory* prevail, which puts the Professor under an espionage and a control the preachers could not and should not submit to? Absolutely intolerable as any such system of dictation and inspection in human hands must needs be, the consolation which fortifies our souls when that species of ghostly tyranny is, in the most remote way suggested, is its *absolute impracticableness*. But surely if the putting on of such strait-jackets as these, would be both an insupportable and an impracticable measure for our preachers, it must be allowed to be the same for the Professors in our church schools. Yet further: a Theological Seminary that could be governed in this intolerant and inquisitorial spirit would needs be the school only of an infallible Church. Did not

the attempt to govern Columbia Seminary upon this very principle lately cost the institution two of the best Professors it ever possessed?

The more this new theory is considered of a theological Professor's being so much more hampered and restricted in his classroom than the preacher in his pulpit, the more it must manifest itself to be a mere unverified hypothesis. The pulpit strives, and rightly strives, to awaken the spirit of inquiry in the congregation; but according to this theory the Professor must strive to repress that in the theological school. And, moreover, whenever the preacher is wise, he will still strive to teach the people knowledge, and every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, like a man which is an householder, will bring forth out of his treasure things new and old. But the Professor in a theological school must carefully eschew every thing new. That the new thing may be true, is to be for him of no consequence. What he may speak about is only the old and the settled. Unsettled questions, however they may agitate the Church and affect the Bible, he must not handle. If topics that rouse the world and deeply move the Church should somehow penetrate the cloistered recesses where his classes hide their eyes from sunlight, and any of the young monastics whom he has to instruct about what the Church has said, should ask him a question touching these unsettled matters, he should by no means satisfy, but discourage and rebuke this speculative disposition. His business is to teach and his scholars' business is to learn what has been settled, and settled by "the Church"! Is not theological instruction to be simply dogmatic? The fathers of the Presbyterian Church were but men and did not grasp the whole scope of Scripture truth, but what they did not know and have not settled no young theologian should be encouraged to meddle with. The theological Professor himself, at the last church court which he attended, may have "put forth some of his energies to secure emendations of the constitutional law," and the rumor of it may somehow have reached the recluses whom he left behind him in the Seminary, and they may be dying, some of them, to know what the Doctor said at Greenville or at Houston; but no, he must not gratify their curi-

osity nor enlighten their minds by wagging in the slightest degree, on any such occasion, that tongue of his, on which the Church imposes silence there. In the General Assembly he may bawl as loudly as he likes out of his presbyterial mouth regarding any unverified hypothesis, but in the Seminary on no such question shall one whisper escape his professorial lips!

It would seem to be certain that this new theory of the nature and end of theological instruction is erroneous. It will not do to insist in this nineteenth century and in this Protestant country that the genius of the theological school is dogmatic. The spirit of earnest but reverential inquiry must not be banished from the academies of our Church. Take, for example, the two unverified hypotheses concerning the millennium, respecting which our Church has not definitely spoken; is it to be endured that any new restrictive theory shall be devised that shall impose silence on our Professors touching either of these? Where our Church has even uttered her voice distinctly (as she has done respecting the marriage of a wife's sister), shall we have the dogma thrust upon us that while the church court and the pulpit are free to discuss the scripturalness or the unscripturalness of that utterance of our Confession, the theological Professor must refuse to give his classes the benefit of what he may know on that question? The idea is preposterous. It is not Protestant. No merely human work is perfect. Our standards are not infallible and our Professors must not teach their students to regard them as infallible, for that is the surest way to make these young inquirers search to find errors in them. The atmosphere of the Theological Seminary will not be wholesome if it is to stifle free inquiry. The great and chief object of theological instruction is, not to teach *our doctrines as such*, but a far higher one, viz., to teach the truth. If Inquiry should enter the Seminary's doors, let her be fearlessly and frankly and kindly entertained. Far from us be the rule that there be only two alternative uses for what is unproved—what the Church has not yet settled for us: the one, to refute it whether true or false, the other to slam our doors in its face and shut it out from the eye of the theological student.

It can never cease to be a subject of regret with many of our

friend's most devoted and warmest admirers that he should have written and spoken as though our standards were "the Church's interpretation of the Scriptures, of the Bible, of God's word" (see pages 15, 16, 17). David tells us "the law is exceeding broad," and our standards do not cover the whole ground of Scripture. There are very many things in the Bible which no Church on earth has yet fully comprehended. Therefore no Church on earth has the right to restrict her people to the investigation simply of what she has declared. It is to be lamented that our friend should have expressed himself as though he could possibly believe that our English version of the Bible, or any other made by men, were invariably correct, and we for one moment bound to pin our faith to any word which it may possibly have translated erroneously. It is in this way that he has involved himself in the dilemma which, upon page 13, he confesses that he is in: "The Church (he says) must yield, has ever yielded, an interpretation of the Bible contradictory to a settled conclusion of science. We still want a principle, a rule of action, which will help us when the actual conflict is upon us. . . . What ought the Church to do in such cases? Shall she give up her Bible—the Bible as she interprets it—for unverified scientific hypotheses which contradict it? That is the great and practical question, the decision of which is big with momentous consequences." Now, there really appears to be no question here at all. There is just one way for the Church in all such cases, *namely*, to wait patiently in the calm, unruffled confidence of faith until science has come to a settled conclusion, knowing that then we should be ready to determine our way out of the difficulty. Alas, alas, why was not that course pursued in the present case? How much of evil had then been forestalled! Our Perkins Professor was set to inquire into the connexion of science with revelation, and to tell us what he found. As an ingenious dreamer of our own day and Church has stated the case, he found that Revelation was an immovable mountain of rock, which no structure of mere human wisdom or science could possibly overturn, even though some of its discoveries might properly demand the revision of some of our translations of God's word into English. Alas for the wild waves of

excitement that rushed over our Church! Why could we not have confidently bid Science, which is Revelation's handmaid, go fearlessly on and finish her investigations, knowing that God's word and works must harmonise when both are understood?

Secondly: *as to the two senses of Scripture, both binding on our conscience.*

Our friend says respecting the minority report to the Synod at Greenville, which he sustained and perhaps produced, that it "does exonerate Dr. Woodrow from the charge of heresy; but it is altogether incorrect to say that it does not represent his teaching as contradictory to the Scriptures. It draws the distinction, already emphasised in these remarks, between the Bible in its highest and absolute sense—the sense which was intended by God, its author—and the Bible as interpreted by our Church. It maintains that this Synod ought not to decide upon the question whether this view of Evolution is contrary to the Bible in the first of these senses, and that it ought to decide upon the question whether it is contrary to the Bible in the second sense. Further, it asks the Synod to decide that it is contrary to the Bible in the latter of these senses" (Speeches, p. 31).

If we apprehend the meaning here, it is that the Bible has two senses: the one that which God its author intended should be given it, the other that which our Church affixes to it in her attempts at its interpretation; and that these two senses (irrespective of their agreeing or not agreeing) are both binding on our conscience; moreover, that, whether the Church's interpretation be true or false, whatever contradicts that interpretation is contradictory to the Scriptures! If we understand the meaning here it is, also, that a doctrine may be contrary to the Scriptures and yet not be heresy!

Our friend urges the binding force of "our Church's interpretation of the Bible and of her prevailing and recognised views." Let us first consider what, in fact, is thus to be fastened on our conscience, and then we shall be ready to examine by what authority such a yoke is to be laid on us.

The Church's interpretation of the Bible, we are told (p. 24), is the standards. These are "the formal and authoritative inter-

pretation of the Scriptures by our Church." The first question is whether the standards are here held to cover the whole ground of Scripture—do they profess to interpret all that is in the Bible, or only the most manifest and needful and therefore to us most important parts? We all accept our Confession, Catechisms, Form, and Rules, "as standard expositions of the teachings of Scripture in relation to both faith and practice," but then it is only faith *as regards salvation*. Surely it will not do to say that our standards teach all on every subject that the Scriptures teach. But this question rises also: will it do for us to claim that the Bible itself teaches all we might like to know about those most important matters, or about any other matters? The Bible tells us God said, "Let there be light," "Let there be a firmament," "Let the earth bring forth," "Let the waters bring forth," and "Let us make man;" but in no one of these cases are we informed *how* God proceeded to effect his creation of all these works of his hand. And the standards say, "It pleased God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the glory of his eternal power, wisdom, and goodness, in the beginning to create, or make of nothing, the world and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days and all very good." But surely nothing is said here or elsewhere in these standards as to the *mode* of the creation, whether it was immediate or only mediate—a "bringing forth" at divine command out of what had been previously created of nothing by his almighty power.

Now it would appear to be insisted on by these Speeches that we are all bound to maintain and uphold "the face meaning of these statements" in our standards (p. 24). Three mortal pages are occupied with a laborious attempt to force this idea upon us. *What the standards mean to teach* is the one string monotonously harped on. And yet, strange to say, in the middle of the argument occur these words: "It does not much matter here whether or not the standards mean by *six days* six literal days of twenty-four hours each." Indeed! So then "the face meaning of the standards" may be abandoned at one point when it is convenient; but if this be done at another point, *the Scriptures will be contradicted!*

But can it be possible that it is really designed to insist that the standards do not teach "creation out of nothing in the first instance only"? "Dr. Woodrow's view that creation out of nothing occurred in absolutely the first instance only, and that the evolution of the earth, of the lower animals, and probably of Adam's body, was by the process of mediate creation" is set forth as inconsistent with the obvious meaning of the standards as to creation. What then? Does our friend really mean to affirm that the Almighty does not create except when he creates immediately and out of nothing? Are we to deny what our Saviour said, that his Father worketh hitherto? Are we to hold that God is not now the Creator of every man that is born into the world? Is it thus we are to understand what our standards interpret the Bible to declare? And does a Professor in the Seminary or a minister in his pulpit violate his vows if he teaches that neither the Bible nor our standards are to be understood as saying that God made all things in those first six days and has been the Creator of nothing since?

In the course of the three pages under examination just now, there is exhibited what must be confessed a somewhat morbid view of the obligations of professors and ministers towards our standards. When Dr. Woodrow was inaugurated he made known to the Synod of Georgia his conviction that the geologic hypothesis of the antiquity of the earth was true, and the Synod allowed him nevertheless to become Professor and inculcate that view. The Synod, it is here maintained, "made a mistake," yet "being fallible" it is graciously admitted "it does not become us to censure them." But "what will the [four] associated Synods do hereafter"? Candidates for ordination will occasionally except to points of doctrine in our standards—what ought Presbyteries to do in such cases? Our friend's reflections have showed him how to solve the difficulty (p. 25): "allow conscientious exceptions, *in points not involving heresy*, so far as the *holding* of them is concerned, but that we cannot allow them so far as the *official, authoritative teaching* of them is concerned. . . One thing leads on to another. If one exception to the standards be allowed in an official teacher, another and another may be. Where shall the line be

drawn? . . . It is the duty of the Synods to avoid the mistake made in the past . . . and to take order against the inculcation of anti-confessional views *in the future.*" Now, did the Synod of Georgia make a mistake in allowing this Professor's exception to the standards? Does our friend admit that he himself ought to be censured, as a minister and a Professor as well, under oath not to teach anything contrary to the standards, when he declared at Greenville and now publishes in these Speeches, that it does not much matter whether the standards mean six literal days or not? "*De minimis non curat lex.*" The minister's pledge when he is ordained is that he "sincerely receives and adopts the Confession of Faith and the Catechisms of this Church as containing *the system of doctrine* taught in the Holy Scriptures." The Professor's pledge is that he subscribes the standards "as a *just summary* of the doctrines contained in the Bible," and engages that he will not teach any doctrine contrary thereto. Surely the Synod of Georgia was right to regard the exception of the Professor as quite consistent with his subscribing the standards as a just summary of Scripture doctrine. Surely it is a morbid view of the whole subject which has taken possession of the mind of our friend. Surely the yoke he constructs for himself and all his brethren is one we never agreed to wear. We never accepted the standards as other than a just summary of Scripture truth. We never have acknowledged our Church infallible or her Confession absolutely beyond the imperfection that belongs to everything human. We cannot consent to put it on the same level with the Bible.

Next to the Church's interpretation of the Bible (that is, her standards) which is held to be binding on our conscience in the minutest particulars, there are her "prevailing and recognised views," which, also, are never to be contravened in the slightest degree. But where are these "prevailing and recognised views" of the Church to be found? Our friend explains (p. 26) it is not "mere popular opinions or sentiments, but the statements of representative theologians and the orthodox belief of God's people in the Presbyterian Church. These views of the Church . . . are in their nature interpretations of the statements of the Bible

and of our standards," and the Church's interpretations thus given are binding on our consciences. Our friend proceeds to tell us (p. 28) who are the representative theologians and other exponents of the orthodox belief of God's people in the Presbyterian Church. "I cite, first, the Faculty of Columbia Seminary. . . . I mention, next, the Board of Directors of Columbia Seminary. . . . I would refer, too, to the religious journals of our Church. Of these there are eight. One of them is Dr. Woodrow's own paper and must therefore be thrown out of the account. Of the other seven only one has advocated Dr. Woodrow's view. Here, then, are six of the old, established journals of the Church, which fail to concur in the hypothesis in question. . . . Is it not to be inferred that they represent the opinion of the great majority of the Church?" (P. 28.) And this is actually the whole of it. The conclusion follows in these words: "No, it cannot be denied that the overwhelming mass of the views of our Church—as also of all evangelical Churches—is opposed to the hypothesis of the Perkins Professor." Upon this showing of what is meant by "the Church's prevailing and recognised views," our friend bases the second main ground of all he has spoken, printed, and done in this business of bringing to pass the expulsion of Dr. Woodrow from the Seminary! The Faculty of the Seminary and the Board of Directors and our Church papers in general (he states) do not agree with Dr. Woodrow—and *we will freely add* (out of kindness to our friend), nearly the whole body of our ministry, so far as we know, and also all our particular communion and perhaps the mass of all the Christian people in the world, are unable to accept the theory of Evolution as to Adam's body—and so that theory being contrary to "the prevailing and recognised views of the Church," it was therefore binding on Dr. Woodrow's conscience not to yield, and still more, not to publish, his adherence to it! Well, then, was not Luther, too, altogether wrong in standing alone as he did against the whole Church in his day?

Before passing to the consideration of the soundness of this position, so earnestly maintained, occasion must be taken to protest against the representation made of the hypothesis of Dr.

Woodrow, which is said to contradict the prevalent opinion of the Church in five particulars. To the first no objection is to be made. The prevailing view is that Adam's body was made of dust inorganic; the opinion of Dr. Woodrow is that it was probably made of organised material, that is, of dust organised into some animal form. The remaining four other statements about Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis constitute a travesty of it much more uncandid than was to be expected from our friend. These bring him down, far nearer than it was supposed he could descend, to the level of the low witticisms about "monkey parentage" and "tadpole theology." Dr. Woodrow's theory does not deny that Adam's body resulted from "a sudden, supernatural, constructive act of God"; it does not assert that Adam's body was born of animal parents; it does not maintain that Adam's body ever was an infant and grew to the stature of a man; it does not set forth that Adam's body preceded for years the formation of Eve's body—these are all so many *caricatures*. They are unfriendly and unfair representations of an opponent's idea, unworthy of an honorable antagonist, not to say of a philosopher and a theologian. They are equal to the gross caricatures of Calvinistic theology once commonly shouted so loud, now seldom heard even from the most ignorant denouncers of it. Dr. Woodrow said, in his published speech before Synod, Adam, as to his body, may have been "a lineal descendant of the higher forms of mammalian life" (p. 46). He has said "there would seem to be no ground for attributing a different origin to man's body from that which should be attributed to animals: if the existing animal species were immediately created, so was man; if they were derived from ancestors unlike themselves, so may man have been" (Address, p. 17). He has said, "Just as there is no scientific basis for the belief that the doctrine of derivation or descent can bridge over the chasms which separate the non-existent from the existent, and the inorganic from the organic, so there is no such basis for the belief that this doctrine can bridge over the chasm which separates the mere animal from the exalted being which is made after the image of God. The mineral differs from the animal in kind, not merely in degree; so the animal differs from man in kind;

and while science has traced numberless transitions from degree to degree, it has utterly failed to find any indications of transition from kind to kind in this sense"¹ (Address, p. 18). This is the kind of language Dr. Woodrow employs. Ridicule is not a test

¹ NOTE.—The following is a just and fair statement which has been given of what Dr. Woodrow holds :

“As to Dr. Woodrow’s position: After twenty-five years of study, not merely in books, but in all the fields of working naturalists, he finds the Creator carrying out in the various species of animals formed by his hand, one or a few ideas, so that all his works of this sort have been along one continuous line, until he comes to make man. One species seems to have been evolved out of another, always by divine power, from the very beginning down to the time when God said, ‘Let us make man.’ The anatomical and physiological resemblances between the various successive grades of animals are such as to suggest the idea of descent with modification. But these differences between the higher and lower ranks of brute creation are much more marked than that between the higher brutes and man. Therefore to the naturalist the considerations which suggest evolution up to man, suggest man’s evolution also.

“Now Dr. Woodrow, being a Christian theologian as well as a naturalist, turns to his Bible to see whether it contradicts this hypothesis of science. He has always been known as a very firm believer in the plenary or verbal inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. He has often declared that if any statement contradicts the word of God, that statement *ipso facto* must be false. But he does not find the Scripture here, or any where else, in contradiction with what science teaches. He supposes that when God tells Adam, ‘Dust thou art,’ Adam being not dust but flesh and blood; and when he says the serpent ‘shall eat dust,’ the serpent not eating that, but flesh and blood, it is clear there must be some defect of translation.

“The word dust, we are compelled to say, does not necessarily mean inorganic dust. It must refer to matter or substance in some other form. Now what that form is Scripture does not enable us to determine. Science, then, being confident that man’s body comes under the law of evolution, and the Holy Bible not deciding of what or how God made him, Dr. Woodrow believes the scientific conclusion may probably be correct, so far as relates to the body of our first father, Adam. He does not hold nor did he ever teach this as a doctrine, but has treated it as a hypothesis which may probably be true. Scripture does not, and therefore he does not contradict it.

“Our Presbyterian Synods have nothing but this to allege against Dr. Woodrow. There is nothing else in his now famous Address. But to many of our most intelligent and otherwise excellent ministers and elders, this, whether true or false, is a hateful idea, and it has led to the expulsion of Dr. Woodrow from the Columbia Seminary.”

of truth. The inferences which an opponent chooses to draw are not to be ascribed to any man or any doctrine.

We have now seen what it is that, if this new theory of the rule of faith prevails, is to be fastened on our conscience. It is not only the word in the sense "which was intended by God its author," but also the same word in the sense affixed to it by "our Church." The word is one, but it has two senses: the one absolute, the other "relative," whatever that may mean; the one the sense God intended us to give it, the other a different sense, the sense our Church thinks proper to put on it. In all cases where these may agree, they are, of course, not two but one; but, according to the supposition, there are cases where they do not agree and so are not one but two. And in all such cases, of course, the sense adopted by the Church is erroneous; it is false; it is heretical; and yet it is to be accepted as binding because "our Church" imposes it! And if any dare to contradict one of these interpretations which "our Church" chooses to affix to the Bible, he will be found guilty of contradicting the Scriptures. And yet, at the same time, one may thus be guilty of setting forth what is contradictory to the Scriptures without being guilty of heresy!

Now, who has given to "our Church" the right to put a different sense on the word from the one which was "intended by God its author"? And when "our Church" has thus invented a sense of her own for God's word which he did not intend it to have, who gave her the right to insert that into her standards and spread it abroad "in her prevailing and recognised views," and then impose it on the conscience of her ministers, whether preachers or professors? In the minutest particulars what "our Church" has expressed in her standards may never be openly questioned by her teachers; nay, it is her right, it is her duty *to dictate* (see p. 19) what they may and may not teach, and they must teach it even when true only in that second sense which the Church invents! But who gave her that authority? Where does her Master call for "our Church's interpretation of the Bible"? (See p. 24.) One perfect and sufficient rule of faith he gave us,

and our Church cannot assume to give us her interpretation of it as constituting a second and different sense of it equally binding with what God its author intended it to have.

But there is one step more: not in her standards only is this second binding sense of the word to be found, but also in our Church's "prevailing and recognised views" as they are set forth by her "representative theologians": the Faculty of Columbia Seminary, "the Board of Directors," and the editors of "six of the old established journals of the Church"! When all these fail to concur in any hypothesis, "is it not to be inferred that they represent the opinion of the great majority of the Church" (p. 28), and is not that decisive that the hypothesis contradicts that second and different sense of the word, as all these, the Church's representative men, have a right to impose it upon us?

There can be no doubt that the two positions herein fairly and candidly reviewed, constitute the foundation on which our friend built his whole superstructure. There can be as little doubt that his deservedly wide-spread influence and exalted character and reputation throughout our whole communion gave these two ideas, which he set forth with all the enthusiasm of his earnest soul, the mighty power they exerted over the four Synods. Neither of them, as we feel very sure, is sound or safe. Our friend, we are bound to believe, has misled the Church. It is not true that the genius of theology in this nineteenth century is hostile to the freest liberty of thought and investigation, but that is what is involved in saying that the spirit of theological seminary instruction is to be "dogmatic." It is not true that the theological professor is to teach what our Church dictates, nor that he is to get his views of truth from her, but always and only from the Bible; nor that he is to teach his classes formally what our Church says, but simply and solely what Scripture sets forth according to his best understanding of it. Nor, on the other hand, is it true, but a very great and a very dreadful error, that there are two senses of the word, the one *God's intended*, the other the *Church's adopted* sense; nor is it true that any and every difference with our Confession is necessarily a difference with Scripture. Nor

is it true that the views of our representative theologians and of the great majority of our Church are in their nature such interpretations of the Bible as must needs prevent a teacher in a theological school from accepting any unverified hypothesis as probably true, which meets with condemnation in those quarters.

It is to be lamented that upon such slight occasion so much disturbance has been excited and such fearful injury done. Here is a Professor appointed twenty-five years ago by our Church to study and to teach the connexion between science and religion. From January 1, 1861, to December 10, 1884, he never once refers to the doctrine of Evolution, even in its limited application, as probably true. For many years before 1880 he teaches that even if true it would not affect the truth of Scripture, but that in his opinion it was probably not true. From 1880 to December, 1884, he teaches nothing on the subject—it is not referred to at all in the class-room. But he has been diligently studying; and when preparing his Address for the Board, the numerous additional facts he has learned convince him that the doctrine, as set forth by him, is probably true, and so he states to the Board. He had never taught it to his classes. But there had long been unfriendly tongues at work against him, and when his Address is published they charge him openly with infidelity. And this preposterous calumny sets the whole Church aflame. Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth! What a petty cause for all this excitement and disturbance that the Perkins Professor after twenty-five years should say, not to his classes but the Directors, that a certain scientific hypothesis he believes was probably true! What a pity that upon such a slight occasion the good name—the precious reputation of a brother minister—should be so cruelly assailed and his guaranteed rights be so unnecessarily and unfairly denied him; and then he be so ignominiously ejected from an institution he had so well served and so long adorned. How much to be regretted the effects upon the Seminary—two most valuable, young, enthusiastic, vigorous, accomplished, progressive Professors lost to the Seminary; a part of its oldest and best friends grieved and alienated; and such a shock given to its life as it never before encountered. And then such a stain

upon the honor of our Church—boasting so long and loudly of her peculiar devotion to law and order, and then led to trample both so ruthlessly under her feet. And all this for what? For the mere expression of the opinion that a certain hypothesis of science is probably true, which, if proved to be true, cannot in the slightest degree affect the authority of Scripture. For be it remembered the most zealous, earnest, and efficient opponent of it asserts roundly (p. 31) that he exonerates the deposed Professor from the charge of heresy. All he has to say against him is, that while not contradicting Scripture, understood as God intended it should be, he yet did contradict another interpretation of Scripture invented by “our Church” !!

There was another very effective utterance before the Greenville Synod, based, as we conceive, by its eloquent author upon a misconception. It was represented to the Synod, and no doubt operated strongly on many minds, that the idea of Adam’s body being constructed by the Creator’s plastic hand out of some other organism was derogatory to the honor of our Saviour. The speaker expressed his horror of the thought of the human frame worn by our blessed Lord being in any manner or form identified, however remotely, with any of the lower orders of creation. He could not consent to have such a dreadful humiliation put, and that in our theological school itself, upon our adorable Redeemer. Such an outrageous insult to our Master deserved the strongest reprehension by this ecclesiastical assembly.

Of course it is not intended to signify that this very effective utterance was in these words or like words—all that is attempted is to set forth the substance of what was so impressively delivered with so little basis for its support.

Now it has always been understood, we suppose, that the essence of the humiliation of our Lord was in his being made or counted and treated as a sinner. He had laid on him the iniquities of us all. He was in this way carried down into the deepest possible depths. It was not his assuming our nature and wearing our flesh, but taking our place as sinners, that chiefly

constituted the degradation to which he submitted. So that if it should ever be satisfactorily proved that the first Adam really did wear a body that was made out of some organism of animal life, that fact, so demonstrated, would not add in the slightest degree to our sense of the depth of the humiliation of the *second Adam*.

But it is given to the eloquent tongue to confer power and influence upon thought by the very dress in which it clothes it.

Our adorable Redeemer, who was also our Maker, did not humiliate himself in creating all the various other forms of animal life as well as ours. Who would pretend to say this? But is it not a preposterous idea that for him to make man out of dust or clay was to confer honor upon the human creature, but that to make man out of the frame and flesh of some previously existing animal, which his divine hand had created, was to put shame on his last work? Yet is it not a far more preposterous notion that he, the glorious Redeemer, will be much more degraded and humiliated as our representative and substitute, if it shall ever come to be demonstrated by science that the human nature of which he partakes with us inherits its blood and bones from an animal? Let us not pride ourselves on our mere *humanity*. We are sinners, and the brutes all of them innocent of any transgression of God's law. In that respect we are beneath them.

It is not held to be a degradation of our nature that God has ordained our feeding on the flesh of beasts. From our earliest childhood we are nurtured on fish, flesh, and fowl. The full grown hearty man is, in a very just and true sense, just a well-fattened animal so far as his body is concerned. Nor did our blessed Lord, we may well suppose, refuse to sustain his mortal frame with the flesh of animals. Certainly he ate of the Paschal lamb; and who shall say that the flesh of that animal did not in any way contribute to form the very blood that he shed for our redemption? Even after the resurrection, when he appeared to his disciples in his glorified body, did he not partake of a broiled fish?

But even in his glorified estate our Lord does not refuse to be represented "as a lamb as it had been slain," nor does he object to

fill a throne in the midst of four and twenty elders and four beasts. "And these beasts rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. And when those beasts give glory and honor and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created."

Now, if our friends shall choose to say that this word *beasts* is an incorrect translation, let them cease to find fault with the suggestion that our English word *dust* may also fail to present the real idea of the original.

JNO. B. ADGER.

ARTICLE II.

THE FOUNDER OF CONGREGATIONALISM.

There are three kinds of departure from a previous ecclesiastical connexion which have resulted in the formation of as many great Protestant denominations. The first was made upon the ground of a variation in regard to church doctrine. The second relates to dissenting views concerning church usages. The third has for its basis of proceeding a diametrically opposite opinion upon the subject of church government. The Reformed, comprising all branches of Protestantism, separated from the Papacy, mainly because it had corrupted the truth pertaining to the gospel mode of the restoration of fallen man to the favor of his Creator. The Methodists went out from the Established Church of England, because they disapproved of its external forms of worship and the social life of its clergy. The Congregationalists find no bond of sympathy, either with Episcopalians or Presbyterians, upon the question of ecclesiastical polity.

The distinctiveness of the Congregational body of Christians upon the ground of their peculiar view of church government, stands out so prominently in connexion with them that their name instantly suggests their rejection of the supervision of Bishops and Synods, as that of the Baptists instantly reminds one of the rejection by them of infant baptism and baptism by sprinkling. And this same prominent distinctiveness appears to exclude the remembrance of a name which, as that of a founder or organiser, is a household word upon the lips of the members of the denomination on which he left for ever the impress of his character, his genius, and his consecration. The names of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Knox, and others, are synonymous with the word Reformed. Those of the Wesleys and of Whitefield, with the word Methodism. Has the term Congregationalism no name synonymous with it? Let these pages be devoted to the honor of a name which scarcely raises an emotion among the great body of the American Congregationalists, while the word Mayflower ceases not to thrill their hearts to the very core whenever they

hear it pronounced. Still, but for the connexion which the God of wonderful providence establishes in the crises of the world's history between persons and things, the ship which bore such a poetic name would not have been immortalised if a man, whose plain name has passed into oblivion in the very place where he did his grand life-work, and where his ashes await the resurrection, had not lived and labored for the cause of his Redeemer and the welfare of his fellow-men.

The uneasiness which some persons in England felt under a rigid church government and a distracting ritual, and the spirit of protest which was awakened thereby in the more determined of these, were manifest already during the reign of the Catholic Mary. In 1580, the year of the accession of her sister Elizabeth, Robert Brown, the chaplain of the Duke of Northumberland, gathered these dissentients into a congregation which was located in Norwich. This act provoked the opposition of the government, whose two strong arms of ecclesiastical and of civil power were stretched out to crush the offenders. Fleeing from the persecution that followed, the Brownists fled to that hospitable asylum for all fugitives for religion's sake—the Netherlands. Poor, indeed, were the returns which their gracious inhabitants received for their kindness. Scorn and derision were heaped upon them. Nathaniel Morton, the editor of some documents bearing upon the history of Plymouth Colony, has collected a few examples of this. Bishop Hall wrote: "Amsterdam is a common harbor of all opinions and all heresies." Owen Feltham said, "All strange religions flock thither." Johnson penned this: "Ye Dutch, come out of your hodge-podge; the great mingle-mangle of a religion among you hath caused the Churches of Christ to increase so little with you, standing at a stay like corn among weeds." Beaumont and Fletcher's schoolmaster, in "The fair maid of the inn," exclaims, "I would fain confer with you, sir, about erecting four new sects of religion at Amsterdam." Andrew Marvell composed this parody:

"Sure, when religion did itself embark,
And from the east would westward steer its bark,
It stuck; and, splitting on this unknown ground,

Each one then pillaged the first piece he found.
Hence Amsterdam Turk, Christian, Pagan, Jew,
Staple of sects and mint of schisms grew;
That bank of conscience, where not one strange
Opinion, but finds credit and exchange.
In vain for Catholics ourselves we bear;
The universal Church is only there."

Brown fled with his adherents to Zeeland. The church which he established there was disbanded after nine years, when its leader abandoned it, returned to England, and was reconciled to the Established Church. Homius, quoted by N. C. Kist in the "Archiefs," said of him, "Hic anno 1580 vexillum separationis erexit, ecclesia quadam Middelburgi Zelandiae constituta, quae, mox intestinis dissentionibus collisa, periit. Ipse Brownius in Angliam reversus, errores suos revocavit. De eo inter alia referunt, quod, cum frequenter uxorem suam pulsaret, reprehensus propterea responderit: se non verberare eam ut uxorem suam, verum ut nefariam et maledictam vetulam." From this account it appears that both in the family and in the church of Brown there was a total lack of love and concord. Robinson ascribes his return to England and his reconciliation to the Episcopal Church, to his having been forsaken of the Lord whom he himself had left. The vacillation of Brown, however, did not put an end to the schism in England. He was succeeded by other prominent men among these dissenters. A leader, named Barrow, next gave his name to the sect. He and others fell victims to a persecution which began on April 6, 1592, and raged with such violence that a great number fled to Amsterdam to escape certain death. Among the fugitives were Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth. A statement, which they who fled to the Netherlands for their opinions drew up, was published in 1594. It bore the title, "A Confession of Faith of certain English people, living in exile in the Low Countries." It was reprinted ten years later.

In 1602 these particular disaffected toward the Established Church appeared to have reached a state of organisation. If they cherished any hope of support from the royal son of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, by whose sceptre England, Scotland, and

Ireland were to be ruled together for the first time in history, they were destined to a grievous disappointment. James I. was in religious matters an oscillating, untrustworthy monarch. Thirteen years before his entrance into England as the sovereign of the three nations, he had said in Edinburgh: "I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be king of the sincerest kirk in the world. As for our neighbor kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings." During his progress to London in 1603, the Dutch and the French Reformed, the English Episcopalians, and the Scotch Puritans addressed him either by personal delegates or by written petitions.

In the following year a conference was held. The democratic tendency of the Presbyterial form of church government alarmed the king. "No bishop, no king," he exclaimed. What then could be expected by a people who claimed that each distinct congregation must be autocratic? The king decided in favor of the English State Church. Notwithstanding this discouragement the dissenters, by some styled Brownists, or Barrowists, who lived in the shires of Nottingham, Lincoln, and York, formed themselves in 1606 into two churches. In one of these was John Smith, who with a number of followers fled to Amsterdam, in 1607 to escape from the persecutions of the English government. In the other church were John Robinson and William Brewster, two men who were yet to be united in a relation involving the most important issues bearing upon the interests of politics and religion pertaining to a powerful Western nation. Robinson was born in 1576. Singularly enough, the place of his birth is unknown. In his seventeenth year he entered Emanuel College, Cambridge. His literary works and his reputation for learning indicate that in this time-honored institution he diligently improved his opportunities and laid the foundations of his future scholarship. In 1600 he took the degree of A. M., and seven years later that of B. D. After he had received orders he received a benefice near Yarmouth in Norfolk. It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty when he began to yield to the influence of the dissenters and be-

came a sharer in their opinions. He never joined them in their wholesale condemnation of the Church of England. He was not in sympathy with the sentiment that that Church is anti-Christian. He felt in entire accord with that Church, except in respect to its government; but it is true that in this exception he went beyond the Brownists, in that he developed still more closely than they were disposed to do, the idea of the self-governing power of each separate congregation, as independent of the hierarchical aristocracy of the English Church as of the Synods, Sessions, and Consistories of the Presbyterian and the Reformed Churches. A statement in his "Treatise of the lawfulness of hearing the ministers in the Church of England," printed in 1634, sheds some light upon his motive in separating from the English Church. "For myself," he says, "thus I believe with my heart before God, and profess with my tongue, and have before the world, that I have one and the same faith, hope, spirit, baptism, and Lord which I had in the Church of England, and none other; that I esteem so many in that Church, of what state or order soever as are truly partakers of that faith (as I count many thousands to be) for my Christian brethren, and myself a fellow-member with them of that one mystical body of Christ, scattered far and wide, throughout the world; that I have always in spirit and affection all Christian fellowship and communion with them, and am most ready in all outward actions and exercises of religion, lawful and lawfully done, to express the same; and withal, that I am persuaded the hearing of the word of God there preached in the manner and upon the grounds formerly mentioned, both lawful, and upon occasions necessary for me and all true Christians, withdrawing from that hierarchical order of church government and ministry, and the appurtenances thereof, and uniting in the order and ordinances instituted by Christ, the only King and Lord of his Church, and by all his disciples to be observed; and lastly, that I cannot communicate with or submit unto the said church order and ordinances there established, either in state or act, without being condemned of mine own heart, and therein provoking God who is greater than my heart, to condemn me much more." In sharp and unpleasant contrast

with this statement is the explanation which Bishop Hall gives of the motive that impelled John Robinson to sever his connexion with the Established Church. "Neither doubt we to say," he remarks in his *Apology against Brownists*, "that the Mastership of the hospital at Norwich, or a lease from that city (sued for with repulse) might have procured that this separation from the communion, government, and worship of the Church of England, should not have been made by John Robinson." So easy it is to ascribe to a revengeful spite an act which is rooted in a truly religious conviction. Surely it was possible for Robinson to dissent, in such a spirit of profound conscientiousness, from the constitution of the English State Church, and to disapprove of what he regarded as its stinted prayers and its practice to grant an indiscriminate admission to the privileges of the Lord's table.

Following the example of their predecessors, Robinson and his adherents sought among the Dutch a refuge from the pressure brought to bear upon them by the combined civil and ecclesiastical powers of the British government. But they could not enter even upon their voluntary exile without great difficulty. Their embarkation was hindered. Many were arrested as they were about to take ship, and thrust into jails. During the years 1607-8, however, Robinson and a considerable number of those who shared in his opinions, succeeded in reaching the Netherlands and settled in Amsterdam. At that time the United Provinces were at the height of their prosperity. The tremendous war with Spain for civil and religious liberty, seemed to have added to the stability, the renown, and the importance of that wonderful little commonwealth. The poor exiles were instantly impressed with a sense of the power of the States. Amidst the wealth of the great merchant city which had succeeded to the commercial glory of Tyre, Alexandria, Venice, and Antwerp, their own poverty appeared all the more striking.

If they had expected to make an alliance with their countrymen who preceded them, they were disappointed in this respect also. There was a want of harmony between the congregations of Johnson and Smith. The frequent quarrels between them were not inviting. Moreover, the singular views of Smith on

the subject of baptism rendered the junction of Robinson's church to that of the former an impossibility. Smith had become a convert to the opinions of the Baptists, who then were becoming numerous in the Netherlands, concerning the rite of initiation into the Christian Church. He went to the extent of performing the ordinance, a second time, upon himself; for which reason he was called a se-baptist.

The exiles determined to remove from Amsterdam to Leyden, a city of South Holland, situated at a distance of twenty-two miles. What decided the choice of that place? Was it the grand historic association of its cruel siege, its courageous, self-sacrificing defence, and its wonderful providential deliverance? Did the learned Robinson feel attracted by the splendid University founded by the great Prince of Orange? It is certain that through this choice the already glorious city had another honor conferred upon it in that its name was thus put in the way of becoming for ever *nomen clarum et venerabile* to the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers.

The change of residence was effected in the spring of 1609. The following entry occurs in the records of the Judiciary of the city of Leyden for that year :

"To the noble Lords, the Lords Burgomasters and Judiciary of the city of Leyden :

Jan Robarthse, a minister of the divine word, born in the kingdom of Great Britain, and a few persons of the congregation of the Christian Reformed Religion, about one hundred in number, men and women, inform you with all proper respect and submission, that they propose at a near day, about the first of ensuing May, to locate in this city, and, in the liberty which it offers, to labor for their support in different kinds of manufacture, without in the least troubling any one. Hence we, the petitioners, look toward your honors, urgently praying that you would be pleased to grant them a free and generous consent to do as has been stated. If you grant this," etc.

To this record was subjoined the resolution by which the solicited permission was given :

"Those of the Judiciary who acted upon the request declare that they do not refuse a free and generous entrance to honest persons, so that they may come and locate in this city, provided they behave honorably and sub-

mit to all statutes and ordinances here in force. Accordingly, the arrival of the petitioners in this place will be agreeable to them.

"Done at their meeting in the Townhall, on February 12, 1609. Hereunder is affixed my signature, I myself being present.

J. VAN HOUT."

Kist, who obtained a copy of the original from the records, suggests that the form of the name *Robarthse* is owing either to the inability of the clerk to reproduce phonetically the English name, or to the carelessness of the transcriber of the minutes into the record book.

Upon their arrival in Leyden the exiles applied themselves immediately to the work by means of which they sought to secure for themselves and their families an honorable support. Those of their number who were weavers set up their looms. Bradford found employment with a Frenchman, a dyer of silk. Brewster, who had been elected an elder of the congregation, a man of letters, gave instruction in the English language to the students of the University. Afterward he was a book publisher. It is said that the University library does not contain any volumes issued by him. It is of interest to note that the first library carried to Plymouth colony was his. It consisted of 275 volumes. Of these 65 were in the ancient languages. Brewster's store in Leyden was in the "*Choorsteeg*." In their business relations with the inhabitants of Leyden, the exiles seem to have gained the confidence of the entire community, so that their word was regarded as good as their bond. The integrity they manifested in the daily walks of life was an abiding witness to the vitality of their faith and the genuineness of their professions.

The congregation of one hundred persons which sought permission to locate in Leyden, soon grew to 300 souls by means of constant accessions from England. It was spoken of as the English congregation near "*Het Klokhuis*." The magistrates did not assign to it a special building for purposes of worship. The meetings were held in the commodious residence of John Robinson, the pastor, the site of which cannot now be determined. It was situated either in the present "*Kloksteeg*," or in the neighborhood of St. Peter's cemetery, near the bell tower which was torn down in 1745.

Another English church in the city was that of the Presbyterians. When Robinson came to Leyden in 1609, the pastor of the Presbyterian church was Robert Durie. His name occurs, under date April 27, 1610, in the *Album Civium Academicorum*, in which it was customary to enroll the names of persons of his position: "*Robertus Duræus, Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ Minister, Annorum 55.*" The magistrates allowed this congregation the use of the church of the Hospital of St. Catherine during certain specified hours of the day. The pastor's salary was paid out of the city treasury. He died in 1617, and was succeeded by Hugo Goudgier. Five years later the congregation had the grant of the chapel of the Jerusalem House on the "*Cellebroer's Gracht.*" As the church increased in numbers and required a more commodious edifice, the city government assigned to it the church of the Beguins, which formerly had been occupied successively as a lecture-room of the University, as a place of worship of the French church, and as a fencing-school. This was probably the building about which Mrs. Adams wrote from Leyden on September 12, 1786, and in regard to which, thinking it was the scene of Robinson's ministerial labors, she remarked upon the strength of the emotions excited within her mind as she entered the building. It is not known how long the ministry of Goudgier lasted. He was followed by William Mitchel, who died in 1807 at the advanced age of eighty-one years. During this long pastorate the congregation experienced both the height of its prosperity and the beginning of its decline. Hence already in 1761 the magistrates had adopted a resolution that upon the death of the pastor the congregation should be disbanded. When the decease occurred, the edifice which had been occupied by the congregation was turned into an anatomical cabinet, and the University library was placed in it. The records of this Presbyterian church are lost, with the exception of the last volume, which begins with the ministry of the Rev. William Mitchel, and is preserved among the city archives.

From the before mentioned *Album* we learn that Robinson's enrolment in it occurred on September 15, 1615. It was in this form: "*Johannes Robintsonus, Anglus. Annorum XXXIX.*"

Studiosus Theologicæ. Alit familiam. Consulum permissu.” The difference between this form and that in the case of Robert Dury is apparent. In respect to the former, it was intended to set forth the following: First, Robinson was not yet recognised as a regularly ordained minister; hence the substitution of the words “Student of theology” for the phrase “Dispenser of the Divine Word.” Secondly, he had at that time a family to support. This consisted probably of his wife, and his son Isaac, who became a citizen of Plymouth and lived to a very advanced age. Thirdly, his enrolment was according to a special resolution of the Faculty; hence the statement, “by their consent,” instead of the customary note, “*honoris causa.*”

Besides the care of his church, in which he so magnified his office as to secure for himself the utmost respect of his townsmen and the strongest attachment of his parishioners, Robinson also occupied himself with literary labors. These, however, were not diverse from the great cause to which he had consecrated his life. He composed several volumes. His first work bears date 1610. It bore the title: “Justification of separation from the Church of England; against Mr. Richard Bernard, his invective, instituted the Separatists’ Scheme.” This was followed, in 1614, by a treatise on “Religious Communion, private and public. With the silencing of the clamors raised by Mr. Thomas Helwisse against our retaining the baptism received in England, and administering of baptism unto infants. And also a survey of the Confession of Faith published in certain conclusions by the remainders of Mr. Smith’s Company.” In 1619 appeared his “Just and needful defence of those Christians who reproachfully and commonly are called Brownists and Barrowists.” This work was translated from the Latin into English, in 1644. The year of its publication in Latin was that of the close of the great Synod of Dortrecht, which began its sessions in November, 1618. Robinson was by no means indifferent to the struggle between Calvinism and Arminianism. Already in 1612 he had taken such interest in the questions at issue between the opposing theologians of the University that he attended the lectures of the representative professors of each party. He was alternately among the hearers of

Episcopius and Polyander. Thus he acquired a thorough knowledge and a clear understanding of the doctrinal differences between them. He was even requested by Polyander and Festus Hommius to argue with Episcopius in support of the faith of the Reformed. He consented and acquitted himself so well that he won golden opinions for himself. The strength of his convictions in regard to the soundness of the Synod of Dordrecht on the important doctrinal questions before it was indicated by the fact that five years after the adjournment of that body he issued a volume in "defence of the doctrines propounded by it." The book was directed against John Murton and his associates, and contained also "a refutation of their answer to a writing touching baptism." It was given to the public a year before the author's death.

A second crisis in the history of the exiles was at hand. Leyden was to be their continuous abode no more than Amsterdam had been. After a residence of eleven years in the former city, one-third of the church founded there abandoned this temporary home for the wilds of North America, and exchanged the name exiles for that of pilgrims, a name by which that little company shall be known as long as the earth endures and history delights in recording the great deeds of men.

As in the case of their removal, in the first place, from England and their separation from the Established Church, so their desire at this time to locate elsewhere was variously construed. Some ascribed the wish to leave the refuge that had been found in the Netherlands to restlessness and a love of notoriety; others to the fears that assailed them lest the country should again be smitten during the war with the mighty Spanish empire that was about to be resumed, with the unspeakable horrors that had marked the earlier stage of that stupendous conflict. The armistice which had been concluded for a period of twelve years was to expire in 1621, and the dogs of war were again to be let loose upon the doomed land. We may well listen to two prominent pilgrims who did not leave the world in ignorance in regard to the motives by which they were impelled. Bradford mentions the solicitude that was felt by some lest their church should be

extinguished in a short time, because, owing to the hard experience of the exiles—why a hard experience he does not say—there were no more accessions from England, and many returned from Holland to their native land. He speaks of the great temptations that lay in the path of the young, which would not exist in a far-off unsettled country. He alludes also to the longing of many to found the kingdom of Christ in the parts of the world where the beneficent sun of the gospel was not sending forth its warm and cheerful light. The youths of the congregation seem to have been objects of anxious solicitude, for Winslow says that their parents desired to be in a situation in which they could educate their children according to their own notions. He deploras also the decay of respect for the Sabbath that began to appear in Holland, and to the offence this gave to Robinson and his followers.

A removal to the new world was not contemplated without great trepidation. It was positively opposed by many on account of the great danger attending a sea voyage, the hardships that must necessarily accompany a settlement in an uncivilised region, the cruelty of its savage inhabitants, and, even though these several evils should be braved, the enormous expense of such an undertaking.

The opposition was not suffered to prevail. The choice of a location for settlement on the vast American continent was determined with reference to climate and political considerations. Guienne was rejected on account of the heat and the vicinity of the Spaniards. The climate of Virginia, indeed, was more temperate, but in that country the persecutions of the English government were to be feared. The pilgrims, however, desired to retain the name and the language of Englishmen. Hence, though they inclined toward a part of the continent which hitherto had not been trodden by the feet of Europeans, they wished to settle, if possible, under the royal seal of England. An application to this effect was made. Robert Cushman and John Carver were sent to England. Robinson and Elder Brewster sent a letter, under date December 15, 1617, to Sir Edwin Sandis, one of the chief secretaries of King James, and a man very friendly to their

cause. It was composed by the pastor. "We verily believe," he wrote, "and trust the Lord is with us; unto whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials; and that he will graciously prosper our endeavors according to the simplicity of our hands therein. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country and inured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet in great part we have by patience overcome." What the nature was of the "hardness of the land," which was not wholly overcome even by patience, Sir Sandis was left to infer; but it possibly was a matter of surprise to him that so many persons from all parts of Europe rushed toward that "hard land" in search of a hospitality so kind and generous as to provoke the sneers and the sarcasms, some examples of which have been quoted. Robinson's experience in the Netherlands must have been very trying indeed, since, in the same letter to Sir Sandis, he wrote: "It is not with us as with other men whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again."

The application to the government was unsuccessful. Efforts were then made to secure a patent from the Virginia Company, which had been formed in 1606, and by its council of thirteen members controlled the part of the Atlantic coast of America lying between 38° and 45° north latitude. It was secured in 1619, having been taken out in the name of John Wincob. The pilgrims were urged to speed in acting upon it. While the matter was under consideration, Robinson preached a sermon from I Sam. xxiii. 3, 4: "And David's men said unto him, Behold, we be afraid here in Judah: how much more then if we come to Keilah against the armies of the Philistines. Then David inquired of the Lord yet again. And the Lord answered him and said, Arise, go down to Keilah, for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand." As it constantly became more evident that all could not go to America, it was decided that the pastor should stay with the majority and Elder Brewster with the minority. It was ascertained that the latter was the proportion of the company at Leyden disposed to take the hazardous step. This must have been a disappointment to Robinson, since it was his earnest de-

sire to join the colonists. It was resolved that the party which was to depart should be regarded as constituting in itself a regularly organised church, and that individuals might be transferred from it to the church remaining in Leyden, and *vice versa*, without letters of dismissal.

The patent from the Virginia Company was abandoned. In the next year a separate patent, covering territory still farther north, and to be called New England, had been obtained from the Crown by a number of prominent men. Decided steps for the removal were now taken. Two vessels were purchased—one in Holland, of sixty tons burden, and another in London, of three times that capacity. A day of fasting was observed. Robinson preached a lengthy sermon from Ezra viii. 21: "Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance." In that discourse he charged his hearers, "before God and his blessed angels," that they should "follow him no further than he followed Christ, and if God should reveal anything to them by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever they were to receive anything by his ministry, for he was very confident he had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word." Many prayers followed the delivery of this sermon, and there was much weeping.

It was purposed to embark at Delft Haven and to proceed to Southhampton, where the larger vessel lay. In the evening preceding the embarkation, the pilgrims were feasted at the large house of the pastor. As several of them were "expert in music," there was a great deal of singing. A number of their friends from Amsterdam joined in the leave-taking. Just before the voyagers went on board, the pastor solemnly commended them to God. While the smoke of a parting volley of small shot and of three pieces of ordnance was still floating on the air, the vessel was loosed from its moorings and set out to join its consort. It carried two letters from Robinson. One of these was for John Carver. It expressed the confidence which was reposed in him by the writer and by the whole church. It was the last which

he ever received from the hand of his beloved pastor, for he died shortly afterwards, in April, 1621. The other letter was addressed to the entire company of the pilgrims. It is the kind of communication which a loving and a judicious minister would under such circumstances make to his flock. He assured them of his best affections, and declared that, having "his better part with them, he was only held back by strong necessity from going with them." The counsel he gave them evinces his spiritual wisdom and his knowledge of human nature. He exhorted them to "more narrow search and careful reformation of their ways" in the sight of God; also that they must diligently provide for peace with all men, watching that they do not give nor easily take offence. "In my own experience," he wrote, "few or none have been found which sooner give offence than such as easily take it." Under this head he charged them to beware lest they took "offence against God himself by murmuring at his providence, or bearing impatiently such afflictions as he pleases to impose." He advised them "in their common employments to join common affections, truly bent upon the general good." He warned them not to "allow the house of God to be shaken with unnecessary novelties." Finally he urged them to let their "wisdom and godliness appear in choosing for civil governors such persons as entirely love and will diligently promote the common good, not being like the foolish multitude who more honor the gay coat than either the virtuous mind of the man or glorious ordinance of God."

The pilgrims sailed in their two vessels from Southampton on August 5, 1620. The smaller vessel being found unseaworthy, they speedily returned, putting in at Dartmouth. From that place they made a second start, with the same result, and landing at Plymouth. The third departure was in the larger vessel alone, on September 16. It was the *Mayflower*. It sheltered, exclusive of the crew, one hundred persons, the exact number which landed on the American coast, though not the identical number, since on the passage across one of the pilgrims died, and an infant was born. The weather was very boisterous, but the God of the storm protected the vessel and guided those whom it carried toward the great mission he had in reserve for them. On

November 9 Cape Cod was sighted. Abandoning the idea, which at one time had been entertained, of settling in the vicinity of the Hudson, the voyagers brought their ship to an anchorage, two days later, in the waters shielded by the cape. The temptation to quote the eloquent words of Edward Everett, is too great to be resisted. They were spoken at Barnstable, nearly half a century ago:

"Let us go in imagination to yonder hill and look out upon the November scene. That single dark speck, just discernible through the perspective glass, on the waste of waters, is the fated vessel. The storm moans through her tattered canvass, as she creeps, almost sinking, to her anchorage in Provincetown harbor; and there she lies with all her treasures (not of silver and gold, for of these she has none), but of courage, of patience, of zeal, of high spiritual daring. So often as I dwell in imagination on this scene; when I consider the condition of the *Mayflower*, utterly incapable as she was of living through another gale; when I survey the terrible front presented by our coast to the navigator, who, unacquainted with its channels and roadsteads, should approach it in the stormy season; I dare not call it a mere piece of good fortune that the general north and south wall of the shore of New England should be broken by this extraordinary projection of the cape running out into the ocean a hundred miles, as if on purpose to receive and encircle the precious vessel.

"As I now see her, freighted with the destinies of a continent, barely escaped from the perils of the deep, approaching the shore precisely where the broad sweep of this most remarkable headland presents almost the only point at which for hundreds of miles she could with any ease have made a harbor, and thus perhaps the very best on the seaboard, I feel my spirit raised above the sphere of mere natural agencies. I see the mountains of New England rising from their rocky thrones. They rush forward into the ocean, settling down as they advance; and there they range themselves a mighty bulwark around the heaven-directed vessel. Yes, the everlasting God stretches out the arm of his mercy and his power in substantial manifestation, and gathers the meek company of his worshippers as in the hollow of his hand."

It is hardly possible to imagine the degree of solicitude with which the faithful and affectionate pastor must have watched the fate of the flock which had gone across the wide waste of water to seek homes, and to establish the Church of Christ, in the wild and savage regions of a continent only partially known. With what anxiety must he have awaited tidings from them. How deeply he must have sympathised with them when the intelligence

reached him of the deaths of those who, during the first trying winter, fell victims to the hardship and the exposure incidental to their perilous enterprise. With what gladness he must have availed himself of the opportunities of communicating with them. Still, though his heart seems to have been in the western hemisphere, he continued to minister to the part of the congregation which remained in Leyden with all the zeal and devotion of his earlier days. To this period probably belongs the composition of the "Essays or Observations, divine and moral, collected out of Holy Scripture; ancient and modern writers; as also out of the great volume of men's manners; tending to the furtherance of knowledge and virtue." The manuscript of this work was found among the papers of its author after his death, and printed.

The end of Robinson's earthly career was at hand. His last illness began on Saturday, February 22, 1625. On the Sabbath following he preached twice. During the week his weakness increased, although he did not suffer any pain. He seems to have experienced an inward ague, which caused the fear in the minds of some that he had been smitten with the plague. The medicines that were administered appeared to affect his system as desired. Still they did not arrest the decline of his vital powers. In the full use, to the last, of his mental faculties, he expired on the first of March. "It hath pleased the Lord," Roger White wrote, under date April 28, 1625, to Governor Bradford, "to take out of this vale of tears your and our loving and faithful pastor, and my dear and reverend brother, John Robinson. . . . If either prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. But he, having faithfully finished his course and performed his work which the Lord had appointed him here to perform, now rests with the Lord in eternal happiness." His last words have not been recorded. As he retained his consciousness until the moment of his departure, his utterances doubtless swelled the amount of the testimony to a triumphant faith and hope, with which some of God's people, in all ages and countries, have been able in the extreme hour to glorify God their Redeemer.

The funeral took place three days later. As Robinson had been held in great esteem, both by the city of Leyden and its

University, his death was mourned as a public loss, and his body was followed to the grave by the magistrates, the pastors, the professors and students, and the most prominent citizens. In the record of burials, which is kept in the Townhall of Leyden, occurs the following entry: "March 4, 1625. Jan Roellenss, minister of the English congregation near the belfry." This is another example of the corruption of the pastor's name. The Leydeners probably called him Roebens. The entry clerk carelessly gave the b the form of l, and also duplicated that letter. The terminal s stands in Dutch for the syllable "son," sometimes z, (zoon). The disparity between Robinson's name and that in the record is thus easily accounted for. It is most surprising, and greatly to be regretted, that the site of Robinson's grave has been forgotten. Prince says: "When I was in Leyden in 1714, the most ancient people from their parents told me that the city had such value for them (the Independents) as to let them have one of their churches, in the chancel whereof he lies buried, which the English still enjoy." It has been thought by some that this church is Saint Peter's. In 1848, however, Kist searched there in vain for a tombstone inscribed with Robinson's name in any form. Surely, the places that knew us once, know us again no more for ever.

Testimony to the nobility of Robinson's character and the excellence of his attainments is by no means wanting. The letters from his pen which have been preserved, also contribute their witness. Extracts from some of these letters have already been given. An epistle, dated December 19, 1623, sent to Plymouth, contains a sentence which speaks volumes upon the topic of the sanctified kindness of Robinson's disposition. He had been informed that Standish, the military commander at Weymouth, had killed a number of Indians. "Consider," Robinson wrote, "the disposition of your captain who was of a warm temper. . . . O! happy a thing had it been that you had converted some before you killed any." The statements of his contemporaries leave nothing to be inferred, but on the contrary are very direct, concerning the charms of character, splendor of abilities, extensiveness of attainments, purity of conduct, faithfulness to duty,

and consecration to his divine Master, by which he inspired with esteem for himself all with whom he came in contact, and won for himself the admiration and the affection of his parishioners. R. Bailey said of him in 1645, "He was a man of excellent qualities, and the most learned, cultured, and temperate who ever separated from the Church of England." Professor Hoornbeek wrote in 1658, "Vir ille gratus nostris dum vixit fuit, et theologis Leiden-sibus familiaris et honoratus. Scripsit praeterea varia contra Arminianos: frequens quippe et acer erat Episcopii in academia adversarius et opponens." Winslow regarded him as "a man learned and of solid judgment, and of a sharp and quick wit; of a tender conscience and very sincere in all his ways; a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation; plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable, and social in his conversation, and toward his own people especially. He was an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready, and had much bickering with the Arminians who had more fear of him than any of the University. He was never satisfied in himself, until he had searched any cause or argument he had to deal in thoroughly and to the bottom." It was especially in the pastoral office that his light shone with an undimmed lustre. "His love was great toward his people," Governor Bradford remarked in his History, "and his care was always bent for their best good, both for soul and body. For, besides his singular abilities in divine things wherein he excelled, he was able also to give direction in civil affairs, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences; by which means he was very helpful to their outward estates; and so was every way as a common father unto them. . . . They, in like manner, had ever a reverent regard unto him, and had him in precious estimation, as his worth and wisdom did deserve. Although they esteemed him highly while he lived and labored amongst them, yet much more after his death, when they came to feel the want of his help, and saw by woful experience what a treasure they had lost, to the grief of their hearts and wounding of their souls; yea, such a loss as they saw could not be repaired."

Robinson's monument is Congregationalism. The society over which he presided in Leyden disbanded shortly after his decease.

A few of the members returned to England. A number, among whom was the pastor's widow, joined the Reformed church in the city. The fate of Robinson's society in Leyden indicates that the soil and the climate of the Netherlands were not congenial to the growth of this branch of the vine of Christ. The supporters of that species of ecclesiastical government early secured a foothold in England. In 1616 Henry Jacob, a member of the church in Leyden, established the first church in London. In that country the society has continued to exist with varying fortune. During the reign of Charles I., when the power of the bishops greatly declined, it reached a high degree of prosperity. Favored by Cromwell, it held an eminent position during that extraordinary man's protectorate. The restoration, however, of Charles II. to the throne of his unfortunate father was the signal of its decrease. Not Holland, nor England, but the American Union, was destined, in the counsels of divine providence, to be the vast field of the operations of Congregationalism, and the scene of the largest development and the closest application of the principles upon which it is founded. The name borne by the pilgrims on board of the Mayflower was that with which Robinson designated those who placed themselves under his ministry. He called them Christians, to distinguish them from the Brownists and the Barrowists, from whom he differed, and whose appellations he rejected. The name "Christian," however, was too general. It made way for that of Independents. It is claimed that Robinson himself suggested it in his "*Apologia pro exulibus Anglis.*" In that work he observes: "Coetum quemlibet particularem (recte institutum et ordinatum) esse totam, integram et perfectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem immediate et *independentem* (quoad alias ecclesias) sub ipso Christo." There is no reason to think that Robinson intended that this utterance should be construed into an expression of his purpose to bestow upon his followers a name which should supersede that of Christians. As indicating, however, the peculiar views of the society concerning church government, the name Independents was owned by its members in their Apology of 1644. But the day was near at hand when that title was regarded as synonymous with the word

regicide. This was most unjust, since the execution of Charles I. was the outcome largely of the political movements of the times, and it is a fact that only two of the signatures to the death warrant were those of Congregationalist seceders from the Established Church. The word Congregationalist, which then was devised to evade this opprobrious stigma, came to be generally adopted as most clearly designating the peculiar notions of church polity advocated by those to whom it was applied and who willingly received it. Eminently appropriate it is to Robinson's society in America, where it intimates, not so much independence from the government and the ritualism of Episcopacy, as the autocracy of every separate congregation. In the United States of America may be seen the most striking example of the operation of the principles of democracy within the sphere of purely ecclesiastical affairs. This must be admitted, even though this autocracy has become slightly modified and limited by the confederation of churches which is the usage of comparatively modern times.

In respect to doctrine, Robinson and the church which he founded were not at variance with the Church of England. They were in this respect in full sympathy with the Reformed of France and the Netherlands. Robinson and his Elder Brewster distinctly avowed their doctrinal agreement especially with the former. The only difference between the French Reformed Church and the society of Robinson, apart from the matter of polity, lay in certain customs and usages. The French pastors offered prayer having their heads covered. Robinson uncovered his head when he performed that function of the ministerial office. The French Church dispensed with the aptness of its elders to teach. Robinson's church made it a qualification for office. The former limited the term of office of the elders to two or three years; the latter regarded it as perpetual. The former admonished delinquents privately, or at the meetings of the Consistory; the latter publicly. The former did not ask that parents, presenting their children for baptism, should be members of the church, in actual communion; the latter required that one parent at least should have made a public profession of the Christian religion.

The unreservedness of Robinson's acceptance of the Faith of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands is clearly expressed by

him in this written statement: "Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus adeo nobis, convenire cum ecclesiis Reformatis Belgicis in re religionis ut omnibus et singulis earundum ecclesiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in Harmonia Confessionum fidei parati sumus subscribere. Ecclesias Reformatas pro veris et genuinis habemus, cum iisdem in Sacris Dei communionem profitemur et quantum in nobis est colimus." This accord with the Reformed Church, in respect to doctrine, is reflected in the Confession which was drawn up by Robinson in 1619, and it appears in the utterance of the Convention of the Savoy in 1658. This sympathy also lay at the foundation of the Union, in 1601, during the reign of William III., between the Congregationalists in London and its vicinity and the Presbyterians. It facilitated, moreover, the formation of the nine articles of agreement which, adopted by the elders and the messengers of the churches of Connecticut in 1703, are known as the Saybrook Platform.

The debt which New England owes to representative Europeans, whether the sphere in which they moved and out of which they made their influence felt in shaping the religious culture, the political status, and the social customs of this land, lay on the continent of their home, or here, is very great indeed. Prominent among these worthies is John Robinson, though the details of his life, and even his honorable name, are hardly known to any except the students of church annals. The church which he planted in the ancient city of hospitable Holland, a little plant, has become in the New World a great tree. Numerically the Congregationalists in the United States constitute a strong body of Christ's people. Doctrinally also, as they conserve, in its purity, the faith which was held by their ancestors, expressed in a Confession which the framers thereof never suspected would need to be superseded by a revision, or by a creed of which it has been observed that it is defective just in proportion that it is reticent upon the fundamental truths of the gospel. Efficiently, moreover, as they betimes guard against a laxity of polity which is an insidious factor in the process of fatally weakening, if not of rendering inoperative, a Church which now stands as a great moral and spiritual power in the earth.

MAURICE G. HANSEN.

ARTICLE III.

THE PERKINS PROFESSOR'S CASE VIEWED IN THE
LIGHT OF LAW AND EQUITY.

About twenty-five years ago, the Synods of South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia adopted the following resolution :

“Resolved, That, in accordance with the conditions annexed to the generous donation of Judge Perkins, there be added to the existing departments of instruction in the Seminary a chair to be entitled the Perkins Professorship of Natural Science in connexion with Revelation; the design of which shall be to evince the harmony of science with the records of our faith, and to refute the objections of infidel naturalists.”

The man chosen and called to occupy the chair thus established at Columbia Seminary was Professor James Woodrow; and it was mutually understood when he entered upon his work that in all investigations “untrammelled freedom of inquiry must be allowed.” And “we must neither be governed in our views of natural science by what we may have believed to have been taught in the Bible; nor, on the other hand, must we do violence to the words of the Bible under the influence of our belief in any supposed teachings of science. There must be the most unbiassed readiness to accept as truth whatever is proved.”

It is not the purpose of this communication to call in question the wisdom of the Church in establishing this Professorship. But this thought may be emphasised—that when the Synods called Dr. Woodrow to occupy this chair they at once placed him in a position not only of responsibility, but of peril as well. Natural science is progressive; it is constantly astonishing the world with its discoveries. On the other hand, the mere suggestion of any discovery in science which may make it necessary to change or modify commonly entertained opinions of the meaning of the Scriptures will inevitably awaken antipathy and excite contradiction; and all history shows that opposition of this kind, when once aroused, is vehement in the extreme. Opinions of the

meaning of the word of God which have been accepted by the masses of God's ministers and people for long periods of time are naturally invested with no small degree of sanctity, and whoever touches them may expect to be treated as if he had touched the Bible itself. And yet, if the Professor occupying this chair is true to his calling, as time and science progress he will find it occasionally necessary to set aside human opinions of the interpretation of the Bible; and just so often he will run the risk of putting his neck beneath an ecclesiastical guillotine. It may be added that the Church, in taking off his head, will likewise run the risk of rashly doing that for which she will have occasion to blush as long as the world shall stand. There are, however, certain safeguards which may be thrown around both the Church and the Professor under these circumstances of danger. First of all, let the man chosen for the chair be one of undoubted piety and soundness in faith. Next, let him be a man of soberness of judgment, who will not always be publishing to the Church even genuine discoveries until he sees that she is prepared to receive them. And then, on the other side, let the Church repose confidence in her leader; let her not be nervously urging him to premature publications; and, above all, let her admit any suspicion of his orthodoxy only after most careful investigation and mature deliberation. Unless these simple precautions be observed, better had it been for the Church that all such departments of theological instruction as the one confided to the chair of the Perkins Professorship had never been born.

So far as we can judge, Dr. Woodrow has appreciated all the responsibility and peril of which we have spoken. It can never be said that he has been eager to rush into print. Time after time he has been burdened with compliments and pressed to publish his lectures; and to the writer, when a student, it always seemed the exaggeration of modesty that he should so uniformly have declined to comply with these very flattering requests. But the mystery is now solved. He was wiser than we. In the exercise of a sound judgment, he refrained from aught and from all that could disturb the peace of Zion, whilst, at the same time, he gave his students the exact truth, and never failed to send them

forth devout believers in the inspiration of the Bible. But, despite all his prudence, the disaster which might have been antecedently dreaded has come. The premature publication which he himself would have had the good sense to defer, has been demanded. Had the same demand been made at a certain stage of his teaching concerning the age of the world, or concerning the universality of the deluge, in all probability the same disastrous consequences would have followed. But the restless spirit, absent then, is present in the Directory now, and upon him must fall the responsibility of all this needless agitation. It is well known that for the past year our beloved Church has been in convulsions. Synods have met in stormy debates. Religious papers have abounded in controversial editorials and communications. Brethren who really love each other are in distress most of all that they cannot "see eye to eye." And it is certain that the end is not yet. It is hard to see how a good man who loves the "first pure and then peaceable" could *wish* the end to be yet. At any rate, all will agree that if there are any within our Zion who believe that injustice has been done to Professor Woodrow by any of our communion, it is the solemn duty of those who thus believe to argue and plead and labor until they shall have exhausted every means to secure the vindication of what they conceive to be the purity and the dignity of God's Church. The object aimed at must be, not so much the relief of Dr. Woodrow, although that were important, as the triumph of truth and the prevalence of righteousness. We all realise to ourselves that in this controversy there must be no stain of injustice left on the garments of the Lamb's wife. The writer honestly and sincerely believes that wrong has been done, and that there is but one way of correcting it. May he, in all modesty, state what he thinks the wrong to be, and then urge the remedy?

His proposition is this: Professor Woodrow's reputation for soundness in the faith has been publicly assailed and seriously damaged; his accusers have assumed no legal responsibility for their actions; nor as yet has the Church taken the necessary steps toward either his vindication or his conviction.

It needs but few words to show that a Presbyterian minister's reputation for orthodoxy is, in a very grave sense, his all. In at least one very important respect, this reputation is to him as a Presbyterian minister, precisely what one's reputation for moral character is to him as a man. Take away one's good name as an individual, and you will have struck as by lightning his influence over society and the world. And so it cannot be denied that when you have undermined a Presbyterian minister's reputation for orthodoxy, you will have subverted the very foundation of his usefulness in his denomination. Wherever he may go, whatever work he may undertake, the blighting rumors of his unsoundness will follow him; the hissing phrase "insidious error" will be sounding in his ears as long as he lives, and in the ears of his children after he is dead. The consequences of even a whispered accusation of this kind are such as may well give every lover of justice pause; and bearing them in mind, let us now calmly inquire: has Dr. Woodrow been accused of heresy? This the writer affirms.

The affirmation is made not in ignorance of the fact that the air is full of disclaimers. In the Synod of South Carolina, if we may believe published and uncorrected reports, Dr. Mack said, "The Perkins Professor was not charged with heresy." "Mr. Webb said he would never vote for any action that would accuse Dr. Woodrow of heresy. There was no purpose to charge him with heresy." "The minority report steered clear of the charge of heresy." Dr. Girardeau said, "Suppose he (the speaker) held that Dr. Woodrow had opposed certain teachings of Scripture. There were degrees in such opposition, and it was clearly set forth that Dr. Woodrow's contradiction was not of a character to make it heresy." The minority report said, "The Synod is called upon to decide, not upon the question whether the said views of Dr. Woodrow contradict the Bible in its highest and absolute sense, but upon the question whether they contradict interpretations of the Bible by the Presbyterian Church of the United States."

These disclaimers, and all similar ones which may have been made, are given for precisely what they are worth. But just at this juncture it is important to inquire, What are they worth?

A disclaimer is of value to determine a question of intention; it is of no worth whatever in deciding a matter of fact. All that our brethren can reasonably claim is that they (some of them) may not have *intended* to accuse Dr. Woodrow of heresy; and this courteously granted, they will allow us to proceed to the proof of the proposition that whether they intended to do it or not, they certainly have done it.

The first item of evidence to be examined is found in the emphatic statements of ministers of the gospel—statements made in ordinary social conversation. The writer is himself able to give the names of at least two preachers of the word who in his hearing have said earnestly, and without the slightest qualification, “Dr. Woodrow is a heretic.” These remarks were made in no sort of confidence, with no kind of caution, but, at least in one of the two instances referred to, in a parlor full of Christians, members of the Presbyterian Church. Whether others in the ministry have heard such statements or not, the writer is unable to say; but it seems not at all improbable that similar things may have been said all over the Church. Now, of all men in all classes of society, ministers are supposed to weigh well the import of their words, and consequently when one of them uses language of this kind with respect to a brother minister, and that, too, in the presence of God’s people, it is not unfair to conclude that he means precisely what he says—that he is impelled to the utterance by a very solemn sense of duty, and that he is willing and able to furnish the legal proof of his averment.

In the second place, the statements of ministers, and others, made in the newspapers, fall to be considered. There can be no sort of doubt that Dr. Woodrow has been published as a heretic by some of the presbyters of the Church. Let two specifications suffice.

“However earnest in seeking to express their ‘personal affection’ and ‘admiration’ some of our law-makers have been in dealing with this erratic and erring man, the masses of the Church, none the less, believe him to be a fanatic, and unfitted for a guide to young men. . . It is well for those in authority to know that the Southern Presbyterian Church won’t submit to any tempo-

rising when the very backbone of our Christian faith is sought to be broken—when it is taught that the Saviour of mankind was (as to his humanity) descended from a brute; that the truth of God's word is to be controlled by, and dependent upon, the teachings of human wisdom."

"'Let God be true and every man a liar,' is the deep-rooted feeling of the great men of our Church, and unless Columbia Seminary is promptly purged from a heresy more dangerous than any undisguised infidel teachings—and which does not there seem to find its advocate in Dr. Woodrow—then Columbia Seminary, and all those directly or indirectly upholding such tenets, must be permitted to form a zoological garden of their own, separate from and beyond the pale of the Presbyterian Church. Our Church will not clasp hands, or be *particeps criminis* with the humiliating and God-denying doctrine now sought to be impressed upon the mind of those whom we are educating to be instructors of the truth of God's word.

"The vital interests at stake require plain speaking. We believe a vast majority of the Southern Presbyterian Church would prefer affiliation with other Churches rather than be forced into the attitude of agreeing to, or even holding fellowship with, the Woodrow heresy. [Signed] AN ELDER."

"With this decisive judgment of the Church, in 1882, before him, did the Perkins Professor 'instantly cease to teach in her name'? What more can the Church say in 1884 than she did in 1882? and if he did not *then* cease to teach in her name, what reason is there to expect that he will *now*? Will he pretend that *his* evolution is not the evolution condemned in 1882? Will he fall back upon the specified condition to his withdrawal, viz.: the Church's full 'examination' and condemnation of his views? But how can the Church fully examine what he intimates she is not competent to examine, by reason of her ignorance, and, as he claims, 'to answer arguments by arguments.' . . . Would any one disposed to act in a way that was truly fair and honorable have continued to 'covertly teach evolution'? Would he not instantly have apprised the Church of his views and teachings—seeing that her actions in 1882

showed that she was ignorant of them—and instantly ceased teaching in her name? . . . How lie low and keep quiet for twenty years, without once giving publicity to his views, though repeatedly requested to do so? . . . Instead of an ‘open and fearless,’ it looks more like a constrained, extorted expression of his views, withheld until it was no longer possible to withhold. . . . Is it likely that such a man will resign unless forced to do it? . . . Not until July, 1884, was an exposure made that startled the Church. The expression of great surprise and great grief has been general throughout the Church. It is a painful disclosure that is now made, that for years and years Columbia Seminary has been the nursery of a heresy which *undermines the foundations of our precious faith*. Our Rip Van Winkle Church has just awakened and found it out. *While men slept, tares have been sown among the wheat*. And what shall the harvest be? Indications have been given that numerous pupils have imbibed the poison of heresy from the Perkins Professor. Are any of these among the Directors of the Seminary? It is due to the Church to turn on the light and let her have a full view of Columbia Seminary. It is due to her and to themselves that the Presbyteries should see whether this leaven of corruption is found in any of them, and instantly purge it away. It is due to our Southern Zion, now exposed to the derision of her enemies, to wipe off the foul blot that has tarnished the purity of her honored name. It is due to our exalted Head and King, and to our Israel, to confess the dishonor done unto him, to deprecate his displeasure, and to implore his intervention, that the plague may be stayed.

[Signed]

“A. W. M.”

“Charlotte, N. C.”

It may be necessary to explain that the person referred to in this communication is a Presbyterian minister “in good and regular standing” in the Presbytery of Augusta, and is entitled as such to a certificate of dismissal at any hour to any Presbytery in the Presbyterian Church in the United States. It is understood that the writer of the communication is an honored and very venerable Presbyterian minister of the Synod of North Carolina. However, as the internal evidences of the article—its

tone of invective—so strongly contradict this allegation as to its authorship, we hold ourselves ready to make the necessary correction should the impression so generally prevalent prove to be without foundation. But, if the two communications quoted *were* written, the one by a Presbyterian elder and the other by a Presbyterian minister, it cannot be necessary to introduce further evidence to show that Dr. Woodrow's fellow-presbyters have published him to the world not only as a heretic, but also as a man of very little personal honor.

In the third place, Dr. Woodrow's orthodoxy has undoubtedly been impugned by more than one of our religious newspapers. To the files of those papers let us go.

In the *Central Presbyterian* we read:

"Now it is here that it becomes necessary for Professor Woodrow to harmonise this hypothesis with the Biblical account of the creation of Adam and Eve and their being placed in the garden, where, as the representatives of the race, they were subjected to a probation involving the fate of mankind. It is a failure to realise the logical results of the acceptance of this doctrine when applied to the introduction of man on the earth which has allowed, we think, some most excellent men inadvertently to tolerate it as a harmless opinion.

"It appears to us that all our received theology is sapped at its very base by the destruction of the individuality of Adam, and his relation to us as our federal head. If the theory of Professor LeConte and Professor Woodrow is correct, we should have to re-write the Confession of Faith, and explain on some new principle the introduction of sin into the world, and our responsibility for that sin. We should have to frame a new theory of redemption; and when we had learned to believe that the first Adam was not an individual, but the primeval generation of soul-endowed men, we might have to revise our theology about our relations to the second Adam, and might probably be brought to the conclusion by some future investigators that we had also been deluded in our belief in his individuality and the reality of the scenes enacted on Calvary."

The *Christian Observer* says:

“And now, behold, we find our own Church is teaching what is not the gospel—is teaching science (and very obnoxious science) in the school of the prophets at Columbia, South Carolina. And the Directors of the Seminary have approved the continuance of this secular instruction!! Where, alas, is the flag of pure scriptural teaching, to the exclusion of secular teaching, that we flung so proudly to the breeze? As the matter now stands, our position is surrendered, our glory is lying in the dust. For our Church is now teaching in her theological schools the mere secularities of science.” “The hypothesis of evolution is to the effect that there is in brutes some such principle of life as that the brutes, or some of them, could give birth to offspring endowed with human nature. If so, would not *many* of the offsprings of brutes possess the attributes of mankind? Then what becomes of the truth that all men are descended from Adam, of the truth that God ‘hath made of one blood’ all nations of men? What becomes of the covenant of works, and of our relation to Adam as the federal head of the race? And what becomes of similar relations of the second Adam to us and to all men? The Bible teaches that death in the human family is the penalty of sin. ‘By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin.’ But evolution teaches that the human race is descended from bestial progenitors who were subject to death as the natural termination of their existence. Hence evolution makes the death of man not the penalty of sin, but a mere accident of our nature as inherited from brute ancestors.” “He” (Dr. Woodrow) “seems to teach that God’s truth in nature and in Revelation are not one, but two, and these two not exhibiting harmony. We submit without argument that the tendency of this teaching is toward infidelity. Grant this premise, and human reason will soon find conclusions to the effect that nature and Revelation are not the product of the same Being. No, we cannot consent to it, nor tolerate such a principle.”

Under the caption, “Evolution Tends to Infidelity,” we find: “When Dr. Woodrow accepted the Perkins Professorship, he declared in his inaugural address that the Bible and science must inevitably evince entire harmony, or, at least, the absence of dis-

cord; and that 'this chiefly embraces the duties of my Professorship.' As he becomes fascinated with evolution hypotheses, his views of the Bible exhibit a corresponding change. Darwin says science and Christ have nothing to do with each other. Woodrow teaches that harmony between science and the Bible is not to be expected. Darwin asserts that his scientific investigations make him careful about accepting the Bible. Woodrow teaches that his students should be careful about accepting, in their obvious meaning, the statements of the Bible on scientific subjects. Darwin regarded everything pertaining to religion with indifference and distrust; it has been repeatedly and publicly stated that Woodrow seldom preaches, and does not regularly attend the prayer-meeting, or divine worship on the Sabbath, and we have heard no denial of the statement. Darwin took one more step, which Woodrow has not taken, and rejected the Bible as a revelation from God. Woodrow, with the sanction of the Board of Directors of Columbia Seminary, is teaching to a rising generation of ministers principles that are peculiarly liable to undermine faith in the word of God."

The *Southwestern Presbyterian* has certainly been more cautious in its use of language than the two papers from which we have just quoted. The general effect of its editorials is to produce the impression upon the minds of its readers that the evolution of Dr. Woodrow is Darwinism, and that Darwinism is consistent neither with true science nor true religion; but, whilst this is beyond doubt the impression that any plain mind would receive from the editorials of this paper, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to point to any sentence, paragraph, or page in which any definite charge of heresy finds its expression. Yet, taking Dr. Woodrow's Address as their text, these editorials proceed forthwith to the discussion of Darwinism; and the conclusions enounced are these:

"Darwinism is not science."

"This theory of man is in every particular opposed to revealed religion or to the word of God."

"We have placed Darwinism—the gospel of dirt, as Carlyle calls it—alongside of the gospel of revealed religion for the pur-

pose of comparison. The self-evident conclusion of the whole matter is, that if revealed religion be true, Darwinism is false."

So much for that branch of the subject. Darwinism is consistent neither with true science nor revealed religion. But these editorials were called forth by Dr. Woodrow's Address on evolution. Does the editor identify the one of these with the other? Not avowedly; and yet by implication. As far as the general impression of his editorials goes, he does. For he says:

"It would not be possible for any ordinary reader to understand the theory of the Address without knowing something of Darwinism. We have given a view of that theory as Darwin holds it, for the purpose of comparison. We have reported the opinions of some of the leading scientific thinkers of the world about it, and have compared the system with the system of truth which revealed religion teaches. But, in our first paper on the subject, we noted the difference. The Perkins Professor holds simply to the evolution of the body by the Darwin method, while Darwin holds to the evolution of both body and soul. In what sense, theologically, the Professor understands his theory, we do not know, and decline the responsibility of saying. We know what it would imply to us. We do not know what it would imply to him. He must do like the man he describes who, in a Romish community—as Spain, for instance—should call himself a Christian and be mistaken for a Romanist. Being a sensible man, he would at once see that this is natural and proper under the circumstances. And he would justly feel that it was his duty, and not theirs, to define the difference between his own creed and that of the company he was found in, who described their creed by the same general title. No one has asked more than this of the author of the Address. He is among the Darwinists, and it is his place to show what he means when he calls himself an evolutionist.

"We observe that to get an intelligent idea of the Address, one must know what Darwinism is, because— 1. Professor Woodrow's theory of the production of man's body by evolution is Darwin's theory as far as it goes." (Query: As far as *what* goes?) "2. The very title he gives his theory, Descent with

Modification, is Darwin's title of his own theory. 3. The arguments he uses to support his theory are the very arguments with which Darwin introduced and sustained Darwinism. 4. The argument drawn from the color of the races is an argument for existing evolution. 5. The argument from the primordial germ is also Darwinian. 6. The position that evolution gives a grander view of nature, we find in the *Origin of Species* (Sec. 823). 7. Even the sarcasm in reference to the incredulity of objectors, which brings in the story of Leibnitz, we find detailed at length in Darwin. There is so much Darwin in it that, to speak intelligently about it, we must know what Darwinism is. We have ventured to express the opinion that the attempt to unite Christianity with any form of Darwinism is illogical. We have also expressed the opinion that the tendency of all Darwinian theories is to materialism. But we do not suppose that the Perkins Professor thinks so. Precisely what would be from his point of view the logical consequences of his theory, none but himself has the right to say. And we think it would be a wise thing to explain it in view of the general dissatisfaction the announcement of his theory has created."

As so much has been said of "tendencies," it may not be amiss to remark that the general tendency of these editorials, as shown in the foregoing extracts, is unmistakable. They first startle the Church by a vivid presentation of the horrible things essentially involved in Darwinism. They next announce with electrical effect that Dr. Woodrow is "amongst the Darwinists." They then, curiously enough, and without the shadow of proof, intimate that Dr. Woodrow has not told us what are the "logical consequences" of his position, as he sees them (which is the very thing that we think he most effectually does), and it is hard to escape the conclusion that the editor thinks the Professor *cannot* fully state his case without meeting the fate of all other Darwinians, without rushing into the jaws of infidelity. But this the editor last referred to has not distinctly stated. At the same time, an honest and studious reviewer of his editorials will hardly escape the impression that Dr. Woodrow is far off the track of orthodoxy, according to the view of the *Southwestern Presbyterian*.

A fourth argument may be drawn from the deliverances of our church courts—a Presbytery, certain Synods, and the General Assembly.

In the outset, an honorable exception must be made in the case of the Synod of South Carolina. That body had distinctly before it a recommendation to the effect “that the inculcation and defence of the said hypothesis, even as a probable one, in the Theological Seminary,” be “prohibited,” on the ground that it “was contrary to the interpretations of the Scriptures by our Church, and to her prevailing and recognised views.” We all know that this recommendation which, as we shall hereafter see, essentially involved the charge of heresy, was distinctly rejected; and that in lieu thereof a resolution with that feature omitted was adopted, namely, that “in the judgment of the Synod the teaching of evolution in the Seminary at Columbia, except in a purely expository manner, with no intention of inculcating its truth, is hereby disapproved.”

In the face of a thousand such telegrams as “Action of Synod was anti-Woodrow; so intended; so was,” it will be written down in history that the Synod of South Carolina refused to declare Dr. Woodrow’s views “contrary to the interpretation of the Scriptures by our Church”—that is, by necessary implication, contrary to the Westminster Confession of Faith. And inasmuch as Dr. Woodrow had never inculcated evolution, in any form, as a truth, but only as an undemonstrated hypothesis “probably true,” it were not difficult to decide that the resolution in practical effect simply emphasised a permission already enjoyed. Certainly, the emphatic rejection of every semblance of a charge of heresy is found here.

Not thus, however, is it with some of our other ecclesiastical tribunals. Look, for instance, at the action of the Presbytery of Atlanta, overturing the Synod of Georgia to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent this teaching, and assigning as two of its reasons these:

“Because it is founded on a mode of interpreting the Scriptures which tends greatly to unsettle the confidence of our people in the correctness of the word of God, and sets to our theological students a dangerous example in exegesis.”

"Because it is contrary to the sense in which our standards have always been understood, and would make necessary a re-statement of some of our doctrines."

Of similar import is the action of the Synod of Alabama :

"*Resolved*, 1st. That this Synod disapprove of the teaching of evolution as set forth by the Perkins Professor in his published Address, because such teachings are in conflict with the received interpretations of Scripture as expressed in the standards of the Presbyterian Church."

To the same effect is the action of the Synod of South Georgia and Florida :

"We deprecate the fact that such a wide-spread discussion has arisen in the Church over the teachings of the Perkins Professor on the subject of evolution ; and, whereas the doctrine of evolution is as yet at least an unproved hypothesis ; and, whereas, it seems to be in conflict with the received interpretations of Scripture ; and, whereas, logically carried out, it would seem to affect some of the fundamental doctrines of the Bible," etc.

The language of the Synod of Texas is even more emphatic :

"1. We regard evolution as an unsolved hypothesis.

"2. We consider its teaching in our Seminaries as contrary to received interpretations of our standards, and subversive of the faith of our people in God's word."

Now, it is certain that all these deliverances were elicited by, and they are all condemnatory of, the form of evolution which was supposed to be taught by Dr. Woodrow at Columbia. It is equally plain that in every instance the ground of condemnation is stated to be a lack of agreement between Dr. Woodrow's teachings and the Scriptures *as interpreted by the Church*. And inasmuch as the Church has no authoritative interpretation of the Scriptures binding upon her ministers save her adopted standards, it follows that in all these deliverances we have deliberate charges of heresy. To make good this assertion we have only to inquire: what is heresy in the denomination of those known as Presbyterians? Says Addison Alexander: "The Greek word (*αιρεσις*) originally means the act of taking, then a choice, a preference, especially of certain views or principles, philosophical, religious, or political.

Its nearest equivalents as thus applied are 'school' or 'party,' without any necessary implication of erroneous doctrine or improper practice. Thus the word is used in Greek to designate the 'Stoical system of Philosophy;' and Cicero, referring to a certain person's philosophical preferences, says, *In ea haeresi est*. Later ecclesiastical usage appropriated it to doctrinal departures from the orthodox or catholic faith, which is the only meaning of its English derivative."

"If a thing is shown to be wrong from our standards, we, as Presbyterians, have declared that it is so taught in the Sacred Scriptures. To us the propositions are identical: whatever the Bible condemns, our Confession of Faith condemns, and whatever the Confession of Faith condemns, the Bible condemns. They are the same authority: the Confession is nothing except as the Bible speaks in it and through it; and in adopting it we have averred it to be an honest and faithful interpretation of God's teachings. If the Bible and the Confession were independent of each other, or were inconsistent with each other, then difficulty might arise. But as long as their relation is that of original and translation, of cipher and interpretation, it is a matter of no moment to which a man immediately appeals. But it certainly is a convenience to have the teachings of the Bible reduced to a short compass, and announced in propositions which are at once accepted without any further trouble of comparing texts." *Thornwell's Works, Vol. IV., p. 313.*

"The New Book refers us to the Constitution of the Church as an accepted compendium of *what the Bible is acknowledged to teach*. According to the Old Book we are required to proceed as if nothing were agreed upon: according to the New, we abide by our covenants. *It is admitted that our standards are a competent measure of heresy,*" etc. *Ibid, pp. 364-5-6.*

Says another: "The notion of heresy as understood by theological writers, involves two ideas: first, the deliberate and voluntary rejection of some doctrine proposed by the supreme authority established in any Church as necessary to be believed; and secondly, a contumacious persistence in such rejection, with the knowledge that the belief in the doctrine is required of all the

members of that particular communion." "Heretic—a general name for all such persons under any religion, but especially the Christian, as profess or teach opinions contrary to the established faith, or to what is made the standard of orthodoxy."

There is no need of any "metaphysical disquisitions" in discussing this branch of our topic. The plain facts are these: every man ordained to the ministry in the Presbyterian Church sincerely receives and adopts her Confession of Faith and her Catechisms as formulating the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures. Every Professor of Theology when inaugurated publicly subscribes these standards agreeably to the following formula: "In the presence of God and these witnesses I do solemnly subscribe the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and other standards of government, discipline, and worship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States as a just summary of the doctrines contained in the Bible, and promise and engage not to teach, directly or indirectly, any doctrine contrary to this belief while I continue a Professor in this Seminary."

Now, it is preposterous to be wasting time over discussions as to whether we shall apply to any departure from this obligation the term "error," or "heterodoxy," or "heresy." In the view of the writer, any man who is found teaching any doctrine contrary to the standard of orthodoxy in his denomination is, with respect to that denomination, a heretic. Moreover, the mere fact that he may not *see* the divergence of his views from those standards, and may not acknowledge his departure from the doctrinal symbols of his Church, does not alter the case. The question is one of fact, entirely independent of his recognition of the fact. What he may *think* he is doing is one thing; what he is actually *doing* is another thing. It is perfectly vain, therefore, to say in one breath, "the man has broken the bond which bound him to the standards," and to say, in the next breath, "he has not broken that bond, because he did not intend to do it." When, therefore, the Synods wrote down upon their records for all time, "Such teachings are in conflict with the received interpretations of Scripture as expressed in the standards of the Presbyterian Church," they expressed their belief of the only material fact in

the case, and in that expression they embodied the very essence of an accusation of such heresy, or heterodoxy, as is "an offence," "the proper object of judicial process." When it is added that "these teachings tend greatly to unsettle the confidence of our people in the correctness of the word of God"—that they "set to our theological students a dangerous example in exegesis"—that they are "subversive of the faith of our people in God's word"—the accusation of a heterodoxy amounting to heresy is so plain that he who runs may read. And when we remember that the Synod of Mississippi distinctly intimates that Dr. Woodrow is doing a thing the very doing of which should for ever silence any religious teacher in our Church, namely, permitting his hypothesis of science to "assume to *control* the interpretation of the inspired word;" when we see that the Synod of Nashville demands the prohibition of his teaching on pain of Columbia Seminary's no longer being permitted to teach the students from her Presbyteries; that the Synod of Memphis represents this teaching as "fraught with peril to the peace and prosperity of the Church;" that the Synod of Kentucky pronounces the theory of evolution, "modified or unmodified," as "being generally regarded in its tendencies as unfavorable to the cultivation of a devout faith in the inspiration of the Scriptures," belonging to the class of theories with which no "efforts should be made by our Christian instructors to reconcile the teachings of the word of God;" when we see all this, who can escape the conclusion that this Perkins Professor is by these Synods held up to the world as another Socrates under the imputation of corrupting the minds of the youth of our ecclesiastical Athens, and so poisoning the waters of ministerial purity and excellence at the very fountain head? And if these imputations, together with those upon his personal honor and his religious character, be just, who shall say that as a minister in the Presbyterian Church he does not, unlike Socrates, deserve to drink the hemlock and "sleep the sleep that knows no waking"?

In this review of the action of our church courts, it is very important not to pretermitt the General Assembly of 1884. At the meeting of that body in May, there was presented what pur-

ports to be a "Report of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C." We are credibly informed, however, that this report was never adopted by that Board at any of its meetings, and that its members had no knowledge of what it contained—at least of much that it contained. That the foregoing sentence might be written with proper prudence, a letter of inquiry was sent forth, and the following is the reply:

"TUSKALOOSA, ALA., June 27, 1885.

"MY DEAR DR. D.: Yours of 25th received. The report of 1884 sent to the General Assembly was never formally adopted by our Board of Directors—we simply directed Dr. Mack to prepare one, without giving him specific directions, expecting him simply to report our proceedings and financial condition. We never would have sanctioned the paper he prepared. We never saw it before its presentation. But we were to blame in leaving such matters to his discretion. We trusted his *fairness* too much. Of course you can use this.

"C. A. STILLMAN."

From the foregoing letter, it is manifest that this was the report of the Directors only in a very "mild degree," and is hardly to be received as such even upon the principle: "*Qui facit per alium, facit per se.*" The Latin "dictum," however, may account for the introduction of the following seemingly unimportant item of information:

"In May, 1883, the Board requested Professor James Woodrow to publish in the October (1883) number of the SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, or as soon thereafter as possible, his teachings on evolution in regard to the world, the lower animals, and man. In May, 1884, he sent a communication stating that it had been impossible for him to prepare the article for the October (1883) number of the REVIEW, but that he would deliver an address to the Alumni Association on that subject on May 7, 1884. The statement was accepted as satisfactory, and he was again requested to publish his teachings on that subject in the SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW."

Keeping in mind the fact that the General Assembly met in

May, 1884; that neither the Board of Directors, nor any church court, nor any church paper, had uttered a syllable respecting the slightest suspiciousness of Dr. Woodrow's teachings; that no agitation of that matter had then been begun; we naturally inquire, "What is this item of the report brought to this Assembly for?" and the answer, to any simple-minded and honest presbyter, would be: "Oh, well, just as a matter of general information; it was thought a pleasant thing for the General Assembly to know that Dr. Woodrow had been invited to publish his views on certain topics, and that he had replied that he could not do so just then, but would just as soon as he could." This is all that the Directors' report *per se* would indicate; and if anything more was meant, it must be carefully noted that there is not one word in the Directors' report to show it.

Now we come to a very important question: What, in reason and propriety, may we expect to be the answer of the General Assembly to that item of the Directors' report? One can imagine himself in the Committee when the question as to what this answer shall be comes up. "Oh, well," one sensible member may be supposed to say, "we need give no answer at all; the item calls for no action by this Assembly." Another, equally clear in mind, suggests that said little item of the report be merely recognised as information; some mere allusion in passing is all that is required.

Now imagine the amazement of all plain people of common sense when, *upon this very item*, the Assembly's Committee on Theological Seminaries bases the following recommendation:

"That this Assembly *highly commends the diligence and fidelity of the Board of Directors of Columbia Theological Seminary, and especially the efforts of the Board to have the Church know the views of its Professors on those points that are vital to our holy religion, in order that all may be sure that no insidious errors are taught in our institution.*" (Italics supplied for emphasis.) And, on recommitment, back came this resolution, which was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That this Assembly commends the action of the Board of Directors of Columbia Theological Seminary requesting

the Perkins Professor of Science in connexion with Revelation to lay before the Church for its information his views as held and taught in that institution touching evolution, as it respects the earth, the lower animals, and man."

Here let us pause and weigh well this whole matter. For here arise some questions, questions which in the name of eternal righteousness demand an answer. How did that Committee on Theological Seminaries *know* that the Directors at Columbia had been making efforts "to have the Church know the views of its Professors on those points that are vital to our holy religion, in order that all may be sure that no insidious errors are taught in our institution"? The report of the Board (or of Dr. Mack) makes no reference to any such efforts; it gives not the slightest intimation that any such efforts were ever put forth by the Board to that end. What, on the face of it, is nothing but a simple item of information, is here made the basis of a resolution which, as Dr. Mack, in his letter commenting upon all these things, distinctly states, "was objected to as casting suspicion on some of the Professors." It is well-nigh impossible to believe that this item of the Directors' report was the only thing upon which this recommendation was based. Surely the Committee *must* have had other information before them. Now if they had, in the name of openness and truth and righteousness, *let everything* be known. All can see that the substitution of the second resolution for the first only intensified the suspicion and individualised *one* Professor as the man upon whom it was cast. The writer will never forget the effect of the introduction of the first resolution into that comparatively peaceful Assembly. It was like "a fire-bell in the night" truly. Men who, like the writer, dreamed of no defection in our Zion, turned to their neighbors and in amazement asked, "Whom does that mean?" And few could tell. But gradually from man to man it ran, "James Woodrow!" And by the time that Assembly adjourned, whether it intended it or not, the good name of that always honored servant of Christ had been as effectually linked with suspicions of heterodoxy as if he had been drawn before an ecclesiastical grand jury for an examination preliminary to indictment. And yet his Address had not

been published! And he himself was a thousand miles away! To every Presbytery, North, South, East, and West, goes the startling news, Professor Woodrow's orthodoxy has been called in question by the highest court of his Church, and Associated Press telegrams proclaim it to the ends of the earth! Let any thoughtful man pause and ask, What had that General Assembly before it to justify the shade of a shadow of such an imputation? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Nothing in the language of the report of the Directors of Columbia Seminary. Nothing in the way of specification in the Assembly's Committee's report. Nothing in the debates upon the floor of the Assembly. Never was so damaging an impression so extensively made on absolutely no facts whatever. Unless, indeed, there may have been facts secretly made known to the Committee. But if there *were* any, the Assembly should have known them; by all that is open and fair and right, the Church should know them now. Let it never be said by a scoffing world that matters of this kind, involving all that a minister of the gospel, as such, holds dear to himself and to his children can be disposed of with Star Chamber secrecy or with atmospheric vagueness and intangibility.

But, it may be asked, Why did the General Assembly take cognizance of that matter coming before it in that shape, or, more properly, not coming before it at all? One can give in answer only his personal opinion, seeing that no official explanation has been offered. The Assembly was dumbfounded and almost stupefied by the very momentousness of the business thus suddenly sprung upon her. The writer, in comparatively youthful inexperience, appealed to an older and wiser member of the body for light and counsel; and was advised in substance not to venture any opposition, lest the affair should become more conspicuous. Yielding to that counsel, he quietly requested that his name be placed upon record as dissenting from the whole action; but he believed then, as he believes now, that it would have been as easy to quiet the throbbings of a volcano's heart as to repress the agitation of the matter after it had been introduced into the Assembly in that unfortunate way; and he could not but be of the opinion that if one voice had been raised to show the

monstrous injustice of the whole proceeding, that Assembly of God-fearing and righteousness-loving men would have swept it from the house in a whirlwind of indignation. The silence produced by an imperfect comprehension of the gravity of the issue before the Assembly, and by the general dread of making a bad matter worse by openly discussing it, caused the report to be adopted, not an inconsiderable number in subdued tones voting "no."

Meanwhile, how was the victim of this ecclesiastical blunder impressed by it? *He absolutely and persistently declined to believe that any rumors of his unsoundness in the faith could have had aught to do with the Assembly's action, nor would he admit that any one of his brethren in Christ had whispered any suspicion of his disingenuousness or heterodoxy, until the unmistakable evidence was laid before his eyes.*

Just at this point it becomes necessary to introduce certain letters which, in the light of what has already been written, will explain themselves. They are published by no suggestion, direct or indirect, of Dr. Woodrow, but on the responsibility of the writer alone, as original documents giving information that should be in the possession of any and every man who would comprehend this controversy, which is destined to pass into history. And to Dr. Woodrow is hereby offered an apology for drawing aside the veil of privacy which it has always been thought the privilege of every man to hang around his own personal and domestic affairs, in order that from his own lips, and in his own way of dignified Christian manliness, there may be met some of the insinuations as to his personal piety which more than one has been ready to circulate, but which none have been found willing to assume the responsibility of formulating before any ecclesiastical tribunal.

“MEMPHIS, TENN., June 11, 1884.

“DEAR DR. WOODROW: Your letter [in reply to one I had written him telling him of the action of the Assembly] came to hand last week. The pressure of work accumulated during nearly a month's absence, first at New Orleans and then at Vicksburg, has prevented me from giving you an immediate answer.

“You will understand that I can have no reason for not wishing you to take that view of the action of the Board and of the Assembly indicated by you as the natural construction to be placed upon said action, except this: I wish you to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing else but the truth. And there is in my mind not the shadow of doubt that said action, so far from being intentionally complimentary to you, was taken by both bodies in view of certain vague rumors of the doubtfulness of your teachings on the subject of evolution. [The writer was subsequently convinced that he was mistaken here as far as the Board was concerned.] My reasons for my opinion are these: 1. The language of the two resolutions introduced into the Assembly, when carefully studied, does not seem to me to admit of any other interpretation. I think it was so understood by the members of the Assembly, certainly by all with whom I had any conversation; and the newspaper correspondents present received the same impression, as the files of the Vicksburg and New Orleans papers will show. Dr. ——— has told me that he received the same impression the moment he read the dispatches of the Associated Press. I am authorised by him to say to you that he thinks there is no doubt that I am right in the view that I have taken of that action. 2. After the first resolution was introduced into the Assembly, and recommitted, at noon recess I was walking toward my home in company with Prof. Hemphill. Presently we came to the house where Dr. Mack was staying, and Dr. Mack was overtaken by us at the gate. We three being together, I said, ‘Professor Hemphill, what in the world is all this about Dr. Woodrow?’ Professor Hemphill replied, pointing to Dr. Mack, ‘Let him speak.’ We had had a very long session that morning (it must have been between two and three o’clock), and Professor Hemphill, complaining of feeling hungry and faint, moved on; and Dr. Mack spoke. Of course I shall not attempt to record his exact language, but I am absolutely certain as to the substance of what he said, and it was to this effect: that wherever he went he heard remarks as to the suspiciousness of your teachings. [Dr. Mack, who has seen this letter, and had the opportunity of correcting it, says that according to his memory

he did not say, "wherever I went," but that "I had often," etc.]; that said undertone of suspicion was injuring the Seminary; that he, in the interest of the Seminary, had privately stated to you that you should publish your views; that you had at least *appeared* reluctant to do so; that in view of that general suspicion, and that apparent reluctance, the Board had taken steps, etc. [Dr. Mack here again interposes a correction: "I ought to have said, and think I did say, that on account of these reports I introduced the resolution in the Board, that it was understood that such was the case, and it was adopted to meet these reports by informing the Church what he did teach in the Seminary."] At the conclusion of his remarks he asked me what I thought about it (for I had been very careful not to express my opinion). I answered that of course I had heard only one side of the matter, but that if the facts were as he stated them, I did not see what else the Board could do; and at the same time added: "But the matter is one with which the Assembly has nothing to do, and I am opposed to condemning a man in this way without having given him a hearing; the bringing of it up here will cast discredit upon Dr. Woodrow's teaching throughout the whole Church, and certainly if the Assembly touches it at all, it should go to the very bottom of it." And so we parted. Dr. Clisby agreed with me decidedly the night he and Dr. Mack and Brother McKay and I stood together in the aisle after my dissent had been recorded. 3. I have met several ministers within the last two weeks, and among them one warm friend of yours, and not one of them has regarded action of the Board or of the Assembly as any complimentary endorsement of you, but the reverse. I may add that in matters of this kind I have no concealments to make. I have written this letter in full view of my personal responsibility for its statements. It is in no sense confidential. You are at liberty to use it, or not, as you please.

"With assurances of confidence and of affectionate regard,

"I am, as ever, very sincerely yours,

"EUGENE DANIEL."

"COLUMBIA, S. C., June 18, 1884.

"DEAR BROTHER DANIEL: I am much obliged to you for your

second letter also. It reached me a few days ago. I am convinced that you are right as to the designs of one person—how many more I cannot tell. So far as you are right, the act was atrociously wicked. You will see what I say in this week's paper. I send enclosed a letter from Dr. Mack to Dr. Boggs, which the latter was requested to communicate to me. Through Dr. Boggs he sent also unwritten messages to the same effect, with various additions. Your region is said to be the one where there is said to be such intense hostility to me on account of my teaching 'and other things.' It seems pretty hard this storm should be raised against me while I am quietly pursuing the even tenor of my way, attending my daily work. You will soon see my heresies, the only point of importance in which is, what I have been teaching for many years, namely, that God's word does not teach us how he created the various forms of organised beings, whether mediately or immediately; and if so, it makes no difference to us whether evolution is true or not. Every year's additional study of the facts in the case has inclined me the more to believe that in many particulars he chose the mediate plan. If when you see what I have said in my Address, you think I have been teaching what is contrary to God's truth, I hope you will suffer no considerations of personal affection to prevent you from doing your whole duty in guarding the purity of God's Church in its teachings.

"What you tell me of your conversation with Dr. Mack well illustrates the shrewdness with which he has pursued his course of detraction. On the supposition that he was telling you *all* the facts, you were ready to admit that the Board was right in *requiring* what it did with a view to my *detection*. But leaving out of view the fact that the attention of the Board in session was called year after year to my teaching on this point, what right had Dr. Mack to call upon me to publish anything? And yet because *he* thought I *appeared* reluctant, he made even you think that I seemed probably to be concealing something, and ought to be forced to be candid. I do not remember anything about the requests he made. If he did not make them, I know that almost every other one of my friends

has done so. Professor Latimer's class did so formally by letter; and not a month has passed during the last twenty years when some one has not urged me in the same direction, but it never occurred to me that I could by my failing to yield, expose myself to suspicion until I read what Dr. Mack said to you. If I had anything to conceal, what a simple fool I must be to think I can expect class after class of my students to keep silent as to what I have taught them!

"I do not know the motives at the bottom of this conspiracy, but it has gone so far now that it must succeed or fail soon. I cannot consent that it should continue to be carried on underground. With hearty thanks for your sympathy, and the fullest confidence at once in your affection and your determination to do right, I am

"Yours very truly,

"JAMES WOODROW."

The letter from Dr. Mack to Dr. Boggs to which Dr. Woodrow here refers is as follows; the point from which it is dated will be noted.

"CLARKSVILLE, TENN., June 4, 1884.

"DEAR BROTHER BOGGS: To-day Dr. Palmer announced that the Board of Directors had determined to establish a theological department in the University here, and that Dr. Dabney had been elected Professor therein.

"The brethren in the Mississippi Valley feel that they cannot and will not support Columbia Seminary if Dr. Woodrow remains there as a Professor. His neglect of the sanctuary, the peculiar teachings of his chair, and other things, have caused them to feel that they cannot trust their young men with us. Their distrust may exhibit itself in various ways: either in sending their candidates elsewhere, or in establishing new Seminaries, or in formally withdrawing their endorsement of our Seminary, or in ordering their candidates to leave Columbia. My view is clear and my path is plain. Either Dr. Woodrow must leave or else our Seminary must suffer for years, and perhaps almost die. Indeed, I do not see how, as a man of honor; he can hesitate for a moment to tender his resignation; so that the Board may be free to act,

either accepting or declining. I have told Brother Hemphill my view of the matter. As you told me on May 7 (a thing said often before by you and to which I heartily assent), 'Dr. Woodrow is a man of splendid mind, yet so unpopular in the Church that it has been a doubtful matter whether he was of any advantage to our Seminary.' Now, I go beyond this statement of yours and say he is a burden too heavy for us to carry; and he ought not, like the old man of the sea, to cling to us and ruin our Seminary and rend our Church. For one, my position is taken. In private and in public, in the Board and in our church courts, everywhere and at all times, I will not hesitate to say that the issue is between the welfare of the Seminary and the retention of Dr. Woodrow. I have felt that you ought to know this, and I prefer that you should inform Dr. Woodrow of it. Will do so myself if I have the opportunity. Can I see you and have a talk with you? Where will you be during the next two or three weeks? Please let me know. Direct your letter to Fort Mill, S. C. Kind regards to Mrs. Boggs.

"Your friend and brother,

"J. B. MACK."

As soon as this letter was placed in the hands of the writer of this article, he conferred respecting it with an eminent brother in the ministry of our Church, in whose soundness of judgment he had confidence, and both came to the conclusion that these natural inferences might be drawn from it: 1. That the Clarksville school of theology was based, at least in part, upon a distrust of Columbia Seminary excited by Dr. Woodrow's teaching, with the probable intimation that Dr. Dabney had been chosen as Professor because of the known divergence of his views from Dr. Woodrow's on the relation of Natural Science to Revealed Religion. 2. That there was a widely spread suspicion in the Mississippi Valley as to Dr. Woodrow's unsoundness, necessitating the establishment of a new Seminary at Clarksville. The impression with respect to Dr. Dabney was only an inference; and if Dr. Mack disclaims having intended to make any such impression, his disclaimer will of course be readily admitted. Let the following letters next be read:

“CLARKSVILLE, TENN., June 25, 1884.

“DEAR BROTHER DANIEL: I have just received your long and very important and interesting letter of the 23d inst., and as it admits of no delay, it shall receive my immediate attention. As to the matter which constitutes the larger part of your letter, I am prepared to say that (to use your own words) neither Dr. Woodrow nor his ‘affairs entered even remotely into the discussion (of the Directors) and their conclusion about the founding of a Seminary at Clarksville.’ Whatever may be the views and feelings of ‘the brethren in the Mississippi Valley,’ as Dr. Mack describes them to Dr. Boggs, of one thing you may rest assured: the Directors of this institution, in the matter of the establishment of this Seminary, or rather this department of Theology, never for a moment had in view the Seminary at Columbia; nor ever thought that it was a necessity to establish it here on account of the unsoundness of Dr. Woodrow, or of anything objectionable in any other existing Seminary. As it was expressed by one of the friends of Columbia, to show that this was not in opposition to that Seminary—‘Columbia is on its feet’—meaning that we were now justified in going on with our enterprise since Columbia is in a safe condition. Furthermore, I can say with the utmost confidence that if Dr. Mack intimated that the election of Dr. Dabney by our Board had any significance as in any wise referring to his difference of views from Dr. Woodrow’s on Evolution, or any other subject, he did injustice to them entirely. I do not believe that Dr. Woodrow was thought of in that connexion. I doubt if the controversy between Drs. D. and W. on the connexion of Science and Religion was known to some of the Directors, and if it *was* known, it was wholly out of mind at the time of this election. The other intimation, namely, ‘that we established our Seminary because we could not trust our students to Columbia,’ is equally without foundation. I repeat, neither Dr. Woodrow’s evolution views, nor our want of confidence in Columbia, had the smallest concern in the matter of the enterprise of the Clarksville Theological Department. The history of this is as follows: 1. It was always contemplated as part of our plan, as our brethren all know. 2. I wrote to you last November and

asked your views of the propriety of taking initiatory steps, and you approved, and suggested calling a convention to ventilate the subject. 3. I wrote to every Director asking if they would approve of such a convention. 4. The majority answered, approving; but one, a most influential member, suggested doubts; another wrote in most positive and unconditional terms opposing the whole matter. Upon this I dropped the whole subject, to be taken up again at Commencement—so stating it at that time to some of my correspondents. Accordingly, at the recent annual meeting of the Board, in my annual report I brought it before the Board for discussion, unaccompanied by any argument on my part. The result was, that our Board, with entire unanimity, and great enthusiasm, entered into the scheme and developed its outline as it has appeared in all our public church journals. The great and only argument urged in favor of the election of Dr. Dabney was (to use the language of many) that ‘he is the greatest teacher of theology in the world.’ Not that he was a sound man on science, or that he ought to be elected as a rival to *Dr. Anybody*, or that we were afraid to send our boys to Columbia, but that we needed a Seminary here for the Southwestern Church, and that we thought that this was the auspicious time to carry into effect our original plan. Whatever Dr. Mack may have done to create an impression unfavorable to Dr. Woodrow or Columbia, is a matter with which this Board has nothing to do; and as the Board is as a body absent, and cannot be consulted, I give, as their organ, the foregoing statement as the true expression of their *status* in this connexion. Of this you can make whatever use you may judge proper. Let me have what further suggestions may occur to you in regard to this matter, and oblige

‘Yours as ever,

“JOHN N. WADDEL.”

“NEW ORLEANS, LA., June 26, 1884.

“MY DEAR DR. DANIEL: I reply at once to your letter, which has been received within an hour.

“1. The establishment of a theological department in the University at Clarksville, and the election of Dr. Dabney, had no

connexion with the trouble about the Seminary at Columbia. In the discussions within the Board, there was not a single allusion made to it. I have no reason to suppose the thought of it occurred to a single mind; it certainly did not occur to my own. The fact is that a theological school has always been contemplated by us; and the conviction of its necessity to the Southwest has been growing with the years. If the movement has been stimulated by anything, it was the conference between the two Churches respecting the revival of the Danville Seminary, and the dread of having a hybrid school, under the joint control of two dissimilar bodies, fastened upon the Mississippi Valley. Dr. Dabney was selected by us for obvious reasons: because he was a trained theological instructor, the very best we could hope to find in the whole country; because we hoped he could be lifted out of his present position, where there is a waste of power so far as his theological attainments are concerned; because we needed a man of strength and reputation to place before our people, in order to raise the endowment for his support. I do not suppose that the idea of antagonising him to any other person occurred to the mind of a single Director.

"2. The embroglio at the Assembly was a surprise to me; nor have I yet a clear understanding how the matter ever got into that shape before the body. It is a first principle of justice that no man shall be condemned unheard; and it was unfortunate that any name should be coupled with suspicions, which there was neither time nor place to meet. I have always regretted Dr. Woodrow's silence upon these controverted topics—not because I suspected him of unsoundness in doctrine, but because he was withholding help from so many of us who wanted it, and which he was so exceptionally competent to give. I am looking forward to the promised exposition of his views with great interest, in the hope that it will allay this storm and give to us who are not scientists the light we need upon the controversies of the day.

"I have stated these facts just as I view them, and with no wish to take part in the conflict pending at Columbia, in regard to which I have no other feeling than of deep regret that trouble

after trouble should thus gather about a Seminary which I have every reason to love and cherish.

“Yours most truly,

“B. M. PALMER.”

“MEMPHIS, TENN., June 21, 1884.

“DEAR DR. WOODROW: Your letter of the 18th inst. came to hand to-day. I have read it, and Dr. Mack’s letter, and the editorial in the SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN. I reply as to a few points:

“1. My acquaintance with Dr. Mack is comparatively limited. So far as I can remember, I was introduced to him when he and Dr. Boggs were in this city canvassing for the Seminary. During that time I met him frequently, and he was occasionally my guest. After this, we met no more, so far as I remember, until the session of the Assembly at Vicksburg. My relations to him are kindly, on the one hand, and not intimate, on the other. At the Assembly we were thrown together but little, and our conversation related almost solely to that matter of the Diaconate, he being on that committee with me. The conversation respecting you was in no sense confidential; my question was addressed to Professor Hemphill; and, as it would be inconceivable by me that a minister would *desire* that anything of that sort concerning a brother minister should be kept secret, I did not hesitate to tell you, and do not suppose that he would object to my *having told* you. In what I said in answer to his question I did not intend to imply that I thought that even upon his representation of the facts the Board would be justified in asking you to publish in order to ‘detection.’ Nor did I, after listening to his statements, for one moment think that you could be anything less than ‘candid.’ Of all the men I ever knew, you are about the last of whom I could ever entertain that thought. And I wish you to know that my confidence in you has never wavered for a second; that what was said in my hearing to your disparagement was promptly set aside as *ex parte* statement; and I never had fuller confidence in you in my life than when I turned away from that gate. I refrained from saying anything until the question

was suddenly sprung upon me; and then as politely as I could I replied that I had heard but one side, and said that if those were the facts, I did not see how the Board could have acted differently than to ask you to publish, in order that justice might be done you.

"2. As to the Southwestern Seminary. For a year or two I have known of the plan to organise that institution. I have had correspondence with Drs. Shearer and Waddel, and conversation with Dr. Palmer. I have never heard one word of starting that enterprise because of dissatisfaction with the teaching of any Professor at Columbia. If you and your affairs have entered even remotely into the consideration and discussion of that measure, I am in total ignorance of the fact. I do not believe that such is the case; and if I did believe it, the movement could count upon me no longer for any moral support. The worst blow that could be dealt us in the incipiency of that undertaking would be the production of any impression of that kind. I am constantly coming in contact with Directors of the Southwestern University, and I have never heard one syllable of opposition to Columbia Seminary, or to you. In all the Southwest, I have heard no word of suspicion as to your teachings *until I went to the General Assembly*, and not then, even, until this report on theological seminaries was brought in. I asked a brother from Florida, 'What does that mean?' and he, sitting by me, answered, 'The reference is to Dr. Woodrow.' If you could have seen the expression of genuine astonishment which must have been on my face, you would have understood that I, at least, could not have known that Clarksville Seminary, in whole or in part, was to be founded upon any such issue as that. With your permission, I shall immediately show leading men there Dr. Mack's letter; and while I have had no conference with them, I think I can safely say that they will unite with me in urging the Directors to repudiate every allegation or intimation of that character.

"3. As to your teachings. I regret that on leaving college I had not that acquaintance with physical science which was necessary to my deriving the benefit from your instruction which otherwise I know I might have received. But you put into my

mind one great and broad principle which has been of service to me ever since, namely, that the Bible was not written to teach science; that respecting such questions as the universality of the deluge, for instance, it could not by fair interpretation be made to speak with scientific certainty, and that, consequently, Revelation had nothing to lose, however the fact might be. When I heard of all this 'evolution talk,' I remembered your mode of teaching about other things, and I felt sure, as I still feel, that you have been misrepresented; that many things you have stated hypothetically have been set down as taught positively. If it has been shown by you that the Bible, on fair interpretation, has nothing to gain or to lose, however in the future the evolution hypothesis may or may not be proved, then I think you will have done the Christian world a service. But of course I shall wait and read your article for myself. Meanwhile, as I said in my first letter about the suspiciousness of your teaching, '*I don't believe one word of it.*'

"4. Dr. Mack, in his letter, alludes to one thing which I am sure is not understood. It is the alleged fact of your not going with regularity to church. Students coming from Columbia have reported that you do not attend church. I have heard it. I think I spoke of it to Dr. Mack, and we simply said we did not understand it; and I added that I wished the reason *could* be known; that I had always so admired you, and had such confidence in the soundness of your judgment, I was sure that you *had* a good reason. And more than once I felt the impulse to write to you about it, but feared that I might be regarded as venturing into a realm I had no right to enter. I tell you all this freely and candidly, and in so doing I have let you know all my mind and heart respecting you. . . .

"As ever yours,

"EUGENE DANIEL."

"COLUMBIA, S. C., June 26, 1884.

"DEAR BROTHER DANIEL: I have received your long and satisfactory letter, and am again grateful to you for taking so much trouble with this matter. I appreciate your friendship

more highly than I can tell you, and if I can get an opportunity I will eagerly embrace it to express, as far as I can, my appreciation publicly, both of your manly Christian act in the Assembly and all you have done since. I am fully persuaded that you are right as to what the Assembly would have done if their attention had been arrested at the right time. It is to me, as to you, inconceivable that a minister should desire to keep such things as you allude to secret. While I have been told much during the last six weeks that has been said against me, in most cases it has been with the addition, 'Of course this is confidential,' 'You understand that this is private,' instead of your way. I am glad to see what you say as to my 'candor.' Like you, I thought that whatever might be imputed to me, it would not be that. I do not believe any more than you do that the election of Dr. Dabney was in the least influenced by my 'heretical teachings.' If it had been, the Directors of the Southwestern Presbyterian University would have shown themselves to be fools: for one of our students formerly of Clarksville a few days ago told me that Professor Caldwell teaches exactly my 'heretical' views, so far as he could understand him. Of course you must feel free to use the copy of Dr. Mack's letter as you please. I send you another copy enclosed. I will carefully keep your letters so that you can refer to them whenever you will.

"The contradiction between the two views as to the meaning of the action of the Board and of the Assembly is now to my mind quite clear. By the originator of that action in both Board and Assembly, Dr. Mack, it was undoubtedly designed to do me all the harm that has ever been supposed; and probably this design may have been participated in by some whose minds he has perverted. But, on the other hand, the Assembly (and the same is true of the Board) as a whole was simply entrapped into what they did, innocent of any intention to do a grievous wrong. Until within the last two months I did not doubt Dr. Mack's friendship for me; and whenever during the past year it was suggested to me that he was trying to injure me, as it was suggested from time to time, I stoutly denied it and utterly refused to believe it. But, besides a num-

ber of other instances, within a week, a gentleman of the highest character (an elder), living in another part of South Carolina, has detailed to me several cases in which he knew, of his own immediate knowledge, where Dr. Mack had tried to injure my reputation and character in several different particulars. Hence I have been obliged to change my mind.

“As to the last point you referred to, while I would decline peremptorily to answer an accuser except before my Presbytery, I have not the least hesitation to answer a friend like you fully. As to the *fact*, the statement is correct. For fourteen years I have been (and am) frequently absent from church, sometimes for weeks at a time. You remember perhaps that about 1870 I lost my health. I partially recovered by fall, and was able to perform my public duties the following winter with some comfort. The next summer I had a long and severe attack which confined me to bed for weeks, and from which it seemed likely for some time I could not recover; but I did, and was able to drag through the winter’s work, my mind as clear and my teachings as full as ever. Then my physician here told me I could not live more than six months. But if I should go to Europe, I would likely live a little longer, with the faintest possible chance of restoration to a feeble sort of strength. Physicians in Augusta and New York concurred. Wishing my family to be with me as long as I was going to live, we all went together. To the surprise of every one, I recovered so much in nine months that I came home and gave full courses of lectures here, and returned to Europe in the spring. I did the same thing the next autumn, etc., until we all came home together in September, 1874. I was much improved, and quite able with care to discharge my public duties as well as ever. In 1877 I had a long attack of typhoid fever, which brought me again seemingly to death’s door. Since then I have been in reasonable health for me, though I am very easily exhausted. But by riding to the Seminary, and wherever I go, I get on very comfortably, and I am becoming really *stout*. Since last July our youngest daughter has been confined to bed for some time with typhoid fever; and since, with its effects. For months it seemed

hardly likely that she would recover, and she needed nursing night and day. Now, under the circumstances I have so fully detailed, I adopted the rule of performing as fully as possible every public duty, and then, if I had strength left, I would gratefully embrace the privilege of uniting with God's people in worshipping him in his house. But if not, out of a sense of duty to him, and confident that I was acting in accordance with his will, I rested at home. During the past year I have often remained at home to aid my wife and children to take care of my baby, as we have allowed no one to enter her room except her physician. I suppose it is not worth while to tire you longer on this subject. I have known for years that my absences have been widely spoken of. But it always seemed to me that every one here whom I met from time to time would know the state of the facts, and that if any chose to distort, it would not do me or any one else any good to follow up the rumors of my wickedness. I did not care to beg my friends not to believe that I was in an ungodly way 'neglecting the sanctuary'; and I have written thus to you only because of the active and sincere friendship you have been manifesting toward me, with your confidence in me. I need not add that if I could possibly have thought that it was necessary to prove to you that I was not a hypocritical, sanctuary-neglecting sinner, I would not have said one word.

"With very kind regards,

"Yours most sincerely,

"JAMES WOODROW."

In closing the presentation of this correspondence, the writer wishes to reiterate that none of the foregoing letters were written for publication; that Dr. Woodrow in writing his could have had no thought that it would ever fall beneath the eye of the public, and that his permission to use it was earnestly sought, and granted, by telegraph, only three days before this article had been brought to its termination; and that all these things are now given to the Church and to the world solely from a desire that the interests of kindness and truth and justice may be subserved. Moreover, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, it may not be amiss to say that this article is the result of

no consultation with, or suggestion from, any ministers or elders in our Church; and that the writer himself had formed no determination to write it until about a week before the manuscript was ready for the press.

The evidence being before us, we are now ready to draw our conclusion. If responsible Presbyterian ministers have openly said, "Dr. Woodrow is a heretic"; if newspapers have proclaimed that an acceptance of his teachings will necessitate the re-writing of the Confession of Faith; if ministers and elders have *published* him as a heretic, and well-nigh denounced him as devoid of honor and principle; if Synods have declared that his teachings are opposed to the "received interpretation of the Scriptures as expressed in the standards of the Church," the very standards which he has sworn to uphold; if the General Assembly—it may have been inadvertently, but none the less really—has turned the eyes of the Church and the world to him as one suspected of holding and teaching "insidious error"; if his personal piety, the very genuineness of his religion, has been called in question; if it has been published that he never preaches, and that he neglects the sanctuary; if it has been unmistakably intimated that the brethren in the Mississippi Valley distrust him, and that a new chair of theology is about to be established, founded in part upon the general lack of confidence in the soundness of his instructions; if it has been represented that he has acted in such a way as to justify a brother minister in saying, "I do not see how as a man of honor he can hesitate for one moment to tender his resignation"—if all these things have been said of him, the conclusion is as irresistible as self-evident truth that heresy and dishonesty have been enstamped on his name. And all the disclaimers that might be uttered until the end of time could never alter the fact.

To all this it has been benevolently suggested as an answer that "it is not Dr. Woodrow who has been condemned, but only his teachings." Well, of course there *is* balm for a wounded spirit in that reflection; but in order to appreciate it the sufferer would be reduced to the extremity of preferring himself to his

ministry, his own personality to his God-given ambassadorship. And Dr. Woodrow will probably elect to suffer on rather than buy the sweet consolation at that price.

Another, an honored servant of God in the Church, has expressed the opinion (if the writer understands him) that to hold views contrary to "the received interpretations of Scripture as expressed in the standards" is not the same thing as to contradict "the Bible in its highest and absolute sense." The name of this beloved master in our Israel cannot even be thought of but with profoundest veneration. But he who himself is "*nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*" will forgive us if, as Presbyterians, we decline to regulate our ecclesiastical decisions by the "distinction" which we think our church courts are bound to regard as "without a difference." To us of the Southern Presbyterian Church, as to Presbyterians everywhere, it will always seem that our *raison d'être* as a denomination is found in the modest but confident belief that our interpretation of the Bible is to us the Bible, and that he, in our ministry, who is a heretic with respect to our standards is a heretic against the word of God as far as we can understand it; and it is hardly to be expected that we will say in one breath that a man is perpendicular to the word of God as we *do* understand it, and yet in the next breath declare that he *may* be in parallelism with that word in some transcendental sense in which we do *not* understand it; and, on the ground of this *possibility*, which we admit we do not conceive of as a *reality*, we acquit him of the charge of heresy! And we are very sure that when one of our church courts, composed of those who have received and adopted our standards as "containing the system of doctrine taught in the word of God," fails to act upon that "reception and adoption" as the fundamental principle of its own organism, in that very act it commits *felo de se*. Until the light of clearer argumentation dawns upon us, we as a Church must be excused from committing ourselves to the conclusion that Professor Woodrow is *out of* harmony with the standards of our denomination and yet *in* harmony with "the Bible in its highest and absolute sense." This distinction, which we humbly believe to be no distinction of which a Presbyterian

church court can take cognizance in issuing a case of this kind, if it be any distinction at all, is utterly insufficient to resist the overwhelming proof that "heresy" has been written upon Dr. Woodrow's teachings from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot.

And now we approach the question to the answer of which everything which has hitherto been said is simply preparatory, namely, if Dr. Woodrow has been accused publicly of heresy and of dishonesty and of impiety, what is the duty of the Church toward him and his accusers? Is there any tribunal in the government of our "Free Christian Commonwealth" (as Dr. Thornwell called it) before which he and the swift witnesses against him may be brought face to face, and by which, in a formal and legal manner, his righteousness may be vindicated, if he is innocent, or his guilt may be established, if guilty he be. In all this discussion there has been no attempt to decide as to whether the things alleged against him are true or false. Matters of that kind must be determined in another forum. The whole aim of the writer has been to show that this servant of God, in good and regular standing in the Presbyterian Church, has been accused, and that he is entitled to have the charges against him properly formulated and regularly prosecuted. He stands before the whole Church pleading—nay, not pleading for, but *demanding*, a trial as a free man, according to the law and the testimony. Has the Church, by her constitution, bound herself to answer that demand?

If she is not so bound, certainly she ought to be. Every holy impulse of righteousness tells us that such things as have been referred to in this article ought not even to be whispered, much less to be published, unless under the solemn responsibility of proving by legal evidence every word of accusation that has been uttered. Let this thing not be required, and where is the Presbyterian minister, or elder, or private member of the church, who is safe for an hour? Let us be sure that this is a matter in which all of us, from the highest to the lowest, have a superlatively important interest. Who of us is not liable to be misunderstood? Who of us in his preaching may not be misrep-

sented as holding and teaching fundamental error? Who of us may not be put before the world as neglecters of the sanctuary, and judged "according to the appearance," and not by "righteous judgment"? And when these things come to our ears, and, in indignant anguish, we cry out, "To the law and to the testimony," can it be possible that in the Presbyterian Church there is no way legally provided by which there *must* be a response to that cry? If so, farewell to all hope of the prevalence of righteousness in the denomination to which we belong.

And this leads to another thought. It is not simply the welfare of the citizen which demands that there shall be this tribunal, and that it shall not fail to do its full duty; the very honor and glory, the existence and the perpetuity, of the commonwealth require it. What are the facts? Here are accusations, public, and couched in language of awful severity. Now those accusations are either true or false; and whether true *or* false, the judicial functions of Jesus Christ's Church on earth should be employed to pass upon them.

If Dr. Woodrow is what he is represented to be, his warmest friend in the ministry, though bound to him by a thousand ties, would make no plea on his behalf, as he makes none on behalf of himself. He stands loyal to the authority of his brethren in the Lord; and if legally condemned as guilty of heresy, he bows to the decree and disappears from the ministry of his Church. If "guilty" be the verdict, he *must* so disappear. *In the action taken by our church courts, and especially by the present Board of Directors, there is the dangerous assumption that the Church permits her ministers to hold heresy, provided only that they shall not teach it.* In all earnestness, it is hereby submitted that, as Presbyterians, we cannot take that ground. We examine our candidates for licensure, not merely to discover what they propose to teach, but to ascertain what they believe. And if we find that they are opposed to our standards in their *creed*, we reject them. But the Church, if she drops the matter where it is, will virtually have said to Dr. Woodrow, "You may not teach error or heresy in a theological seminary, but you may still hold it, and you *may* teach it anywhere and everywhere else!" The

preposterousness of all this is easily shown. Under our constitution, a student for the ministry is not absolutely required to go to any theological seminary; he may take his theological course under "some approved teacher of theology." But is not Dr. Woodrow an approved "teacher of theology" in *Augusta Presbytery*? Is he not in good and regular standing in that body? May not any young man in that Presbytery go to him and study theology? And if, on examination, he should be found sound in the faith (as Dr. Woodrow's students for twenty years, and up to this hour, have been found), would not his Presbytery be constitutionally bound to license him? Who can fail to see this inconsistency? A heretic may *be* a heretic and yet may be in good and regular standing in his Presbytery; he may not teach students for the ministry in a theological seminary, but he *may* teach as large a class as he can obtain privately, for he is an "approved teacher" so far as his Presbytery's action is concerned. In the view of the writer it is impossible to escape the conclusion that we cannot heal this hurt slightly without inflicting incalculable injury upon the Church of our Divine Redeemer. If the things alleged of Dr. Woodrow be true, he himself is willing to lay down his credentials as a minister of the Presbyterian Church. And if they are not true, his vindication should be decided and positive. The verdict of his Presbytery should be expressed in language terrible to those who may have advanced such charges and may have failed to sustain them in legal trial; whilst it should be encouraging and inspiring and strengthening to him who so long, every day, has borne the burden of these most awful accusations.

A minister's ecclesiastical standing, including his reputation for orthodoxy, is as the roof above his head. Chatham said: "The poorest man may, in his cottage, bid defiance to all the forces of the crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the storm may enter; the rain may enter; the wind may blow through it; but the King of England may not enter; all his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement." The humblest member of Christ's Church, and its obscurest elder or minister, has a citadel which is guaranteed to him by law, and

which is all his own; and no Synod, no Board of Directors, no General Assembly, may mount the drawbridge and cross over and take possession, unless armed with all the provisions of our venerable constitution.¹ And what are those provisions? That when a minister's purity, either of doctrine or of life, shall be called in question, his case shall be thoroughly investigated by his Presbytery; that if there be no presumption of guilt, that fact shall be declared plainly and unequivocally, so that a righteous man may rejoice in his vindication; that if there be a presumption of guilt, there shall be a judicial trial before the Presbytery, with the privilege of appeal to the Synod, and from the Synod to the General Assembly, that *thus* the mind of the whole Church, *through its representatives*, may be ascertained.

To his Presbytery the minister gives his first allegiance. He forms no pastoral relation without her consent; he dissolves none but by her permission. When she says to him "Go," he goeth; when "Come," he cometh. Thus, and there, he submits himself to his brethren in the Lord; and as long as he does this, he is entitled to fullest protection. He has a right to fly to her; and when the storm-cloud darkens, it is his privilege to hide himself beneath her wing until the calamity be overpast. Individuals and church courts have precipitated upon the Presbytery of Augusta a crisis which by every principle of righteousness she is compelled to meet. It is vain for her to say that all these accusations of ministers and elders and religious newspapers and Synods and General Assembly are insufficient to raise a technical presumption of guilt (which is what the law means) which would make a formal trial necessary. Should she so say, she would dishonor the declarations of church officers and church courts alike. She cannot assume that all these parties have spoken rashly; their character and standing would make that assumption perilous. Nor can she, in the face of all these accu-

¹The writer does not here press the view, which nevertheless he holds, that the very highest court of our Church is destitute of a shadow of right to cast any imputation, either directly or indirectly, upon a minister's standing in that Church save through his Presbytery; and that all deliverances of General Assemblies or Synods to the contrary are unconstitutional.

sations, turn a deaf ear to the demand of him with whom she is in covenant. The writer sincerely believes that there is now only this course to be pursued: either Augusta Presbytery of its own accord should reconsider its action and voluntarily go into a judicial trial, or the Synod of Georgia should reverse the Presbytery's decision, and require it to do what both law and equity demand. The amazing thing is that charges were not formulated long ago; that those who have been constrained in conscience to raise the cry of heresy and dishonesty and impiety have not assumed the full responsibility of their accusations, under the constitutional penalty of being pronounced slanderers of the gospel ministry, should they fail to show probable ground of what they allege. But if these are not equal to the emergency, it is hard to see how the Presbytery can refuse to call upon all who are so willing to speak, to speak under the laws of evidence; and then to render its verdict accordingly. The writer does not hesitate to say that were he in Dr. Woodrow's place, he would surrender his good name as an orthodox Presbyterian minister only when the last legal remedy had been exhausted. Step by step, and from court to court, he should move through the dreary months and years, if need be, until he stood to hear the verdict of supreme authority in a General Assembly *that was aware of the issue presented, and prepared to meet it.* It is of no avail to declare that "the mind of the Church" has been already obtained. There is a regular constitutional way of securing "the mind of the Church" on all questions involving the reputation of gospel ministers; and the sooner that method is employed, the sooner will dawn again upon us the day of righteousness. Defer it as we may, "to this complexion must we come at last."

EUGENE DANIEL.

ARTICLE IV.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The reader has discovered that familiar acquaintance with any town develops three constant characteristics: it is conspicuous for healthfulness, noted for the beauty of its women, and famed for hospitality. There are likewise three features of a General Assembly that are *constant*: every Assembly is well moderated, well reported, well entertained. Assuming these characteristics as a matter of course, we pass on to note that the body convened this year in the extreme southwest of its territory. The motive influential, doubtless decisive, of the choice of Houston was that Presbyterianism and Texas might become acquainted with each other under the most favorable auspices. That the Church, on the one hand, through her representatives, might *see* Texas, and seeing, appreciate its importance as *the* field for aggressive work; and on the other, that the *prestige* of this highest court of the Church might give impulse to Presbyterianism in Texas.

We fear the result will be disappointment in both directions. It was doubtless anticipated that the courtesy of excursions would be tendered the body and it would thus travel over the great State and learn something of its imperial extent and exhaustless resources. Some such effort was made, but the railroads failed to second it; and with the very fewest exceptions the Assembly saw Texas only as represented by the dreary stretch from New Orleans to Houston. As to the other point, we are not sanguine of great gain to Presbyterianism from the sittings of the Assembly. We were cordially welcomed; but there was the appearance, at least, of an eagerness to get through and away, greater than was altogether seemly on the part of persons so kindly entertained. Several of the commissioners uttered indignant, even somewhat intemperate, protest on the floor, against rush and haste: Dr. Junkin, with whose kind people we were meeting, offered urgent and pained remonstrance, pleading by his hopes and prayers, the preparations and anticipations of his people; but to no avail; the spirit of disquiet and unrest had been raised

and refused to be exorcised; the body went inexorably to its close and adjourned early in the afternoon of Thursday, after an eight days' session, with only six days of work; a body which deserves to be historic for "laying on the table" and "calls of the question." One of the oldest ministers in the body expresses himself in the public press thus:

The General Assembly, 1885, of our Church was dissolved May 28, and is now on record with "the church before the flood," but its influence for good or evil *lives*, and will flow on and on until the angel shall be empowered to declare "that there shall be time no longer."

Had this solemn fact been a realisation with the commissioners, possibly their deliberations would have been more deliberate, and their conclusions more cautious and mature. Although many of the conclusions were reached under the "whip and spur" of the "five minutes' rule," the tabling of motions, amendments, and substitutes, almost as soon as offered, and of the "previous question," still let it be hoped that the decisions may prove of value to our beloved Zion, and to the world.

After Monday morning, the fourth day, I do not think that any of us thought ourselves members of a deliberate or a deliberative body; such was the hurry and the impatience to "determine on all things before the body" and start for home. . . .

Time seemed too precious to use much of it in devotional exercises and public worship. We were allowed a sermon Friday night and one Saturday night. On the Sabbath, the various churches were supplied. Then, Thursday night, the Assembly being dissolved, we had preaching again.

My impression is that Dr. Junkin and his most hospitable people were sadly disappointed in the Assembly. They hoped to be spiritually benefited by the meeting together of so many ministers and elders. Nor can I honestly think that we left our impress upon that people, as men of God, as lovers of souls, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost.

An editorial in another paper, written by one who was present, says of the body:

It has not taken the time and deliberation in its decisions which could have been desired. From the first, the Assembly has held two or three public sessions a day. This has, to a large extent, crowded the important work of the committees into hasty moments snatched between the sessions, or compelled many of its ablest members to absent themselves altogether from several sessions of the body. Either alternative is unfortunate. Ill-considered reports lead to tedious discussions—frequent absence from the meetings mars the interest of members in its proceedings.

Again, on Monday the remark was made that the Assembly would probably adjourn on Wednesday night. Those familiar with Assembly busi-

ness well knew that this could not be done without injury to the general interests of the Church, and many expressions to that effect were heard. But visions of seeing home before Sunday were lodged before the minds of the hearers, and many seemed to be determined to secure it. The call for "the question" was heard with great frequency, and measures were repeatedly pushed to a vote with unfortunate haste.

A third writer remarks: "The promptness with which amendments and substitutes were tabled became, after a while, laughable."

These are specimens of what is to be found in every correspondence about the Assembly that has fallen under the eye of the writer of this paper. When we remember the character of the territory in which the body met, the reason of the choice of place, the very unusual distance and proportionate expense, this feature seems unfortunate in the extreme; when we recall further the fact that a previous Assembly requested the Presbyteries "in electing commissioners to make sure that the parties chosen would make their arrangements to stay quietly and patiently for two full weeks at the meeting, should so much time prove to be requisite," and then add the circumstance that the position of commissioner is notoriously *no very unwelcome* one, this unfortunate feature appears inexcusable.

We give permanence to these criticisms in no captious spirit, but with the purpose and the hope of some warning for the future.

Our decided judgment is that the courts of the Church ought always to hasten slowly, give full time for discussion and deliberation, and meet at least once a day for divine worship. It is sometimes said that we do not meet for preaching but for business. This is true; but it is also true that our *chief business* is preaching; in its last analysis all else is subordinate and ancillary to this, and our only right to engage in any business is grounded solely upon its relation to preaching the gospel. It is not wholesome in nature or in effect for a church court to be too busy for divine worship, and in fact we believe that there would be literally little loss of time in bringing the *spiritual* far more prominently to the front. How curiously to an outsider it must sound for a commissioner to assert on the floor that the Assembly has no time to spare for preaching!

Moreover, these meetings offer to many ministers almost their only opportunity of hearing the gospel; that *they* need it no less than their flocks, few will question; that our church courts do not yield the spiritual results reasonably to be expected from such meetings, none will doubt. And here we think lies one cause of it, these courts are "too busy for preaching."

We gladly turn from this one unfavorable feature to others more pleasant to a critic.

The first vote showed the presence of one hundred and forty-one delegates present at the organisation. The body was composed chiefly of comparatively young men, and there was conspicuous dearth of men prominent in the pulpits or the courts of the Church. While many were disposed to regret this, yet we believe that in one respect it was fortunate. There being no men of overshadowing influence, each member seemed to feel equal to differ from his fellow and free to say so. It was a *level* body, and because level it was *live*. This accounts for a fact noted by one of the newspaper correspondents, that "there were no great debates, though there was a good deal of *tendency* to debate." There was no great duel, but there was any amount of "free fighting," and the Moderator seemed at times sorely troubled and perplexed by the eagerness manifested all over the house to get the floor. There was honorable absence of all show or parade, of set speeches, eloquent orations, ambitious harangues. The discussion was fresh, active, general; no long, labored argument, cut and dried speeches; the meeting was as free from this as a Presbytery. There was also a most creditable lack of ambitious preaching. No sermon we heard during the meeting that was not simple, earnest, spiritual in tone and purpose. There was remarkable closeness in voting; very few large majorities except in those cases where unanimity was inevitable. At the same time, with all this independence of thought and freedom of speech, there was perfect courtesy and kindly feeling exhibited throughout, and absolute acquiescence followed all conclusions however earnest and equally divided the fight.

The ruling elders deserve special mention. It was a noble body of men. The large part they took in the discussions, the

interest they manifested in all the questions; their ease, readiness, intelligence, and force on the floor; their evidently high character, manliness, and sense, were altogether such as to make at least one preacher *proud* of them as representatives of the Presbyterian Church.

All these things are worthy of favorable comment, and we give it gratefully and heartily.

The first ripple rose to the surface upon the nomination of a Permanent Clerk to succeed our venerable and beloved Dr. Brown. There was apparent at first some disposition to push things; but wiser counsels prevailed, and the election was postponed to the second day. Several nominations were then made, and the ripple emerged in a motion to make the office elective every five years. This revival of an old question brought the conservatives to the forefront and created a lively but brief debate.

The reasons prompting this movement did not appear on the floor, but it is an open secret; and we think nothing could be lost by a fair and candid statement and defence of them, and the time to make such is *at the close of the session*, not at its beginning.

On the one hand, it was argued that the experience of civil life favors the opportunity of rotation in office. On the other hand, it was argued that it would take a man about five years to learn the work of a Permanent Clerk. To this the reply was made that it would be a gratification to the officers holding a place to be endorsed once in five years, if they continue, and a propriety in the opportunity of changing, if it be wise. Some took the ground that our Form of Government provides that a clerk shall continue in office during the pleasure of the court. Also that the principle of change is revolutionary of our established customs; that it will be ineffectual in securing a change. If adopted, it will tend to the election of the Stated Clerk also for a term of years, of secretaries, of ruling elders, and of pastors for a term of years. That this Assembly could not determine the term of office of a clerk. The next Assembly, which is a totally distinct body, might undo our work at its pleasure. All

that this Assembly could do was to elect a Permanent Clerk for *this* Assembly. If we made a limit, the next Assembly could change the limit. The proposal introduced a new principle, which tended toward changes in all the offices of our Church. The only way to introduce this principle is to amend the Book of Church Order. Only in this way could the rule be made binding on future Assemblies.

As to the merits of this movement, we are not prepared to pronounce it absolutely groundless; yet we fail to find grounds sufficient to justify the change. At the same time, there does not seem much force in the arguments urged against it. The constitutional point appears weak. The same objection in general would obtain against any action, for no Assembly has power to bind its successor by any precedent. To assert that each Assembly is limited to the election of its own Permanent (?) Clerk is to declare the office elective annually—and to claim this as a bar to a limit of five years, and at the same time challenge the right of perpetuity for the election on the *same* constitutional principle, sounds, to say the least of it, inconsistent. It is absurd to say that it requires five years to learn the work of a Permanent Clerk. Wherein does his work differ from that of an ordinary Stated Clerk of one of the lower courts except in the matter of greater responsibility? He is assisted by two competent temporary clerks in keeping the run of the business, and his work is ended when the record is secured; the publication is attended to by the Stated Clerk; so that the work is really divided among four competent persons. It is useless to deny that the office is an honorable and a desirable one. It gives the holder opportunity to become well and favorably known to the whole Church; to visit the leading centres of Presbyterianism and to mingle with our best people; to become acquainted with almost the whole ministry of the Church and its foremost ruling elders; to become familiar with the views and feelings of the Church. These facts, together with the knowledge of routine, which is such a desideratum in a body necessarily a new one every year, combine to give a clerk great influence in the body; and, it may be added, as not the most undesirable feature of the office,

that it affords annually, at the most delightful season of the year, a trip which all the circumstances unite to make a very pleasant and much coveted one. In conclusion, when there is disposition to emphasise its *onerous* duties, it is grateful to the feelings to remember that they are borne with cheerful resignation, and may be shifted to any number of willing shoulders whenever the burden gets *too* galling to be tolerated longer. It is a burden that many competent brethren would be willing to have thrust upon them.

The discussion of the subject perished under a motion to lay on the table, and the Assembly immediately conferred the martyr's crown on the Rev. Robert P. Farris, D. D., of St. Louis.

THE DIRECTORY OF WORSHIP

Came before the Assembly with the following summary of Presbyterianial action :

"Papers embodying the action of fifty Presbyteries in regard to the revision are in the hands of the Committee.

"Of these, twenty-five expressly approve the continuance of the work of revision, and many of them furnish criticisms and suggestions for the use of the Committee, to wit: Fayetteville, Augusta, Columbia, Western District, Western Texas, Brazos, Central Texas, Bethel, St. Louis, Arkansas, West Lexington, Mississippi, Tombeckbee, St. Johns, South Carolina, Atlanta, Tuscaloosa, Roanoke, Louisiana, Harmony, Chesapeake, Louisville, Abingdon, Cherokee, Knoxville.

"Twenty imply approval and contribute criticisms and suggestions, to wit: Charleston, Greenbrier, Montgomery, Lexington, Ebenezer, Enoree, Savannah, South Alabama, Florida, Orange, Transylvania, Athens, West Hanover, Mecklenburg, Memphis, New Orleans, Macon, East Hanover, Holston, East Alabama.

"Two express dissatisfaction of any revision, but furnish criticisms, to wit: Potosi and Winchester.

"Three discountenance revision, and furnish no criticisms, to wit: Concord, Missouri, East Texas."

The task of the Revision Committee is no enviable one. As to the *doctrine* of worship, there is probably no difference of opinion in our Church; on all questions of principle there is doubtless practical unanimity; but as to the forms in which these principles shall find expression, there will be found nearly as

many different views as there are individuals consulted. The revision is substantially a matter of taste, and the individuality of taste is proverbial. The work then resolves itself to this simple problem: in a matter of *taste* to harmonise and satisfy the views, feelings, sentiment, and prejudices of about eight thousand individuals. The proportions of this problem may be appreciated when we remember the ability of the committee, the time and labor devoted by them to the work, the aid contributed by nearly fifty Presbyteries, all running through a series of years; and yet the fact is that under *such circumstances* the *third* revision seemed to find almost no favor in the Assembly.

The Assembly's committee brought in two reports:

MAJORITY REPORT.

The committee recommend:

1. That the General Assembly expresses its approval of the diligence of the Committee on the Revision of the Directory of Worship; and
2. That the results of their work be sent down to the Presbyteries, not for adoption, but for their further examination and criticism, to be reported back to the next General Assembly for its action.
3. That it is unnecessary to continue the present, or to appoint a new committee on this revision until the Presbyteries shall have taken action on the report now sent down to them.

MINORITY REPORT.

The minority report is as follows:

The committee to which was referred the Revised Directory of Worship, furnished by a committee of a previous Assembly for the consideration of this Assembly, would report as follows, viz.:

1. We have examined this reported Revised Directory, with prayerful care, diligently comparing each section and clause with those of our Directory now in use.
2. We carefully commend the Christian zeal and the painstaking diligence of the Committee presenting this report on Revised Directory, but we deem it inexpedient to take action at present looking to a change of our present Directory for Worship.

After a brief discussion, the majority report was adopted.

THE DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

The committee appointed to examine the answers of Presbyteries to the overture of the preceding Assembly recommending

that the clause (Con. xxiv. § 4) be stricken out, viz.: "The man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own, nor the woman of her husband's kindred nearer in blood than of her own," made a report as follows:

Your committee beg leave to report that they have discharged this duty, and find as follows, viz., that fifty-five out of the sixty-nine Presbyteries have returned answers; that forty-eight of these advise and consent to the change, and that seven of them refuse.¹

We recommend therefore the adoption of the following resolution:

That inasmuch as the constitution of the Church requires the advice and consent of at least fifty-two Presbyteries (or three-fourths of the entire number) to effect an amendment in the Confession of Faith, and inasmuch as only forty-eight have in the present instance favorably responded, this Assembly hereby declares that the proposed change has not been authorised.

It was however stated by the Clerk that he had information, though not officially, of the fact that a sufficient number of the non-reporting Presbyteries had adopted the change to furnish the constitutional majority. Whereupon the matter was referred to the next General Assembly. This action has been criticised and condemned since. But we think it cannot fail to commend itself to the Church at large as the fair and just course to pursue. Certainly to defeat the *known will* of the Presbyteries upon a mere technicality would be to observe our law in the letter and break it in the spirit.

¹The Presbyteries which have replied in the affirmative are as follows: Arkansas, Athens, Atlanta, Augusta, Bethel, Brazos, Central Texas, Charleston, Cherokee, Chesapeake, Chickasaw, Columbia, Concord, East Hanover, East Texas, Ebenezer, Enoree, Harmony, Holston, Knoxville, Lafayette, Lexington, Louisville, Louisiana, Macon, Maryland, Mecklenburg, Mississippi, Missouri, Montgomery, New Orleans, North Mississippi, Orange, Paris, Pine Bluff, Red River, Roanoke, Savannah, South Alabama, South Carolina, St. Johns, St. Louis, Tombeckbee, Tuskaloosa, Western District, Western Texas, Washburn, Wilmington.

The Presbyteries which have replied in the negative are as follows: Greenbrier, Ouachita, Paducah, Potosi, Transylvania, Upper Missouri, Winchester.

The Presbyteries from which no answers have been received are these, viz.: Abingdon, Central Mississippi, Dallas, East Alabama, Fayetteville, Florida, Indian, Memphis, Muhlenburg, Nashville, North Alabama, Palmyra, West Hanover, West Lexington.

THE POWERS OF THE EVANGELIST.

This most important and practical question was introduced to the Assembly in two elaborate and able reports from a special committee appointed *ad interim* by the preceding Assembly. We give these reports in full.

MAJORITY REPORT.

The undersigned, being a majority of the last General Assembly's special committee to report to this General Assembly on "the powers of the evangelist," beg leave most respectfully to submit to the venerable court the following report:

There is found in the Form of Government, Chap. IV., Sec. 2, Art. 6, referring to the powers of ministers of the word, the following statement:

"When a minister is appointed to the work of the evangelist he is commissioned to preach the word and administer the sacraments in foreign countries, frontier settlements, or the destitute parts of the Church: and to him may be intrusted power to organise churches and ordain ruling elders and deacons therein."

Also in Chap. VI., Sec. 5, Art. 8, referring to the ordination vows of ministers of the word, there is found the following statement:

"In the ordination of probationers as evangelists, the eighth of the preceding questions shall be omitted and the following substituted for it, viz.: Do you now undertake the work of the evangelist, and do you promise, in reliance on God for strength, to be faithful in the discharge of all duties incumbent on you as a minister of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ?"

These two passages are the only parts of the Constitution found to pertain to "the powers of the evangelist." We understand these passages to teach the following doctrines, to wit:

1. That the evangelist as such, in virtue of his ordination, has all the powers of order which the pastor possesses.

2. That the evangelist, as such, in virtue of his ordination, has all the powers of jurisdiction which the pastor possesses, except that jurisdiction which the pastor, jointly with the ruling elders, possesses over a particular church.

3. That thus far the Constitution limits rather than extends the power of jurisdiction of the evangelist.

4. That the Constitution gives to the Presbytery the "authority to intrust" or commit to the evangelist, in his proper field, the further power to organise churches and ordain ruling elders and deacons therein, but that this power does not necessarily and *ex officio* pertain to him in virtue of his ordination. It may be intrusted to him.

5. That the power to organise churches and ordain ruling elders and deacons therein, is "all the power of jurisdiction" which the Constitution "expressly" authorises to be intrusted to the evangelist.

It is also found, however, that our evangelists in foreign lands, with the silent consent of the Church, do, as a matter of fact, exercise larger power of jurisdiction, in that they commonly ordain pastors and evangelists also; and therefore we have considered the ground upon which this universal practice must be condemned or justified, and what constitutional amendments are necessary, if this practice be allowed by the Church. On this point we find the following pertinent passages in the Constitution: The Form of Government, Chapter V., Section 6, Article 5, declares that

“The General Assembly shall have power to institute and superintend the agencies necessary to the general work of evangelisation,” and “to appoint ministers to such labors as fall under its jurisdiction.”

And Chapter V., Section 7, Article 4:

“The General Assembly shall have power to commit the various interests pertaining to the general work of evangelisation to one or more commissions.”

These two passages are the only parts of the Constitution found to pertain to “the power of the General Assembly over the evangelist.” We understand these passages to teach the following doctrines:

1. That the General Assembly has no power at all of original jurisdiction over the evangelist laboring within the limits of any of the Presbyteries under its care.

2. That the Presbyteries, as far as the foreign field is concerned, have constitutionally committed to the General Assembly, as the Presbytery common to them all, the whole work of evangelisation, which otherwise it would be the duty of the Presbyteries separately to undertake and regulate.

3. That in this constitutional assignment to the Assembly of the work, the Presbyteries have, by good and necessary implication, assigned also their power of jurisdiction in the foreign field, so that it pertains constitutionally, not to the Presbyteries, but to the Assembly, to organise churches and ordain ministers of the word “in foreign countries.”

In order, therefore, to bring the custom of the Church under the protection of express constitutional law, and to produce uniformity of action on the part of foreign evangelists, we recommend that this General Assembly propose to the Presbyteries, and recommend to them for adoption, the following amendment to the “Book of Church Order,” to wit:

Shall the Form of Government, Chap. IV., Sec. 2, Art. 6, be amended by adding the following clause, viz.:

“In the foreign field, before a Presbytery has been formed, the evangelist may be intrusted also with the power to ordain to the ministry of the word, either as evangelists or pastors, qualified persons who are outside of the regular jurisdiction of the Church. Provided, first, that this power shall always be exercised jointly whenever more evangelists than one occupy the same field; and, secondly, that the evangelists thus ordained shall not thereby be intrusted with the power to ordain others as ministers of the word, but can receive it only from the General Assembly.”

It appears to the majority of your committee that such action, if consented to by the Presbyteries, will reduce to order the practice of our Church, a practice which is evidently necessary to her part in the great work of the evangelisation of the world.

(1) It leaves to the Presbyteries the sole power of ordination of ministers of the word at home. The General Assembly cannot commission any one as a foreign evangelist who has not been ordained and recommended by his Presbytery.

(2) It leaves to the Presbyteries original jurisdiction over the ministerial and Christian character of all whom they ordain, and to the Sessions their regular jurisdiction over all under their care.

(3) It simply authorises the Assembly to do constitutionally what in the nature of the case must be done, and always has been done, on an assumed or implied warrant of the Constitution.

(4) It secures the performance of the work according to the all-pervading Presbyterian principle that the power of the whole is in every part, and over the power of every part.

(5) It severely limits the jurisdiction of the Assembly in these matters to the foreign field, and to those persons who are not in regular connexion with the established Church, and to that period of time which precedes the formation of a Presbytery.

Respectfully submitted.

WM. E. BOGGS,
J. A. LEFEVRE,
ROBT. P. KERR.

MINORITY REPORT.

Memorial of the minority of the Committee on the "Powers of the Evangelist," appointed by the General Assembly of 1884, per printed Minutes, p. 236.

The undersigned, finding themselves unable to agree with the majority of the committee in their views of the subject intrusted to it, would respectfully present to the General Assembly the following memorial to accompany the committee's report:

The consideration of this subject began in the Assembly of 1879, upon the recommendation of its Committee on Bills and Overtures. That Assembly appointed a committee of four ministers to report to the next Assembly "on the whole subject of the office and powers of the evangelist; his relation to the General Assembly and the Presbytery at home; his relation to the churches scattered among the heathen; and his relation to his fellow evangelists in the same missionary field." This committee was empowered to report by a proposed additional chapter to the Form of Government, or otherwise. (Minutes, 1879, pp. 28 and 47.)

No report was made until 1881, and in the meantime the committee was enlarged by the Assembly of 1880. (See printed Minutes, pp. 200, ff.)

In 1881, the committee, thus enlarged, reported: first, that in its judg-

ment it was not necessary to add a new chapter to the Form of Government, for the reason that the doctrine of the evangelist is set forth with sufficient clearness in that Book, and that it would not be wise to embody in the organic law details of legislation upon which there may be more or less diversity of opinion in the Church.

Second, that the committee were agreed upon the first two topics commended to their consideration by the Assembly, to wit, the office and powers of the evangelist, the evangelist's relation to the General Assembly and the Presbytery at home.

Third. That upon the two remaining topics the committee after two years' conferences found themselves unable to agree, and therefore recommended that in reference to these topics the Church wait for their practical solution in the future history of our missions. Printed in 1881 (pp. 387, ff.).

This report was adopted without discussion, and we think without a dissenting voice. It did not, however, entirely satisfy the Church.

In the next Assembly (1882, see Minutes, p. 55), a memorial from the Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, and an overture from the Presbytery of Orange, on the subject of the evangelist, were referred to a special committee to report to the Assembly of 1883. The memorial presented substantially the same view which was adopted by the Assembly of 1881, the difference being that the Assembly recognised the powers as lodged in a single evangelist, while the memorial preferred that when there are two or more evangelists in the same field, the powers should be exercised jointly. The Presbytery of Orange objected to the position taken by the report of 1881 and by the General Assembly of that year, that no amendment to the Constitution was needed.

The special committee above mentioned, appointed by the Assembly of 1882, made a report to the Assembly of 1883, and the report was referred to the Committee on Bills and Overtures of that body, and upon the recommendation of this committee, the Assembly sent down to the Presbyteries for their action the following overture, to wit: that Chapter XI., Sec. 2, Art. 7, of Book of Church Order be so altered as that after the word "ordain" it shall read "to all the offices required to make them complete, and also with a view to the extension of the Church, he has the power in foreign fields to ordain other evangelists." There is no statement as to the result of the action of the Presbyteries upon this overture in the printed Minutes of the Assembly of 1884; but the majority report of the Committee on Bills and Overtures of that year, to whom the answers of the Presbyteries were referred, is among the papers referred to your present committee, and it appears from that report that a majority of the Presbyteries favored the overture for substance at least.

So far as can be gathered from the papers above mentioned, and from the public prints, there are serious theoretical differences in the Church in reference to the office of the evangelist, and in reference to other matters closely connected with it. For example, we are not agreed,

(a) Whether the evangelist shall be recognised as having his peculiar powers *ex officio*, or whether they belong to him only by delegation from the court to whose original jurisdiction he belongs.

(b) Whether he can exercise his powers within the jurisdiction of a congregation, presbyterial "Session," after such a presbytery has been formed among the heathen, or whether they belong to said presbytery.

(c) Whether a native evangelist ordained by an evangelist of the General Assembly is subject to the control of the ordaining evangelist, or to that of the General Assembly, or of a Presbytery at home. And

(d) In general as to the extent to which the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States ought to be operative in the foreign field.

On the other hand, there seems to be a general agreement in the following points, to wit:

(a) The necessity of defining the powers of the evangelist more clearly, especially in the foreign field; and that this definition should be made not in the form of an interpretation merely of the Constitution, by the General Assembly (which was deemed sufficient by the Assembly of 1881), but in the form of a constitutional amendment.

(b) That the evangelist in the foreign field should have the power of ordaining not only elders and deacons, but ministers of the word, both pastors and evangelists, native and foreign.

(c) That this power of ordaining elders and deacons as a "several" power can be exercised by the evangelist singly, and does not belong to the body of evangelists in a given field, considered as a *quasi* Presbytery, or as a commission of the General Assembly.

(d) That nevertheless the single evangelist should not exercise this power without the advice or consent of his fellow evangelists in the same field.

The undersigned minority of your committee, understand the purpose of the Assembly of '84, in appointing it, to have been the preparation of an amendment substantially the same as the overture sent down in the year 1883, only more specific: in other words, to report some rule upon which the larger part of the Church is agreed, and which may serve to guide and support our foreign missionaries, and to relieve their perplexities. It does not seem wise to the undersigned, or even properly within the scope of the committee's commission, to discuss the question of transferring the foreign missionary wholly to the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, and thereby of dissolving his connexion with the classical Presbytery absolutely. This is the plan favored by the majority of your committee. But as the plan involves radical changes in the Constitution concerning the mode in which a minister stands connected with the Church as a whole, concerning his rights and privileges in the matter of discipline, and concerning the Constitution of the General Assembly, as well as concerning its powers: and as even in the event of the adoption of this plan some article would be needed (and perhaps in that event even more needed) to define the powers of the evangelist; and as there is no probability that this plan could be

adopted at all without considerable discussion and delay, the minority of your committee think that, for the present needs, some such rule as they propose ought to be adopted.

The Assembly will observe that the rule is expressed in terms which will need no change, even in the event of exclusive jurisdiction over the foreign missionary being given to the General Assembly. The undersigned therefore respectfully recommend that the following amendment be sent down to the Presbyteries and recommended for their adoption, to wit:

Add to Art. 6, Sec. 2, 104, of the "Form of Government," the words following, to wit:

"In the foreign field, before a Presbytery has been formed, the evangelist may ordain ministers of the word, whether native or foreign, as pastors or as evangelists. But such ordinations shall be performed only after he shall have obtained the consent in writing of a majority of his fellow-evangelists in the same field (if there be any) and the court to whose immediate jurisdiction he belongs."

Respectfully submitted.

THOMAS E. PECK.

JOHN McLAURIN.

They were referred to the Committee on Bills and Overtures, which returned answer as follows:

Your committee recommend that the General Assembly does hereby recommend and send down to the Presbyteries for their advice and consent thereunto, the following amendment to the Book of Church Order, viz.:

Form of Government, Chapter IV., Section 2, Paragraph 6, shall be amended by adding to it the following words:

"When sent to a foreign country, he may also be intrusted with power by his Presbytery to ordain ministers of the gospel as pastors or as evangelists; this grant of power, however, must be made for each specific case, and may only be made previous to the organisation of a Presbytery in the field where he labors. The examination for ordination shall, as far as practicable, be conducted by the evangelist in the presence of his fellow-evangelists (if there be any) in the same field. And the application for ordination shall usually be accompanied by the advice in writing of the same. The newly ordained minister shall be enrolled as a member, and be subject to the jurisdiction of the Presbytery whose commissioner ordained him."

After an animated discussion the answer was adopted.

RETRENCHMENT OF EXPENSES.

This matter was revived by an overture from the Presbytery of Columbia (Tenn.):

The Presbytery of Columbia, believing that the expense of disbursing

the amounts of money raised for the benevolent work of the Church is unnecessarily large, and that because of this fact many persons are kept from contributing to these causes, overtures the General Assembly when in session at Houston, Texas, to reduce this expense by consolidating the secretaryships and curtailing all expenditures so as to bring the management of the various causes to a business basis.

The overture was defended with great force and spirit. There is much that can be said in its favor, and forcible contrasts are easily instituted between the proportionate expense of conducting the schemes of the Church and those of ordinary business. But the fact remains that, though so thoroughly and frequently ventilated, yet these objections do not take hold of our Church or of any Church. All denominations have had such discussions, but to no effect. Moreover, it was stated that this very consolidation scheme had been tried in the beginning *and had failed*. The motion did not develop much strength and was lost, and a negative answer to the overture adopted.

While on this subject, we would say that the only change in our committees that seems desirable at this time is one looking rather towards an increase of expense. We think the Committee on Education ought to be put upon an equal platform with the others, and the secretary employed for his whole time. It is certainly second in importance to none, and occupies a field in which there is crying need of development. We think it would *pay* the Church to support the secretary with liberality sufficient to justify him in devoting his whole care and time to the work, and to spend much of the year in travelling and presenting the claims of the cause upon the hearts and pockets of the people. We think the result would be an increase of contributions and an increase of candidates—two matters in which there has been displayed a most alarming and portentous weakness. We would hail with pleasure a movement looking towards a lifting up of this most vital interest of our Church into conspicuous prominence, and so towards an increase and concentration of effort for its advancement.

JUDICIAL PROCESS AGAINST ELDERS.

The *ad interim* committee appointed by the last Assembly to

consider the propriety of amending the Form of Government so that ruling elders may be made amenable to trial by Presbytery in cases when the Session is incompetent to issue the case, made a report to the effect that they recommend that the Assembly answer in the negative, on the ground that it is neither necessary nor expedient to make the constitutional amendment that is asked for.

This report was earnestly combated by a representative of the Presbytery whose action originated the matter. His statement of the case presented the situation thus:

“There is need of relief of this nature in practical cases. This is the outcome of a case in hand. In a Session in ———, there was a bench of three elders; there were accusations against two of the elders (who do not attend church). The pastor and other elder do not constitute a quorum of Session. They asked the Presbytery to try the case. The two elders denied the authority of Presbytery to try it. The Session is helpless. There is no quorum to call a congregational meeting, or to receive members, or to dismiss members. The church is helpless, and so it stands to-day. The Book of Church Order does not seem to authorise the Presbytery to act. Under the old Book, Presbytery had the power; but under the new Book, the insertion of the words ‘original jurisdiction belongs exclusively’ seems to bar it. We therefore desire the Assembly to send down an amendment to the Book of Church Order, which should grant power to the Presbyteries to act in such cases. This is not a mere matter of theory, but a matter of actual fact. And we want relief. We hope that the Assembly will either do this or refer the matter to a special committee, to report at this Assembly,” etc.

Then there arose a sort of running discussion, a cross firing of question and answer. A number of commissioners were prompt to suggest a remedy, but every suggestion was proven impracticable by a short reply from the speaker on the floor.

It was amusing to see the readiness of *impromptu* solutions of a difficulty which had taxed the wisdom and patience of one of our largest and strongest Presbyteries.

The matter was referred to a special committee, which reported:

Your committee recommend that the request [of Winchester Presbytery] be granted, and that the following amendments be recommended to the Presbyteries for their advice and consent thereunto:

1. That Form of Government, chap. v., sec. 4, par. 6, after the words of first clause, "in an orderly manner," shall be inserted these words: "And in cases in which the Session cannot exercise its authority, shall have power to assume original jurisdiction."

2. That in Rules of Discipline, chap. v., par. 1, after the words, "and in relation to other church members to the Session," shall be added the words, "unless the Session shall be unable to try the person or persons accused, in which case the Presbytery shall have the right of jurisdiction."

3. That in Rules of Discipline, chap. vii., par. 1, after the words, "to which such members belong," shall be added the words, "except in cases in which the Session is rendered incapable of exercising jurisdiction, in which case process shall be entered before the Presbytery."

The conservatism of Presbyterianism is illustrated by the debate on this recommendation. Although here was a *practical* problem that a large and able Presbytery had been unable to solve; though every solution suggested on the floor had been negatived by some fact or law in the case; yet the submission of the question, guarded as it is in the paper, was hotly contested, and a substitute and a motion to refer had to be laid on the table before a vote was reached. The report was then adopted by a decided majority.

A RELIEF SCHEME.

Upon a motion of one of the most prominent and able ruling elders in the body, a special committee was appointed to consider a resolution looking to the establishment of a relief fund, which made the following report:

The special committee to whom was referred a resolution looking to the establishment of a scheme providing for the pecuniary assistance of deceased ministers' families, report as follows:

They deem it inexpedient to recommend any plan that would interfere with the present Invalid collection, but they submit for the information of the General Assembly a plan which is proposed by certain ruling elders.

PLAN FOR THE RELIEF OF FAMILIES OF DECEASED MINISTERS.

"It is proposed to form an association, under the direction of three or more elders from different churches, for the relief of the widows and orphans of deceased ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, in the following manner:

"The secretary, under the direction of said association, will have circulars printed and forwarded to the Session of each church explaining this scheme, and asking that a member of the church be designated who will consent to represent this association in said church.

"Such agent will procure contributors to this fund within the limits of such congregation, each contributor agreeing to pay a sum, to be named by him or herself, upon the death of every minister leaving a widow or minor children.

"Such agents to be notified by the secretary and treasurer of the death of any minister, and upon receiving such notice, will proceed to collect from all contributing members of the association their contributions, and forward the same to said secretary and treasurer.

"The amounts so collected, when received by the secretary and treasurer, shall be paid to the widow of the deceased minister, if there be one: if not, to the guardian of the minor children. If there be no such guardian, then to a trustee for such children selected by the association.

"It is distinctly understood that no compensation whatever is to be paid to, or received by, any one connected with the working of this association, and that the only expense to be incurred will be the actual cost of postage, notices, circulars, etc."

In defence of this plan, Dr. Murray, of Virginia, the mover of it, said: "It would be strange if the plan as proposed is not capable of some improvement. We want suggestions. We have no interest in the matter; there is to be no compensation to any one, the sole beneficiary in this matter is to be the widow, or minor children of the deceased. We think that by collecting many small sums (and the expense will be only postage, printing, etc.) the result will be a handsome sum to the family. All we want is for the Assembly to commend us to the Church. If I were *known* to the whole Church and should send out this circular, the Assembly would by no means interfere or object. But there is no man who has this wide acquaintance, and therefore we ask the *imprimatur* or commendation of the Assembly. We propose no fund, no investment, no salary, and we do not want it to supersede any church collection. If it were to have any such

effect, I would not give it any countenance whatever. This committee do not want to get rid of any responsibility to the Assembly, only we do not ask the Assembly to assume responsibility."

In answer to a question about ministers in good circumstances, Dr. Murray said that "if the fact were made known to the committee that the family do not need it, no call would be issued. The idea is not that we will bear any relation to the work of the Invalid Fund. The family of the deceased would get whatever benefit comes from this scheme, also whatever benefit comes from the Invalid Fund. I would first send a circular to all, explaining the scheme, and then I would send a notice at the time of the death of any minister."

A motion to print in the appendix to the Minutes of the Assembly was offered, to which was added this motion:

Resolved, 1. That the General Assembly commends the scheme laid before it to raise a fund for the benefit of the families of ministers at their decease, and recommends that the Sessions of our churches cooperate with those designated to inaugurate it.

2. That the Assembly designate as a Central Committee Wm. W. Murray, of Suffolk, Va., Wm. D. Reynolds and George Tait, of Norfolk, Va., to inaugurate the scheme and give general direction to it, and Dr. Wm. W. Murray as secretary and treasurer.

3. That the Assembly, whilst not assuming control over this enterprise, yet request that an annual report be sent up for its information from those who control.

The discussion continued and developed still another resolution, as follows:

That the Assembly appoint an *ad interim* committee, consisting of Dr. Murray, W. D. Reynolds, and Geo. Allen, and instruct the committee to consider the matter with which they are intrusted, in all its bearings, and report to the next General Assembly, either recommending a plan of relief for the approbation of the Assembly, or advising that the whole matter be dropped as to them may seem best.

This substitute failed to satisfy objectors, and the Assembly finally applied *its* valued relief scheme, and laid the whole matter on the table.

We think this result a matter of regret. The fear of crippling the Invalid Fund killed the motion; but if this plan should

prove successful, it would supersede the necessity of this fund, which is *invalid* indeed. The scheme impresses us as simple and feasible. It is one successfully worked by a number of coöperative benevolent societies; it is substantially in use in the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, and among some other denominational bodies. It would bring assured system and certainty into this matter, and would, if at all successful, increase the funds for relief of deceased ministers' families tenfold. We feel sure that no evil could have resulted from referring the matter to the able committee suggested in the last resolution. We trust that some subsequent Assembly will revive the question.

STANDARD OF MINISTERIAL EDUCATION.

There were *five* overtures on the subject—four from Presbyteries and one from “sundry individuals.”

The “*ad interim* committee” was asked for in overtures from the Presbyteries of Paris, Palmyra, Chesapeake, and in an overture signed by seventy ministers and ninety-seven ruling elders. There was also an overture¹ from Chesapeake Presbytery asking an amendment to the Form of Government, giving liberty to Presbyteries to ordain as ministers godly men who have not an acquaintance with the dead languages.

It was thought that this would be *the* question of the whole Assembly, and such it doubtless would have been if full and thorough discussion had been allowed. It was introduced to the body by the answer of Committee on Bills and Overtures:

Inasmuch as the General Assembly of 1882, in compliance with a request similar to the one contained in these overtures, did appoint an *ad interim* committee to consider and report upon the whole subject; and inasmuch as the General Assembly of 1883, after an able and full report of this committee, did decide, after due deliberation (see Minutes 1883,

¹Overture No. 12, from the Presbytery of Chesapeake, asking an amendment of the Form of Government, giving liberty to Presbyteries to ordain as ministers godly men [who have not an acquaintance with the dead languages]. The committee recommend the answer that the Assembly declines the proposed amendment, on the ground that ample provision is made for extraordinary cases in chap. vi., sec. 6, par. 6, of Book of Church Order.

p. 21). that "it is deemed unnecessary by this General Assembly to make any change in our standard of ministerial education or qualifications"; and inasmuch as the General Assembly of 1884 did, in answer to overtures from sundry Presbyteries and individuals, answer again in its wisdom that (Minutes 1884, p. 246) "the General Assembly deems it unnecessary and inexpedient that any change be made in those provisions of our Constitution which refer to the licensure or ordination of candidates for the gospel ministry"; and inasmuch as the judgment of this court coincides with that of the two grave and venerable bodies preceding it, the General Assembly declines to appoint such a committee, or take any other step which looks to the opening up of this subject for further discussion.

This answer was reported late in the afternoon session. The Assembly rejected a motion fixing an order of the day for its discussion and required the issue to be joined at once. The debate was very soon arrested by adjournment. It came up next morning as unfinished business, to be speedily interrupted by the first order of the day. *After* the report on Publication, with Dr. Hazen's address; on Foreign Missions, with Dr. Houston's address; the retirement of Dr. Wilson as Secretary Emeritus, fixing his salary in a discussion participated in by seven speakers; the appointment of a committee to answer Dr. Wilson's letter; the election of a Secretary of Foreign Missions—*after these matters* the unfinished business was resumed, to be very unexpectedly arrested by a call of the question, which was sustained and the answer adopted by a vote of seventy-four to thirty-four, and the Assembly took recess to meet again at 3.30 p. m.

This result we regret for several reasons.

It is evident that the subject was not thoroughly discussed. A review of the amount of business transacted during that one morning's session will convince any reader of this fact. A long and lively debate was anticipated, and the call of the question was a complete surprise; it was made in the midst of a full and growing tide of discussion, when as many as three or four speakers were rising at once to get the floor. The majority refused the minority the privilege of a full hearing. This is the more unfortunate, because (whether justly or unjustly we do not undertake to say) this feeling has followed every discussion of this question.

Moreover the debate, so far as it went, was not on the overture, but on the question of ministerial qualifications lying behind it. The Assembly prejudged the very question they were respectfully requested to present to the Presbyteries. The opponents of the overture made their fight on this ground, and the question really discussed and decided was, Shall our Standards be altered? a question not strictly or properly before the house.

Without reference to the intrinsic merits of the matter, we think that an overture supported, as this was, by three Presbyteries and a hundred and sixty-seven ministers and ruling elders, deserved a fuller hearing and a different answer.

The Assembly simply and summarily refused to allow the matter to go before the Presbyteries in an orderly and legitimate manner. It undertook, by its mere command, to stay all proceedings. This course of suppression has been persistently pursued; the movement is on each occasion smothered. *A study of its history for the past ten years would be instructive.* Going back only three years, we find in 1883 substantially the same overture defeated by a vote of *three to one*; in 1884 it came up again in an overture from a Presbytery and in Dr. Shanks's overture signed by thirty-nine names; that Assembly smothered it, and now it comes up again in 1885 in *four* Presbyterial overtures representing widely separate sections of the Church, and in the Shanks paper with *a hundred and sixty-seven signatures.*

Under such circumstances is it not idle to talk about "not opening up this subject for further discussion"? Has it ever been *closed*? The Assembly has uniformly endeavored to close it. We do not question the motives, we do not even attack the propriety of its purpose, but we do doubt the wisdom of the policy it sees fit to pursue. We think the history of the matter establishes conclusively the error of this course of repression. The practical result is that a policy, pursued in the interests of peace, merely serves to perpetuate and intensify agitation. If the matter were allowed to go once before the Presbyteries, it would be definitely and decisively settled and the minority satisfied. We cannot see any reason for declining this course; it is an important question, a practical one, and a timely one; fully

equal in these respects to four-fifths of the numerous overtures sent down annually to the Presbyteries; and it comes before the Assembly with greater support than any overture for many sessions, and we doubt the wisdom and justice of discriminating thus against it. In this criticism we are not advocating the views represented in the overture; we leave the merits of the movement entirely out of view; we argue for what we believe to be in the interests of peace, of justice, of consistency with the principles and practice of Presbyterianism; and we are satisfied that were the facts in this case fully before the Church, our position would be sustained by a large majority, regardless of their opinion as to the changes advocated.

THE RULING ELDER AS MODERATOR.

This matter came up during the last day's session, and as the Assembly was now satisfied that it could breakfast in New Orleans on Friday, ample time was given to it. It proved *the* debate of the whole meeting. The reports show that there were forty speeches made on this vitally important and profoundly practical question. The Committee on Bills and Overtures reported adversely; but after manfully tabling two substitutes and courageously voting down calls of the question, the Assembly finally adopted the following to be submitted to the Presbyteries:

That to the clause in the Book of Order, Chap. 4, Sec. 3, sub-Sec. 2, stating that ruling elders "possess the same authority in the courts of the Church as the ministers of the word," shall be added this sentence: "When, however, a ruling elder is Moderator of a Presbytery, Synod, or General Assembly, any official duty devolving upon him, the performance of which requires the exercise of functions pertaining only to the teaching elder, shall be remitted by him for execution to such minister of the word, being a member of the court, as he may select."

The vote standing sixty-eight to forty-two.

Though we do not consider this a matter of much practical import, yet we sympathise with the overture. If adopted, it will remove a glaring inconsistency between our theory and our practice. We teach absolute parity of elders in the ruling function, and yet deny the ruling elder the exercise of a part of this function. We doubt not that when the Presbyteries come to examine this

matter, the inconsistency will be removed. There has been, within the memory even of young men, a great advance made in the prominence and influence of ruling elders in our courts; an advance that augurs well, and we welcome any movement that tends to recognise or increase it.

FAMILY WORSHIP.

The Narrative was a very cheering and inspiring paper, recording encouraging advance in almost all the departments of Christian activity. The following resolution, however, ought to cause serious thought and awaken universal attention. It was adopted by a rising vote and followed with prayer for God's blessing upon the action of the Assembly:

Whereas, the narratives so uniformly report sad, deplorable, distressing neglect of family worship and catechetical instruction in the household; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Assembly recommends that Presbyteries instruct every minister having the cure of souls within its bounds to preach during the month of October, or as soon thereafter as practicable, (and frequently in the future,) a sermon on the importance of Family Worship, to be followed by one on Parental Responsibility; these sermons to be preached in every congregation at a time most favorable for a large attendance; and that Presbyteries require a report concerning the diligence of their pastors in this matter.

A united effort to emphasise the importance and the need of attention to this duty cannot but accomplish great good. In connexion with this may be mentioned the action on Sabbath Observance. The narratives of the Presbyteries generally commend the regard paid to the day by Presbyterians, but uniformly deplore its desecration by the community generally. The Assembly's Committee offered the following recommendations, which were adopted:

In view of the importance of the interests involved, your Committee recommend the adoption of the suggestion of the Permanent Committee:

1. That a special committee be appointed to prepare a pastoral letter at this meeting, to be sent down by the Assembly and read to all the churches on this subject, setting forth the importance of yielding a greater respect to this ordinance, especially on the part of church officers and members.

2. That Presbyteries enjoin upon all their ministers to preach more frequently on this subject, and upon Sessions to guard the people of God against the sin of Sabbath desecration.

3. That Sessions take notice of the violation of the Sabbath by members of the church, and admonish and reprove them in the name of Christ; and if they persist in their infractions of the Fourth Commandment, that it be regarded as an offence demanding and justifying suspension. (See Discipline, Chap. 3, Art. 1.)

4. That the Assembly continue the Permanent Committee on the Sabbath, with instructions as given by former Assemblies, Drs. G. B. Strickler and Dr. E. H. Barnett being added in place of Dr. Boggs, removed.

5. That the Report of the Permanent Committee be printed in the appendix to the Minutes of the Assembly.

A third matter, in which the narratives indicated no advance, was the instruction of the colored people. The importance and the responsibility of this duty was emphasised anew. In this connexion it may be added that the Assembly had the pleasure of hearing the claims and the needs of Tuscaloosa Institute thoroughly presented by those most intimately acquainted and closely connected with it. One of the Professors in the Institute made a most earnest plea in its behalf. And nothing was said or done that indicated any abatement of interest. A paper was adopted commending the work to our people and *enjoining upon the Presbyteries to see that all the people have an opportunity to contribute to the cause.* The need of such a resolution will be made apparent to any one who will examine the blanks in this column of our Presbyterial reports. We ought either to drop this Institute or to support it; its present position is a shame to our Church.

CONFLICT OF COLLECTIONS.

In the course of his remarks, Dr. Hazen referred to a difficulty which much embarrasses the practical work of his Committee. The collection for Publication is taken in March, at the very end of the ecclesiastical year, just at the time when efforts are made to overcome deficiencies in the other causes of benevolence. In this year, *e. g.*, there were in progress the most earnest and assiduous appeals in behalf of Education and Foreign Missions just at the very time set apart for the Publication interest. He

asked some relief from this conflict, very naturally and very reasonably.

This suggests a difficulty that we suppose all pastors have labored under. Each of these important Committees is interested and absorbed in its *own* needs and impressed with the paramount importance of its *own* work. Each writes as if the Church had no work but its own; each pleads earnestly and anxiously for liberality, and all declare a crisis in their affairs, and place the solemn, responsible alternative of decided advance in operations or serious loss and retrogression. This is the burden of their cry six times during the year. The same circumstances alleged, the same arguments used, the same responsibility laid upon the conscience of the Church. Now there is urgent need here of some sort of harmony or unification of this matter of appeal. Each cause certainly cannot be the most important, and each ought to remember that there are five others crying "Give, give." When they *all unite at once* in demanding, as a condition of their mere continued existence with any sort of efficiency, an increase of something like fifty *per cent.*, it becomes embarrassing. There is need of something like a comity of causes, something to end this indiscriminate shifting, each for itself, upon the every-man-for-himself principle. We have no criticism unfavorable to efforts after increased liberality. We suffer from no tenderness on this point; but we do suffer from a *conflict* between these six great causes, each considering itself alone, regardless utterly of the claims of others, and deluging us with circulars just at the very time set apart by the Assembly for contributing to some other branch of its work.

We suggest this difficulty for the wisdom of fathers and brethren to solve.

This suggests

THE REPORT ON SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE.

Your Committee on Systematic Beneficence would respectfully submit: That sixty-five of the sixty-nine Presbyteries composing this Assembly have sent up their reports. From these reports we get the following facts:

1187	churches	contributed to	Sustentation,	. . . . .	\$46,868
1083	"	"	Foreign Missions,	. . . . .	58,278
1105	"	"	Evangelistic Fund,	. . . . .	36,234
1057	"	"	Education,	. . . . .	36,177
918	"	"	Invalid Fund,	. . . . .	11,064
848	"	"	Publication,	. . . . .	8,100
513	"	"	Tuskaloosa,	. . . . .	3,049
					<hr/> \$119,770

From these statistics it will be seen that there has been a very commendable increase in the contributions for many of the causes over last year. While the same number of Presbyteries report as in 1884, there is a larger number of churches contributing. This is moving toward the end so much desired by this body—a contribution from every church.

But your Committee are constrained to believe that these figures make a very imperfect show of the beneficence of the Church.

Two of the Presbyteries say that not half of their churches have reported. Others report a very large number of vacancies; one reports nine vacant churches, another fourteen (and only *four* ministers), another seventeen, and another nineteen, all weak and ready to die.

In view of these things, your Committee would recommend:

1. That Presbyteries be again urged to make diligent effort to secure contributions from every congregation and report the same to the Assembly.

2. That Presbyteries be urged to have a more watchful care over their vacant churches, and insist upon the Sessions of these churches conforming to our standards (par. 67), which requires them "to assemble the people for worship when there is no minister."

That second resolution we commend very heartily to the attention of every Presbytery. We think it would be well for every Presbytery which has many vacant and feeble charges, to keep one of its body constantly employed to travel regularly among them, giving them pastoral care and attention, providing them, as far as possible, with the means of grace, and endeavoring to keep them encouraged and alive to their own needs and the interests of the general cause. Many of these churches do nothing towards any Christian work at all, have no services, *make no contribution to the support of the gospel anywhere*, and this condition of collapse begins as soon as a church becomes vacant. But the Book makes it the duty of the Presbytery "to take *special oversight*" over such churches, whereas really these are the

very congregations over which Presbytery takes no oversight whatever.

CHURCH ERECTION FUND.

The report of the Standing Committee on Home Missions contained the following recommendation :

Overture 3. In answer to this overture the Committee recommends that the following paragraph be added to Chap. 5, Sec. 5, of the Manual of Home Missions :

“At the discretion of the Committee of Home Missions appropriations to aid in repairs or erecting church edifices may be made, not as donations, but as loans, without interest, which shall be subject to the same conditions as donations, and to the following in addition :

“That the church regards this loan as a debt of honor to be refunded by annual instalments within five years.”

This gave rise to a very earnest discussion. It was ably supported by the Florida brethren and urged as a great aid to their aggressive work. It was claimed that the churches for which they spoke could and would return ninety *per cent.* of this money. Of course where this is the case it will be a great help to this important and needy branch of our Home Mission work, and the money will thus circulate in a ceaseless round of aid. •

Doubtless in many instances temporary help is all that is really needed, and we see nothing to condemn in encouraging a church which, by timely aid, has been tided over its struggle for existence into self-support, to return the funds that some other church may be similarly supported through a critical infancy.

The reports of the various Committees of the Assembly on Home Missions, Foreign Missions, Education, Publication, were as encouraging as usual. As these will be before our readers in the exhaustive and able pamphlets annually sent forth, we think best not to occupy space here with unsatisfactory abstracts of them.

For other important, though routine, reports, the reader is referred to the Minutes.

The Assembly elected Rev. Dr. Houston Secretary of Foreign Missions, and made our venerable Father Wilson *emeritus*, with a salary of \$1,000, feeling that his invaluable services merited all that we could do for his honor and his comfort. There is no

man in the Church that *approaches* his place in the love, reverence, and admiration of her people. Had we the means, he would be retired with an income somewhat in proportion to his services and his position in the hearts of his brethren.

A resolution was adopted ordering that a copy of the Minutes be sent by the Stated Clerk to every minister of the Church.

Dr. A. W. Miller's able overture was declined without discussion.

The overture requiring Sessions receiving members upon certificate from other churches to notify the Session issuing such certificate of its reception, was declined, as impracticable and leading to confusion.

A hearing was given to the Bible cause as well as to Dr. Jackson Witherspoon's most commendable and successful work for the seamen in New Orleans.

Augusta was selected as the next place of meeting, and arrangements were made for a quarto-centennial celebration.

We were most courteously entertained by the brethren of Houston, but were too constantly and laboriously worked to allow any leisure for enjoyment or sight-seeing. It was decidedly the most laborious body the writer has ever had the misfortune to be a member of. There was no provision made for Committee work; each had to be done during the brief intervals of recess, or by withdrawing from the sessions of the body. This, our experience testifies, ought never to be the case. It can result in no good, "much haste little speed" is a proverb worthy of the consideration of this venerable body.

The Assembly, however, *would* steadfastly hasten *ad eventum*, which came in the afternoon of Thursday, and very few commissioners slept in Houston that night. We venture the opinion that no church court ever transacted more business in the same length of time. How wisely and how well the future will show.

ARTICLE V.

NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD. BY
HENRY DRUMMOND, F. R. S. E., F. G. S.

This work has deserved and received "golden opinions" from all sorts of men. When it first issued from the press it drew to itself more than common attention; and a more adequate appreciation of its leading thought, together with its full development and varied illustration, has served only to justify and confirm the original impression. The title fitly describes the purpose of the book, present throughout, forcibly urged, and richly illustrated. Some enthusiastic admirers have, we believe, gone so far as to compare it, as a book on the evidences, adapted to the latest phase of scientific scepticism, with Bishop Butler's Analogy, and to imagine that it as effectually exposes and explodes the prevailing forms of unbelief as that immortal and unique work confronted and confounded the less astute but more arrogant infidelity of the eighteenth century.

All this we think highly extravagant. Prof. Drummond is an orthodox believer, an ingenious thinker, and a vigorous writer, and his work we doubt not will prove a useful, and possibly a permanent, contribution to Christian apologetics. It is likely to be far more popular in the generation to which it is addressed than was the great work of the famous Anglican bishop, because it is far more readable, being enlivened with illustration throughout; for what Byron irreverently said of Milton, "A little heavy though no less divine," the most patient of readers will sometimes confess to be true of the thoughtful lucubrations of the excellent bishop. The truth is that Drummond is singularly unlike Butler. Indeed, he forms a much more striking contrast than likeness or companion-piece to the illustrious Bishop of Durham. His mind is not of an abstract order, but rather fitted to perceive, and even in some cases to imagine, analogies, whereas, of all abstract, didactic, and colorless arguments, Bishop Butler's great work takes the lead. Its eminent fairness, its transparent candor, its passionless truth constitutes a marked element of its power; while Drummond's

is ablaze with illustrations, always ingenious, always apt, from the first page to the last. The truth is, the inexhaustible fertility and not seldom the wit and the learning of his illustrations, would do credit to Cowley or to Macaulay, and have frequently reminded us of another Butler, not Joseph, the grave Bishop of Durham, but Samuel, the bantering and biting author of Hudibras.

We must confess that we think that one of the distinguishing excellences of Drummond borders on a vice or a weakness; in a word, that he is often the victim of his own ingenuity; that he finds or fancies a resemblance between the facts and phenomena of the natural and those of the spiritual world, where none really exists or was intended by the common and glorious Author of both. But that he does really bring out many of great force and value which had eluded all previous observers, or had been overlooked by all, it were gross injustice to deny.

The originality of Bishop Butler's work has been often affirmed and commended, and in a true and high sense it is strikingly original; *i. e.*, the conduct, development, and application of the argument are all his own. But the germinal thought is as old as Origen. The same thing is at least equally true of the noted work of Drummond. The framing and the fitting of the argument is his own proper and personal work. But the main idea is as old as the parables of our Lord. Still this does not detract from its originality or its value. In the case of Bishop Butler, the ground thought was the property of Origen, but the whole development and demonstration was Butler's, and in this the superlative value of the work consists. It is this that makes it what it is, a monument and a masterpiece among theological treatises specially suited to the needs of the day in which it appeared. The original hint of the picture may have been due to the most learned and ingenious of the Greek Fathers, but the whole filling up was his own, with all its details and in all its matchless acuteness and thoroughness. If to seize on a solitary and isolated thought and so construe it, so connect it, so combine it, so apply and employ it, as to make of it a great complete and permanent work—a work which shall be at once a bulwark and a landmark—

if this does not constitute the work original, we hardly know what does. The conception of the Parthenon may have been suggested to Ictinus; of St. Paul's Cathedral to Sir Christopher Wren; of St. Peter's at Rome to Michael Angelo; but the mere suggestion would scarcely invalidate the claim of either one of these renowned architects to the possession of great original genius. In like manner, as in the case of those great architects possibly, as in the case of the great work of Bishop Butler certainly, so in the case of Prof. Drummond, the idea of his work may have been old; it may have been common to himself and others; but the whole working out of the idea in all its details, with all its seemingly inexhaustible wealth of illustration, is all his own; and the work is as truly original as any that has appeared in the present day, and much more truly original than many which have been especially lauded for this rare and precious quality.

Very little if anything true can be absolutely original or perfectly new in relation either to the doctrines or to the defence of Christianity. For Christianity, in the substance as well as in the statement of its doctrines, in the sources and species of its illustrations, and in its lines of defence, is a strictly divine revelation. Its substance and methods, therefore, are to be embraced and embodied; not to be departed from and not to be improved upon. Accordingly we consider Prof. Drummond's work properly and eminently original. The whole staple of his argument and the whole structure of his argument is unborrowed and his own. The work is the fruit of the sweat of his own brow, the ripe product of his own mind and heart; although the seeds of all the truth it contains were scattered broadcast by the Great Sower who went forth to sow, whose seeds first germinated and grew into the great harvest of the completed Scriptures under the labor of his chosen apostles, and have been the life of all later growths in the Christian Church. Or, to borrow another illustration from our adored Lord, the Teacher of all teachers of divine truth, as the loaves which he gave into the hands of the disciples were multiplied in the hands of the disciples, so the truths which he originally taught have branched out in the

lessons of later teachers, inspired and uninspired, and will continue to spread out in every direction and department of human thought till "the last syllable of recorded time."

The parables of our Lord are incomparably the profoundest and the most beautiful as they are the most certain and luminous illustrations of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." Our Saviour shows that the whole material world is a multiform and most expressive symbol of spiritual truth; and that as when the eyes of the prophet's servant were opened he saw the mountain filled with horses of fire and chariots of fire; and as when the disciples with whom he talked in his way to Emmaus had their eyes no longer "holden," but opened, they discovered in the mysterious stranger their risen Lord, so if our eyes were anointed we should see spiritual lessons of highest import graven on the face of nature by the hand of the Great Creator and perceive unnumbered natural laws in the spiritual world. Many now hidden but truly exquisite analogies and illustrations of the more subtle and sublime spiritual truths or phases of religious experience would beam upon us with "a light that never was by sea or land."

But when we pass out of the sacred precincts of the inspired Scriptures altogether and take up the writings of the Christian fathers, whose pious fancies and ingenious understandings were rendered active and sharp by their devout religious affections, we see that they too often discovered deep and beautiful and apt analogies in the natural world to the grandest truths in the spiritual, which entirely escape our grosser vision. The works of Augustine in particular are rich in these spiritual analogies which for the most part need to be pointed out to our duller eyes and colder hearts. Matthew Henry, all things considered, the best expositor of Sacred Scripture we have in English, is justly noted for his admirable faculty of bringing out these latent but real and highly striking analogies between the objects of the natural and the spiritual world. This very peculiarity of some of the best of the early fathers and of the great Nonconformist commentator has been signalled by Tayler Lewis in his truly original volume entitled "The Divine-

Human." We cannot think, therefore, that Drummond's work is original in any other sense than that in which Bishop Butler's work is original. But this is the only sense in which any work having the unfolding or the defence of Christian doctrine for its object should be original. His argument is for the most part solid and good throughout, the very best presentation of the general analogies which we have seen, and brought down to the last facts and phases of physical science. Many particular illustrations are striking and ingenious as well as just and new. We cannot, therefore, doubt that the book so widely read will do extensive good, especially for the class of persons for whom it is principally intended, men of science alienated from the Christian faith, in whole or in part, because of its supposed unfriendly aspect toward natural science, or the supposed inconsistency of some of its positions or statements with the established doctrines and demonstrations of science.

Now, it is impossible for any Christian scholar to set before him a more pious or profitable task than that of obviating or removing scientific difficulties, so far as they exist and are capable of removal or of adjustment in the present state of our scientific knowledge, and of the true interpretation of the sacred text. Of one thing all men of faith, and, it is to be hoped, most men of science, are equally persuaded—that there is, and there can be, no real contradiction between the two equally authentic revelations of God: the revelation of God in nature and the revelation of God in Scripture. Either or both may seem to stand in an attitude of hostility, because either or both may be misinterpreted or misrepresented. There is nothing more evidently due to truth, nothing more plainly demanded by justice, than that nothing should be done or declared or decided rashly and before the time. The grand canon and conclusion of Bacon will hold true, however, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion. It cannot be doubted that some well-meaning but ill-informed theologians have given the enemies of the written word occasion to blaspheme by their ignorant interpretations of Scripture and perhaps more ignorant assaults on well-ascertained scientific conclu-

sions. It is not less certain that some men of science have with equal impiety and ignorance arraigned the Sacred Scriptures, and on their own interpretation of the written word, far from its true import and at variance with the received expositions of its most accredited apologists, affirmed that the opposition between the certainties of science and the statements of Scripture were irreconcilable. It is, therefore, manifestly the dictate of true philosophy, as it is the instinct and habit of enlightened piety, to maintain a wise suspension of judgment when any discrepancy is alleged between science and Scripture, and no satisfactory method of mutual conciliation immediately appears. This is undoubtedly the Baconian method. It is that which Lord Bacon, the Joshua who led the enslaved and imprisoned sciences out of the house of bondage into the land of promise, himself commended and practised. No man has spoken more wisely and weightily than he on this standing difficulty. No man has ever done more to extend the empire of science, and lay down her metes and bounds; to define the law of her progress and the limits within which she may profitably pursue her researches; and yet no man has spoken more reverently of the paramount authority of the divine Scriptures and of religious faith within her own sacred sphere, or has offered more humble and fervent prayer to God for the illumination of his grace to guide him into the deep mysteries of his works in the domain of natural law and of the natural world.

It might have been apprehended, and it has actually happened, that the praiseworthy desire of Drummond to disarm men of science of their groundless and perilous distrust of revealed truth as essentially at variance with scientific truth, should unconsciously lead him to lapse into a tone of undue anxiety to make the Scripture averments harmonise with the latest scientific conclusions; to deprecate with needless concern the dissent or the displeasure of scientific authorities; together with an equal and excessive eagerness to propitiate and gain the verdict of scientific men. This will seem to most Christians unlike the tone of the Apostle Paul, and even of Luther and Calvin, in dealing with kindred antagonists and kindred questions, so far as they arose in their days. The Apostle Paul spoke always with conscious

and commanding authority when he spoke in the name of God; and while the "burning questions" of his time, turning for the most part on Gnostic heresies, Jewish superstitions, and arrogant and fanciful speculations of the Greek philosophers and sophists, were different from those of our day, we can easily imagine the superb scorn, tempered by divine charity, which he would have hurled at the head of any man, however eminent, who should have intimated to him that any written revelation of God was to be discredited or discarded, because in opposition to any physical or metaphysical theory of the material universe. In this, as in so much else, both of doctrine and spirit, both Luther and Calvin would have proved themselves genuine "successors of the apostles."

The work is divided into chapters, each of which succeeds the other in an order at once natural and logical. So that there is a real unity and continual progress in the development of his theory. The subject of the first chapter is *Biogenesis*, or the origin of life. He shows that in no instance is natural life a spontaneous generation, but an imparted gift; and so of spiritual life, that it is not an education or an unfolding of latent powers from a hidden germ inherent in the soul, but the communication of a principle of life from God, the sempiternal source of all life. Huxley and Tyndall both confess that the doctrine of Biogenesis, or life only from life, is victorious along the whole line at the present day. Tyndall is reluctantly compelled to declare, "I affirm that no shred of trustworthy experimental testimony exists to prove that life in our day has ever appeared independently of antecedent life." To which within the spiritual sphere corresponds our Lord's saying, "He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life." Thus the doctrine of regeneration by the sovereign agency of the Holy Ghost, creating the soul anew in Christ Jesus, is shown to be a kindred exercise of power to that by which he communicates natural life. Whole systems of religion, not only divergent but diametrically opposed, are embraced in the fact here demonstrated. No means, human or divine, can impart divine life without the supernatural personal working of the Holy Spirit. Whatsoever is born of the flesh is flesh. The fruits of the Spirit are specifically different from the noblest

of the natural virtues; and are like the fruits of Paradise, "that never would in other climate grow." "The inquiry into the origin of life," says our author, "is the fundamental question alike of Biology and Christianity."

The title of the second chapter is *Degeneration*, illustrated in the fact of the fall and the consequent corruption of human nature. The images under which the sacred writers represent the spiritual degeneracy of man are hardly more appalling than those which naturalists employ to set forth his natural degeneration. The strong tendency to degeneration appears in every department of nature: in birds and beasts, in fruits and flowers. The noblest species left to themselves relapse into their original deformity or defects; and require assiduous culture to raise or restore them. Thus after the apostasy of man, the earth, under the shadow of sin and the curse of God, naturally brought forth thorns and briers. The same law holds with reference to the human race. In man there is an invariable tendency to return to barbarism when the higher influences are withdrawn or suspended. The ascent in the scale of civilisation under elevating agencies is always a visible struggle; and there is no instance of a nation emerging from barbarism to a higher order of life without contact or communication with a superior race.

As in nature, as in man, there is a constant tendency to death, so in the region of the spiritual life. It needs to be fostered after it has been formed by ordained means imbued with supernatural efficacy. In the man in whom the Spirit of life abides, the tendency to degeneration is arrested, and the new tendency of the regenerate soul is to rise to God as "fires ascending seek the sun."

The next chapter is on *Growth*, natural and spiritual, and the analogy between them. Behold the lilies, *how* they grow, spontaneously, unconsciously, from a principle implanted within them, fostered by favorable conditions. So the principle of spiritual life imparted to the soul in regeneration tends to a gracious development under the agencies which God has ordained—his word and providence, not alone, but accompanied by the Holy Ghost. The differentiating element of spiritual growth is spiritual life.

Morality based only on prudence and natural conscience, besides being superficial and external, is apt to be one-sided and partial. Christian principle, the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, operating at all times and in every direction, is generative of every Christian virtue, and makes an harmonious and beautiful character. The Christian, like the poet, is born, not made. The life which dwells in Christ, as in a fountain, flows forth into him, and this continuous stream makes him not only to live, but grow.

The chapter on *Death* is very striking, showing that it consists essentially in an existence out of communion with God. He shows that the highest form of life is that which has the most ample and adequate environment, and is in fullest connexion therewith. The life of the tree is more limited than the life of the bird; the life of the bird than the life of man; the natural life and the spiritual life of man in communion with God is the highest form of life of which we can have any conception.

Mortification or death to the world and death to sin is the subject of the succeeding chapter. A mortal conflict is going on in the soul. If the believer does not put sin to death, sin will put him to death. Our Lord does not prescribe a partial abstinence from sin, or a gradual recovery, but an instant and absolute renunciation of it. Sin and holiness, faith and worldliness, are mutually incompatible and mutually exclusive. In the work of Prof. Drummond, the argument for the evidences of Christianity is made to take a step *in advance*. It now assumes the ground not merely of an analogy between the laws which obtain in the natural and in the spiritual world, but of the unity, in some sense, the *identity* of the two. If this could be demonstrated, the evangelical system would stand on a rational basis as incontestable as the ascertained laws of nature. The effect of this would be not merely to silence the batteries of natural science, from which the most formidable assaults have been made upon the towers and bulwarks of Zion, but they would be turned into powerful engines of defence. Such a demonstration, if universally admitted, could not make men receive with saving faith the truth as it is in Jesus. But even to make men who would otherwise be sceptics and agnostics speculative believers is a great

gain. But as even speculative infidelity is more a matter of the heart than of the head, we need not hope to see the day when all men shall yield even a speculative assent to the gospel of our salvation.

To show, however, what progress the germinal thought of this book has made, and is making, we may refer to a still more recent work of a wholly different character and purpose, but of marked ability entitled, *Modern Thought and the Ancient Church*. The book has just been issued from the London press. It is written by a Romanist. The design of it is to show that the pessimistic and atheistic views of Schopenhauer and others of the same way of thinking, is most effectually repelled and repressed by the theological teachings and authoritative *dicta* of the Church of Rome.¹ In the course of the work we find the following statements:

“Once purge the mind of anthropomorphic conceptions as to the divine government, and the notion of any essential opposition between the natural and the supernatural disappears. Sanctity, which means likeness to God, a partaking of the divine nature, is as truly a force as light or heat, and enters as truly into the great order of the universe. The religious mind conceives of the natural not as opposed to the supernatural, but as an outlying province of it; of the economy of the physical world, as the complement of the economy of grace. And to those who thus think, the great objection urged by so many philosophers, from Spinoza downwards—not to go further back—that miracles, as the violation of an unchangeable order, make God contradict himself, and so are unworthy of being attributed to the All-wise, is without meaning.”

Now these are very remarkable words, and give strong confirmation to the views so elaborately wrought out by Drummond.

At any rate, they serve to show the *trend* of the best and deepest modern thought in its relation to the government of God in the economy of the universe.

With these brief observations on some of the earlier chapters, and with no intention of going into a minute examination of Prof. Drummond's book, we may say that it is unusually suggestive. It will teach men to use their eyes, to use their imaginations, and

¹ *Ancient Religion and Modern Thought*. By William Samuel Lilly: London, 1884.

to use their reason ; such at least as may be teachable. If a man have any dormant capacity of being interested in scientific investigations in their relations not only to the well-being of men on earth, but to the highest questions which concern religion and the soul, the volume before us is well adapted to awaken it. The light which it incidentally throws upon many passages of Scripture by the palpable analogies in natural objects, arrangements, and processes is of great value. The writer seems to be at once truly liberal and strictly orthodox, even according to the Calvinistic standard. In a singularly interesting passage he illustrates a particular defect or deformity by referring as an illustration of the parasitic habit to the Romanist who devolves his salvation on the Church, and the Antinomian who rests in a perverted view of justification, showing that the Protestant as well as the Papist may err by a partial view of revealed truth and of practical righteousness.

J. M. ATKINSON.

ARTICLE VI.

EVOLUTION AND THEOLOGY.

THE CONSENSUS OF SCIENCE AGAINST DR. WOODROW'S OPPONENTS.

In a previous article discussing the formal errors in the logic of those who aided in Professor Woodrow's ejection from Columbia Seminary, it was shown that those errors in formal logic involved ruinous consequences in philosophy, theology, and practical life. The purpose of the present paper is to point out the material error in the reasoning on which Dr. Woodrow's expulsion was based. Waiving for a moment the question whether the act of expulsion was justifiable on the supposition that the reasons therefor, the principles on which it was grounded, were tenable, an examination will be made of the *grounds* of the action. Whether church courts or boards of trustees are logically carrying out their views according to the forms and technicalities of law is one thing; whether those *views* are right is quite another thing. Although Romish persecution has found defenders in the ranks of Dr. Woodrow's opponents, on the ground that the Church of Rome was carrying out its views, a more important question is, What right had she to hold views according to which, in her opinion, the burning of Giordano Bruno and the imprisonment of Galileo were duties and logical results? This is the question of questions which our age asks in reviewing the conduct of former ages; it is the question which the future will ask in passing judgment upon the course of our Church in its treatment of Dr. Woodrow; it is the question to be answered before a higher tribunal than human history. To carry out one's views is doubtless an important matter; it is far more important to have *right views* to carry out.

This question in due course of time will probably be taken up to the highest court of our Church; it may be an issue within a year in all our Presbyteries in electing commissioners to the General Assembly; a man's position on this subject will determine whether he can be elected commissioner; in the final issue

the question will have to be settled on its merits; therefore the merits of the question—the rightness or wrongness of the views of Dr. Woodrow's opponents—is and will remain in order for discussion. Doubtless the majority will try to evade and pooh! pooh! but the subject cannot be tabled. The principles involved render it as impossible to down at a mere bidding as was Banquo's ghost. It is not from a mere love of fight that we of the minority persist in our opposition to, and criticism of, the principles and actions of the majority in ousting Dr. Woodrow. More than one hundred names are on record as voting against the action of the majority. They are known to the world as calm, truth-loving, law-abiding men. They are not captious, turbulent, or lovers of strife. Their loyalty to Presbyterian doctrine and polity is, and has always been, unchallenged and unchallengeable. Their soundness in the faith "once for all delivered to the saints" is above suspicion. Many of them—yea, a majority of them—are as true in their love for Columbia Seminary as any who oppose them. The ties and associations which hallow that institution and endear it to their hearts are as strong and sacred as any whose professions of attachment have been so loud, and whose zeal (which may prove to be without knowledge) has, we believe, led them to stab, seriously if not fatally, our common *Alma Mater*. These men are the peers of any in their loyalty and devotion to the Southern Church. Their record proves that as upholders and exponents of the spirit and principles of our Southern Church they are representative men. None can claim preëminence over them as typical Southern Presbyterians. In their veins runs the blood of heroes in the faith whose lives and characters have made glorious Scotland, North Ireland, England, France, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. The same spirit of loyalty to the very same doctrines which led Covenanters, Huguenots, and Puritans to face death unflinchingly animates their breasts.

Now, what is the situation before us? A position is taken by a majority in our Church which logically condemns this minority, which has been truthfully characterised above (a minority constituting at least one-tenth of our Church), as heretics, or if not

heretics, at least apostates from our doctrines to such a degree that they cannot be trusted as theological teachers; and in some cases we are told that outside parties have tried to defeat the election of some of these men as pastors in Christian churches, because they hold that Dr. Woodrow's theory of Evolution does not contradict Scripture or Presbyterian doctrine.¹ When the announcement was made in the Synod of Mississippi that the Rev. Dr. Jos. R. Wilson had been elected head of the theological department in the Southwestern Presbyterian University at Clarksville, Tenn., the statement was made by Dr. B. M. Palmer, announcing the fact, that *the Synod need not have any doubt about Dr. Wilson's soundness in the faith on the "Woodrow heresy," for the precaution had been taken (knowing the family connexion between Drs. Wilson and Woodrow) to sound Dr. Wilson, and that he had written in reply that he did not sympathise with Dr. Woodrow's views.* This, of course, may have only meant that Dr. Wilson (like all Dr. Woodrow's *defenders*) was not an evolutionist, or it may have meant that his views agreed with the majority in holding Evolution to be a dangerous theological error. In either case, a man's views on Evolution are a test of orthodoxy and of fitness for a theological professorship, even though he be simply a non-evolutionist, like Profs. Kellogg, of Alle-

¹ Perhaps a majority of these men are comparatively young, but they also include some of our oldest and most honored chiefs, such as Rev. Drs. J. B. Adger, J. Leighton Wilson, C. A. Stillman, A. W. Clisby, J. R. Burgett, Wm. Flinn, J. Woodbridge, etc. Among those either comparatively young or in the very prime of their manhood are such men as Rev. Drs. W. E. Boggs, J. L. Martin, E. Daniel, E. M. Green, A. R. Kennedy, C. R. Hemphill, G. R. Brackett, etc., etc.; Rev. Messrs. W. J. McKay, T. H. Law, T. R. English, A. B. Curry, W. H. Dodge, N. W. Edmunds, G. T. Goetchius, J. S. Cozby, W. S. P. Bryan, W. R. Atkinson, D. C. Rankin, etc., etc. The elders who are thus condemned virtually as heretics by synodical decrees, in these deliverances, which introduce into church courts the bill of attainder mode of inflicting penalties, include some of the best men in our Church, as Messrs. Hemphill, Clark, Perrin, Fraser, Walsh, Smyth, etc., of South Carolina; Messrs. Lapsley, Anderson, etc., of Alabama; Messrs. Anderson, etc., of Georgia; Messrs. T. G. Richardson, J. T. and W. T. Hardie, T. J. McMillan, etc., of New Orleans. All these men (and many more of the same kind might be added) are the peers of any in our Church in character, learning, usefulness, and loyalty to Presbyterianism.

gheny, Gulliver, of Andover, Hodge, Patton, and Shields, of Princeton, yet agreeing with these distinguished men and with Dr. Woodrow that Evolution, whether true or false, does not contradict Scripture.

It is said that those who have been from time to time elected to professorships at Columbia Seminary have been sounded on Evolution beforehand to see if they were *sound*. The assurance, we are told, was given to the Directors that Mr. Vos, of Princeton, avows he cannot see any "monkey Evolution" or "tadpole theology" in the first and second chapters of Genesis. Neither does Prof. Kellogg, of Allegheny, (nor Dr. Woodrow, for that matter,) but Dr. Kellogg's endorsement of Dr. Woodrow's theology, while rejecting his science, would disqualify him, in the eyes of the majority, for a professorship at Columbia. Had not Professors Boggs and Hemphill resigned, their defence of Dr. Woodrow (though not Evolutionists) would have led logically to their ejection in the near future. Hints (or *threats*?) to one of them that he was in danger of losing his place for his defence of Dr. Woodrow were actually given. Hence it appears both theoretically and practically that we *non-Evolutionists*, who yet maintain that the theistic form of Evolution held by Dr. Woodrow is theologically harmless and colorless, are, as to theological character and standing, in the same boat with him. If he is a heretic, so are we. If his views contradict Scripture, so do ours. There is, theologically speaking, no difference between the two positions: (1) "I believe a certain form of Evolution to be a probable scientific truth, which does not contradict Scripture or our Presbyterian doctrines;" and (2) "I do not accept this Evolution to be a scientific truth, yet I do not think it contradicts Scripture or our Presbyterian doctrines. I allow you to hold it and express your opinions concerning it, for whether true or false I regard it as theologically harmless." First, then, on the broad principle of maintaining truth and opposing error for their own sakes, and, second, because the error of the majority, logically and practically, works injury to every one who defends Dr. Woodrow in holding Evolution to be (whether proven or unproven) not contradictory of Scripture or of any important truth, is bound

to make common cause with him. Whether we will or not, his cause is ours. It is not mere defence of a friend, but of truth. It is also self-defence, which becomes a high and sacred duty when important truth is involved in the issue.

Recurring now to the grounds held by the majority, their position was substantially as follows: "Evolution is a mere hypothesis. The Seminary is not the place to teach hypotheses. They must not be inculcated or handled. Nothing but positive, demonstrated truth must be taught. No hypotheses. No subjective notions (Virchow). Evolution is an hypothesis supported only by *probable* evidence. Probability does not furnish sufficient ground of proof for the acceptance of an hypothesis." Our former article examining these positions showed that they involved formal errors subversive of sound philosophy and of all that is peculiar and fundamental in our creed.

Now for the material errors in the reasoning advocating these two propositions: 1. "Evolution is an unproven hypothesis." 2. "Evolution contradicts Scripture and sound doctrine." The main proof relied on to establish the first proposition was the testimony of science as rendered by scientific men. One of the main lines of proof adduced in support of the second proposition was the "received interpretation," the opinions of theologians, in other words, "traditional interpretation." Therefore the principle of proof in both cases was the *appeal to authority*—the authority of human opinion. The two positions may be thrown into syllogistic form:

1. "Any hypothesis which is rejected by the consensus of scientists is unproven.

"The evolution hypothesis is rejected by the consensus of scientists.

"Therefore evolution is an unproven hypothesis."

Of course the converse of the proposition would hold equally with the above; thus: "Any hypothesis which is accepted by the consensus of scientists is proven," &c.

The majority have committed themselves to the principle that the consensus of scientific authorities determines the truth or falsity of a scientific hypothesis. Without pronouncing any

judgment upon their major premise, it can be easily shown that the tribunal to which they have appealed renders a verdict against them; hence their conclusion *on their own premise* should be just the opposite of the one which they have drawn.

2. With regard to the theological complexion of evolution, the appeal to the "received interpretation," traditional opinion, if it means anything at all, amounts simply to an appeal to the consensus of orthodox evangelical Christendom. We may cast the position of the majority on this point into a syllogism also, thus:

"Any hypothesis which is condemned by the consensus of Christendom as contrary to Scripture, or to the body of evangelical reformed doctrine, is unscriptural, dangerous, and hurtful.

"The evolution hypothesis is so condemned.

"Therefore evolution is contrary to Scripture and to the body of evangelical reformed doctrine, &c."

Of course the reverse of this proposition is in the same logical category.

Admitting for argument's sake the principle that the judgment of Christendom concerning any hypothesis determines its theological character, it will be shown that the tribunal appealed to here also renders an adverse decision, and that from their own premises the majority are compelled to draw a conclusion precisely the reverse of the one which they have drawn.

1. *An examination of the grounds on which evolution is condemned as an unproved scientific hypothesis.*

Our opponents have explicitly condemned evolution as untrue, because it was rejected by science. As the testimony urged against the hypothesis, drawn from geology, the geographical distribution of plants and animals, comparative anatomy, embryology, archaeology, comparative ethnology, philology, etc., was taken second-hand on the authority of original investigators (on which the majority of the educated world chiefly relies for most of its beliefs on scientific questions), therefore "science," as appealed to by the majority, was simply the authority of scientific men. We accept the challenge, and insist that our "majority" stand to their own chosen tribunal. We do not commit ourselves to their major premise; but holding them to it by disproving or prov-

ing the reverse of their minor. we shall compel *them* to admit (on their own ground) that *evolution is true, or at least probably true.*

1. *Evolution defined.*

Evolution in its broadest sense is simply an unfolding, the coming of one thing out of another, or the production of one thing or state of things out of another. An evolution takes place from an involution; the result Kant¹ calls an "educt." He called evolution the "Nest-Box" theory—a small box fitting into a larger one, and all finally enclosed in one box. The term "*educt*" as denoting the result of a process of evolution, was used by Kant to mark one form of Leibnitz's theory of "Preëstablished Harmony," which considers each organism generated by its like as either an educt or a product. "The system which holds that they are *educts* may be styled the system of individual preformation, or the theory of *evolution*; the system which maintains that they are *products* may be called the system of epigenesis, or generic preformation. In antithesis to this we might call the system of educts one of involution."²

Again, Evolution is merely a mode of succession of phenomena—a law of sequence. It is not a force, but a plan according to which power or cause acts. The term is very widely applied to denote *a description or history of the process by which the universe and the form of life within it came into their present condition.* Employed in a strictly scientific sense, evolution knows nothing and affirms nothing of absolute beginnings, either of force, law, forms of matter, or of life; it only attempts to trace orders of sequence, or modes of operation, leaving to philosophy and theology the higher question of primal origin and first cause. In the literature of the subject these questions are often confusedly mixed up with it, but they are mere importations irrelevantly injected into it from the subjective notions of individual writers. Separating it from these metaphysical and theological problems, and viewing it purely as a mode of operation,

¹ Critique on the Judgment, § 81.

² Critique on Judgment, II., § 81. Kant held that organic beings are *products*, not *educts*.

“Evolution is the passage (or the production) of the present state of things from a preceding state of things.”¹ In its comprehensive sense Evolution includes the stellar and planetary universe, the earth with its fauna and flora, human societies, history, art, etc. Accordingly we have the expressions cosmical evolution, geological and geographical evolution, sociological evolution, the evolution of plants and animals, or organic evolution, etc. Within the domain of the natural, affirming that forms and conditions have grown out of preëxisting forms and conditions, that the present is the child or result of the past, that “in to-day already walks to-morrow” (Coleridge), Evolution simply affirms that the force or principle of causation operates according to the law of continuity. Present known causes have acted according to present known laws from an indefinite past until now, in producing the phenomena presented in the successive conditions and forms of the universe. The action of these causes has been more or less gradual and uniform. Each successive condition and form of existence born of, or produced from, its predecessor in the line of descent, has varied more or less from its ancestor. Each newly acquired or produced form, power, or condition, was made a point of departure or stepping-stone for something higher and more or less different. These general statements apply in a broad way to every department and phase of the Evolution hypothesis, cosmic, organic, or sociological. Another remark cannot be too strongly emphasised and carefully remembered, viz., the establishment of one branch of the Evolution theory would not demonstrate the truth of another phase of it; *e. g.*, the demonstration of the origin of the species plants and animals, man included, by the process of Evolution, would not establish cosmical Evolution, or the nebular hypothesis, nor the reverse. And so with all the departments of Evolution. Nor would the failure of proof, or the disproof, of Evolution in one branch of natural science or human history, invalidate the evidence for Evolution in another branch of knowledge. It may be true that

¹ Lieutenant General R. Strachey, F. R. S., President of Section E of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Address at the Bristol meeting of the Association, 1875.

in proportion as Evolution is proved to be a law holding good in many departments of nature, a strong analogical argument is thereby furnished for the universal prevalence of the law. A growing knowledge of nature begets a belief in her unity and solidarity, in the unity of her cause, and in the unity of method which this cause pursues.

Dismissing all phases of Evolution except organic Evolution, perhaps no definition more accurate and briefly comprehensive can be given than the one in Dr. Woodrow's Address, viz., "Descent with modification." Many leading naturalists define it in a similar way, referring merely to the method according to which species arise. If it were necessary to attempt a definition which would incorporate what is fully brought out under Dr. Woodrow's and other naturalists', it might be stated thus: *Organic Evolution is the origination of present species by means of descent (from preëxisting species) with modification.* This definition is theologically colorless and (we believe) scientifically exact, supposing Evolution to be true. It leaves the Christian theist free to believe that the "origination" was the work of a superior cause, an *Originator*, God, and that this divine Originator wrought "by means of" instruments and according to methods of his own devising and under his control, and that therefore they were made obedient to his aims and will. It leaves the sceptic of whatever type free to say all that he ever wished and said 3,000 years ago, or may say 3,000 years hence.

To show the variety of scientific opinion on the subject of Evolution, and to expose the error of Dr. Woodrow's opponents in persistently misrepresenting his views by confounding his form of Evolution with Darwinism proper, and with all Haeckel & Co.'s materialistic additions and deductions, we will now give Prof. Alexander Winchell's¹

"CONSPECTUS OF THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES."

I. IMMEDIATE CREATION:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. In single pairs, | Popular Opinion. |
| 2. In colonies, | AGASSIZ, etc. |

¹The Doctrine of Evolution, etc. By Alex. Winchell. Harper & Bros., N. Y., 1874.

II. MEDIATE CREATION OR DERIVATION:

1. Through a force, which is a mode of the Unknowable,
HERBERT SPENCER.
2. Through external forces.
 - (a) Physical surroundings, DE MAILLET.
 - (b) Conflicts of individuals, or "*Natural Selection*."
 - (1) By insensible gradations, { DARWIN, HAECKEL,
CHAPMAN, GEGEN-
BAUR, WALLACE,² etc.
 - (2) With occasional leaps (*Saltative*), HUXLEY.
3. Through an internal force, influenced by external conditions.
Perpetual effort to improvement (*Conative-variative*),
LAMARCK, GEOFFROY ST. HILAIRE, etc.
4. Through genetic processes exclusively (*Filiative*).
 - (a) Prolonged development of embryo (*Variative-filiative*),
"Vestiges of Creation" [Robt. Chambers].
 - (b) Accelerated development of embryo (*Variative-filiative*).
HYATT and COPE.
 - (c) Extraordinary births (*Saltative-thanmogene*),
PARSONS, OWEN, KOELLIKER, [DALTON], MIVART, etc.
 - (d) Partheno-genesis—virginal births (*Saltative-filiative*),
FERRIS, KOELLIKER.

These various groups of theories, under "mediate creation or derivation," differ very materially from each other, particularly 1 and 2 from 3 and 4. To confound together 2 and 4 either as identical or as involving identical consequences, is a proof either of inexcusable ignorance, or of invincible prejudice. One feature indeed is common to them all, viz., descent or derivation. It may be added also that the disproof (or lack of proof) of any one of the forms of organic evolution as given above would not demolish or invalidate the evidence for some other form of the theory. This fact is clearly stated by Rudolf Schmid, in the third chapter of his valuable work on "The Theories of Darwin." Schmid groups these theories under three heads, viz.: "1. The Theory of Descent. 2. The Theory of Evolution. 3. The Theory of Natural Selection." Schmid, as a theological professor at Schöenthal, Württemberg, is not quoted here as a naturalist, whose ori-

² Winchell adds that Wallace excludes the mind and body of man from Natural Selection. This is true, but Wallace nevertheless holds to the derivative origin of man's body. He holds to the animal descent of man's body, but thinks "*a higher power than Natural Selection guided the development of man.*"

ginal investigations make him an authority; but he has read widely and studied carefully on the subject, and is competent to report the state of scientific opinion, and at the same time to have a judgment of his own entitled to respectful consideration. It is one of the insoluble enigmas of newspaper controversy that Rudolf Schmid was actually quoted in support of the views of the majority as against Dr. Woodrow!! We do not mean that Schmid regards Evolution as an established truth, but his general position is in harmony with Dr. Woodrow's on this subject; and how any candid intelligent reader can fail to see this is beyond our comprehension. By adopting a style of quotation which amounts to a *suppressio veri*, Schmid can be twisted into or made to appear an ally of the majority. Schmid says "the *descent theory* has gained, the selection theory has lost ground, the theory of development (evolution) oscillates between both; all three theories have not yet passed beyond the rank of hypotheses, although they have very unequal hypothetical value." He thinks the "*descent theory*" may "still have value when both the others are diminished or lost. . . . The theory of descent is indeed at first sight exceedingly plausible, and will probably always be the *directive* for all future investigations as to the origin of species." He discusses the three theories in succession.

1. *Descent*. After speaking of the many deep resemblances between the higher species, which increase in number and value with the rank of species, he says: "Our imagination refuses to accept the theory that the Creator, or nature . . . in producing the new species, laid aside all those points of contact which are continually becoming more numerous and more important, and produced instead, by ever widening leaps, the new and higher species from the inorganic, which lies farther and farther from them. On the other hand, the theory appears to us all the more plausible that every new species came into existence on that stage which is the most nearly related to it, and which was already in existence." After referring to the uninvalidated maxims, *omne vivum ex ovo* (all or every life is from an egg) and *omne ovum ex ovario* (every egg is from an ovary), and the fact that we cannot conceive the origin or development of any higher animal without the nourish-

ing help of a mother's womb, he adds: "Each and every attempt to render the origin of the first individuals of the higher species conceivable, leads of necessity to the descent theory. We have either to reject, once for all, such an attempt, as an unscientific playing with impossibilities, or to accept the idea of descent." He then reviews the evidence for descent from geology, concluding: "All these modifications of geological progress would entirely correspond to the idea of a pedigree to which the descent theory traces back the whole abundance of forms of organisms." He considers a tree a good illustration of the pedigree of species. From plant and animal geography he infers: "All these are facts which render quite inevitable the idea of an origin of the higher organic species of to-day through descent. . . . The hypothesis of a separate origin for each single species without genealogical connexion with the anatomically and physiologically related species, becomes neither more nor less than a scientific impossibility." From the testimony of comparative anatomy he concludes: "The *ideal* plan and connexion in the organisms, disclosed by these facts, and long ago acknowledged and admired, receives at the same time its *material* basis through the acceptance of a common descent." From the phenomena of rudimentary organs he infers, "*How simply are all these facts explained by the descent theory, how not at all without it!*"

In the embryonic development and growth of animals he finds "confirmation for origination through descent—namely, in leaps through metamorphosis of germs, or a heterogenetic generation . . . which we call change of generation or metagenesis."

Of the "main objection raised to every descent theory, viz., the origin of one species from another has never been observed, but that, on the contrary, so far as our experience goes . . . all species remain constant," he says:

"That objection loses its chief force from the consideration that we have not only never observed the origin of one species from another, but never even the origin of a species itself [in any way]. . . . If, therefore, we cannot observe directly their origination, we have a right to make all possible attempts at approaching the knowledge of it in an indirect way. This objection is also invalidated by the fact *that no new species* have arisen since the appearance of man. This fact is inconvenient for those who . . . reject aim

and purpose in the world; for *they* must admit that if species once originated through descent, new species ought still to originate through descent. . . . But those scientists who recognise aims in the world, for which the world and all its parts are destined, and which aims are attained through the processes of coming into existence, have to expect beforehand that the organic kingdoms are also planned with reference to those aims. . . . Man in God's image, with the highest physical organisation, a self-conscious and responsible spiritual life capable of conceiving the ideal, even the idea of God, is the aim of all nature and life. . . . Scientists who take this standpoint can readily adopt the fact that we do not now observe the origination of new species; for it is in full harmony with their metaphysical doctrines, without the same being, on that account, dependent upon the confirmation or rejection of the hypothesis of the present constancy of species. With this very fact, the maxim that if new species once originated, new species must still originate through descent, has lost for them its truth, and therefore its power of demonstration."¹

2. *Theory of Evolution.* This, says Schmid, "teaches that the species have developed themselves one from another in gradual transitions, each of which was as small as the individual differences still observed to-day among the individuals of the same species. It is not without support, especially in the *history of the development of plants and animals.*" Of the proofs for Evolution, in this sense, as furnished by Geology, he says the answer of Geology "reads contradictorily: it says yes, and it says no." On these contradictory results of geological proof for the evolution of *man*, he says:

"We dare not overlook three points: *First*, our knowledge of the crust of the globe is still very fragmentary, and does not yet extend over the whole globe. *Second*, from the nature of the case the strata in mountain formations can only give a very incomplete picture of the whole variety of the real organic life which may have populated the earth and the sea. *Third*, a purely hypothetical consideration is rendered of importance, particularly by Darwin and Hæckel, viz., that the forms of transition without doubt existed for a shorter period than those forms whose organisation has established itself in fully developed species."

After a *résumé* of the proofs of man's evolution from archæology, he says: "Archæology, as a whole, seems to do no more

¹"Theories of Darwin, and their Relation to Philosophy, Religion, and Morality." By Rudolf Schmid, President of Theological Seminary at Schönthal, Würtemberg. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1883. Pp. 61-77.

than admit that its results can be incorporated into the theory of an origin of the human race through gradual development, *if* this theory can be shown to be correct in some other way, and that its results can just as well be brought into harmony with a contradictory theory. *Comparative Ethnology* gives us quite a similar result." And so with *Philology*. He thinks the results of these three sciences quite compatible with the evolution of man, if the theory were otherwise confirmed, "but they agree just as well with a contrary theory, which excludes the origin of man by gradual development." He concludes thus:

"The Evolution theory, like the Descent theory, is so far only a hypothesis . . . which has a much more problematical character than the Descent theory. For while in regard to the latter (the Descent theory) we had to say that we have either this explanation or none of the origin of the higher species, with the Evolution theory there is not even room for this alternative. For even in the case of its (evolution) failure, a descent of one species from another through heterogenetic generation is certainly very possible. Besides, it is not only possible, but *even probable, that both theories—that of heterogenetic generation and that of gradual development—may have to share with one another in the explanation of the origin of species.*"¹

And yet Schmid is quoted in support of the majority!!

3. *The Theory of Selection.* Schmid thinks this theory "also is not entirely without support in the realm of observed facts," but that both "*facts and logic are opposed to the autocracy of the selection principle. For selection can only explain the preservation and perhaps the increase of already existing useful qualities, but would not explain their origination.*"¹ He concludes, Bk. I., Chap. 3, as follows:

"In summing up all we have said thus far about the theories of *Descent*, of *Evolution*, and of *Selection*, we still find all three solutions of the scientific problems to be hypotheses, but hypotheses of very different value. The idea of Descent has the most scientific ground; it will, as a permanent presupposition, govern all scientific investigations as to the origin of species, . . . More uncertain and less comprehensive is the position of the Evolution theory; in all likelihood, the idea of an origin through development will have to share the sovereignty with the idea of origin by leaps through the metamorphosis of germs. Still more unfavorable is the state of the Selection theory. It possesses the merit of having started the whole question as to the origin of species; it may explain subsidiary developments;

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-99.

Natural Selection may have co-operated as a regulator in the whole progress and the whole preservation of organic life. Ed. von Hartmann (*Truth and Error of Darwinism*, Berlin, 1875) compares its functions with those of the bolt and coupling in a machine; but that the driving principle which called new species into being lay or originated *in* the organisms, and did not approach them from without, seems to be confirmed more and more decidedly with every new step of exact investigation as well as of reflection" (p. 107).

We have quoted freely from Rudolf Schmid for two reasons: *first*, as he is an authority with Dr. Woodrow's opponents, the broad distinctions he points out between *Descent* (the form of Evolution held by Dr. Woodrow), *Evolution* (the development of species by gradual transitions, each one as small as the present observed differences among individuals of the same species), and *Selection* (Darwinism proper), will show them their error in confounding the Evolution of Dr. Woodrow with Darwinism. Indeed, on the methods of argument pursued by the majority we might go further, and say, "As you agree on certain points with Schmid, you agree with him on all. You claim him as supporting you in denouncing Evolution as an unproven hypothesis," etc.—(It will be seen from the above extracts, however, that Schmid's language on the hypothetical character of Evolution does not mean to him what it is made to mean by the majority.) "As Schmid does not deny that scientific men generally (especially naturalists) accept Evolution, but on the contrary quotes in his book about one hundred of the greatest names of modern science as accepting some form of organic evolution (man included) as at least *probably true*, so ought you, our dear friends of the majority, on your own premises, make the same admission. As Schmid, with triumphant success and ease, with incontrovertible reasoning proves the complete absence of contradiction between Evolution (including the descent of man's body from a *brute! mirabile dictu*) and Theism, the Bible and all the positive doctrines of orthodox Christianity, Religion, Morality, Providence, Prayer, Miracles, the Fall and Redemption of Man, Resurrection, Immortality, etc., you should agree with him." He thinks the Bible is "*naturally silent as to the descent problem*"

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-103.

(p. 314). Thinks it "*infinitely insignificant* whether the earthly matter out of which God formed man, who is dust of the earth, was an animal organism or not" (p. 315). "*The question . . . whether man's connexion with the ground is brought about through the form of a preceding animal organism or not, is no longer of importance*" (p. 318). He thinks it just as *dignified* to have an animal ancestry as to have an ancestry of dirt; he sees no ground for the sentimental opposition to animal descent as to our bodies, because "*brutes*" are so ugly, wicked, hideous, etc., for "mankind has stains uglier than those which disfigure the wildest beast of prey, and also traits so noble that man need not be ashamed of them" (p. 319). He says, "It is certainly a right feeling to which Darwin, in his 'Descent of Man,' gives expression when he says: 'For my own part, I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper, or from that old baboon who, descending from the mountains, carried away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs, as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practises infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstitions'" (p. 319).

We insist that the majority stand by their man, Prof. Rudolf Schmid, and think like him in all things, because they (claim to) think like him in some things. On this principle Prof. Woodrow is charged with Darwinism. On the same principle the majority are *Schmidists*, and we therefore insist on them subscribing to or proclaiming this paragraph from Schmid:

"*Thus, then, the advocates of descent would find themselves in the unaccustomed position, equally surprising to friend and foe, of being in a much more friendly relation to the biblical belief in revealed religion than their opponents.*" [Really wonderful, isn't it? and Schmid a majority man.] "We should see the apparent discords . . . between Scripture and nature . . . dissolved into harmony, and above the double relation of the two accounts (of creation, Gen. i. and ii.) we should see the morphological ideas of Oken and Goethe, the ideas of types of Cuvier, Agassiz, and Owen, the laws of development of K. E. von Baer, and finally the idea of descent of Lamarek and Darwin, reach a friendly hand to one another. And even the old joys of a teleological view of nature, adorned indeed

with queue and wig, but at present rejected with too much disdain, even if they are called ichthyo-teleological and insecto-teleological, would attain in this reconciliation their modest subordinate place. Moreover, we should then have the satisfaction of seeing again that a religiousness which, in its own realm, gives absolutely free play to natural investigation, and does not find it beneath its dignity, to learn from natural science, *can on that account retain its own autonomy in its own realm much more uncontestedly*; and that, as it seems to us in the present case, it can go much farther in the use which it makes of its autonomy, and in the extension of the revealed character of its records to physical processes and circumstances than is either necessary or safe, and that it nevertheless is rewarded for keeping peace with natural science by more rich, more living, and more correct glimpses into the harmony between God's word and his work, *than would be the case with a religiousness which, without regard to natural science, weaves its cosmogonies from the Holy Scripture alone.*"

Second. We quote Schmid freely, because, as President of a *theological college* in Würtemberg, the publication of such views in his book is the *teaching* of them to his students. Yes, he is accredited as a sound teacher by his Church—the "*Evangelical Protestant Church*" (we believe), formed by the union of the "*Reformed Church*" and the "*Lutheran Church*" in 1823. He has not been condemned and kicked out untried for teaching in substance the same things taught by Dr. Woodrow. What a shame on the "*Evangelical Protestant Church*"! And they profess the same doctrines, on vital points, that are set forth in our Confession of Faith! Furthermore, as Schmid holds that it is right and proper for a theological professor to hold and teach these views, so the majority, on their own principle that agreement with a man in some things implies agreement in all, must hold (and *act accordingly by rescinding their rash, blundering synodical decrees, etc.*) that Dr. Woodrow has the right to hold and teach as theological professor similar views.

2. *Scientific authorities examined.*

It is proper to state here, once for all, that we do not pass any judgment one way or the other on the opinions we shall quote from scientists as to the truth of any form of evolution, descent, gradual development, or natural selection (Darwinism). Further, as Evolution or gradual development and natural selection

or Darwinism, are both particular forms of the general theory of *descent*, it is a matter of course that if a man believes in Darwinism or selection, *a fortiori* he would still believe in the *descent of species*, even though he should become convinced that selection or evolution were without sufficient support, for descent is generic, the other two are specific.

(a) *Admitted anti-Evolutionists.* Several eminent naturalists have never given in their adhesion to this theory. But some of them quoted by the majority hold, or held, views which weaken their strength as allies.

Agassiz.—He indeed rejected the theory to the last, but the following facts give Agassiz's testimony at least questionable value as supporting the general position of the majority :

(1) Agassiz admitted before his death that naturalists generally accepted some form of organic Evolution. Tyndall, in his Belfast Address, 1874, speaking of the general acceptance of Evolution, quotes a confession made by Agassiz at Mr. Winthrop's, near Boston, when he, Tyndall, and others were then at luncheon: "*I confess,*" said Agassiz (alluding to the success of Evolution in winning acceptance), "*that I was not prepared to see this theory received as it has been by the best intellects of our time. Its success is greater than I could have thought possible.*" Now if Agassiz's testimony is good for so much, it ought to be worth something for those who stake so largely on him, as to the acceptance of descent by scientific men.

(2) Agassiz denied the infertility of hybrids, held that a fertile offspring could result from the crossing of two distinct species, and denied that fertile offspring between plants and animals was proof of unity of species or origin. Here is his exact language on these points :

"To make specific difference or identity depend upon genetic succession is begging the principle and taking for granted what in reality is under discussion. . . . We are not justified in doubtful cases, therefore, in considering the fertility of two animals as decisive of their specific identity. Moreover, generation is not the only way in which certain animals may multiply, as there are entire classes in which the larger number of individuals do not originate from eggs. Any definition of species in which the question of generation is introduced is, therefore, objec-

tionable. . . . It is beyond all question that individuals of distinct species may, in certain cases, be productive with one another, as well as with their kind."¹

Now all this reads very much like parts of Chapter IX. of Darwin's "Origin of Species," 6th ed., pp. 234-263. "It is Darwinism, as far as it goes." Perhaps it would be unkind to call attention to the fact that on the principle of our opponents, the agreement of Agassiz and Darwin on these important points proves their agreement on everything pertaining to species. But it must be noted that Agassiz's points of agreement with Darwin, as given above, make matters very serious with the majority. In the newspapers and in the Synods, the very *reverse* of these doctrines of Agassiz was insisted on as important to their cause. Hence when their "best man" is against them on points confessedly essential, he must be thrown out of court, or there must be a radical revision of principles.

Agassiz is *authority*. Agassiz holds opinions which (by confession of his friends) make Evolution *at least* "probably true." Therefore the denunciation of Evolution as unscientific must be cancelled. Quatrefages² speaks of the "singular points of resemblance," as well as "striking contrasts," between Agassiz and Darwinists. He mentions the resemblances as given above, and quotes Agassiz as "*denying the existence of species.*" "After having rejected the criterion drawn from crossing and degrees of fertility, he adds: 'With it disappears in its turn the pretended reality of species as opposed to the mode of existence of genera, families, orders, classes, and branches. Reality of existence is in fact possessed by individuals alone.' *Thus, . . . Agassiz and Darwin have arrived at a similar result.*"³ Now "fixity of species" was insisted on as essential to *anti-Evolutionists*; as it is all a myth (according to Pope Agassiz), therefore *anti-Evolution* is without foundation.

¹"Sketch of the Natural Provinces of the Animal World and their Relation to the Different Types of Man." By Louis Agassiz, 1853. Prefixed to Nott & Gliddon's "Types of Mankind."

²"Human Species." By A. de Quatrefages: Appleton, N. Y., 1883, p. 155.

³*Ibid.*, p. 158.

(3) Agassiz denied the unity of the human race on the ground that this doctrine involved the theory of Evolution and the common origin of man and monkey as an inevitable result. We are aware that Agassiz attempted to bring his views into harmony with essential race unity and human fraternity. But he denied a unity of origin from one pair, holding that man was created in colonies, nations, or groups. The older members of the present generation remember the controversy that was still maintained thirty years ago on the "unity of the race." Agassiz was then denounced as all sorts of a heretic, teaching doctrines subversive of Scripture, morality, the whole plan of salvation, etc. *He was then in the minority both among theologians and scientists!* Now he is with the majority—in the Southern Presbyterian Church—a majority which seems more inclined to swallow Agassiz's notions on the multiple origin of mankind than Dr. Woodrow's views of Evolution. And the position of that majority compels it to do either one or the other of three things, viz., (1) agree with Agassiz in denying the common descent of mankind from one pair; (2) hold to the unity of the race, accepting Evolution as a necessary part of the doctrine (according to Agassiz); or (3) abandon Agassiz's testimony against Evolution as either valueless or dangerous. "But," some may ask, "does Agassiz really hold that man's common descent from one pair inevitably involves Evolution?" He does, explicitly. After stating the two alternatives of mankind's origination and race descent from a common stock, or that the various races are distinct primordial forms of the type of man, he says: "The consequences of the first alternative (descent from a common stock or single pair), which is contrary to all the modern results of science, *run inevitably into the Lamarckian development theory, so well known in this country through the work entitled 'Vestiges of Creation' ; though its premises are generally adopted by those who would shrink from the conclusions to which they necessarily lead!*"¹

Again, he said: "If it is ever proved that all men have a common origin, then it will be at the same time proved that all mon-

¹"Sketch of the Natural Provinces of the Animal World and their Relation to the Different Types of Man," in Nott & Gliddon's "Types," etc., p. 76.

keys have a common origin, and it will by the same evidence be proved that man and monkeys cannot have a different origin.”¹ He confesses that he “saw the time coming when the question of the origin of man would be mixed up with the question of the origin of animals, and a community of origin might be affirmed for them all.”¹ Now, Agassiz was indeed a great man, and one of the most eminent of the world’s naturalists; but is his testimony against Evolution worth much to those who hold to the unity of the race? Agassiz stoutly combated the doctrine that race peculiarities, such as color of the skin, character of the hair, form of the features, general anatomical and physiological differences, etc., were produced by natural causes, such as climate, food, physical geography, mode of life, occupation, etc. To him the truth of this theory was proof of race unity, and therefore of Evolution. The energy with which some of Dr. Woodrow’s opponents fought against the idea of the origin of such race peculiarities as color, etc., from natural causes, vehemently denying the fact when it was cited as an analogical argument for the *possibility*, at least, that Evolution *might* be true, would indicate that Agassiz’s opinion on this subject was shared by some of these opponents. But this fact is denied by very few except those who deny the unity of the race. Now, if the testimony of science is that race varieties have arisen from natural causes, and if this fact (as appears from the vigorous denial of it by some of these opponents) furnishes an analogical presumption that Evolution *may be true*, then these opponents must abide by the decision of their chosen tribunal on this subject, accepting along with the decree of their own court the probable or possible evolutionary conclusion confessedly flowing from it.²

¹Quoted by Prof. E. S. Morse, Vice-President of the Biological Section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in an address before the Association on “What American Zoologists Have Done for Evolution,” at Buffalo, N. Y., August, 1876. It is singular to note how naturalists of to-day, taking the same facts and many of the leading principles on which Agassiz based his opposition to Evolution, draw precisely the opposite conclusion.

²NOTE on Race Unity and the Causes of Race Varieties.—It is one of the instructive facts in history that the question of the unity of the race and of

Quatrefages: Professor of Anthropology in the Museum of Natural History, Paris.—He is one of the few living naturalists who reject Evolution, but he does not endorse the extravagant position of the majority on this subject. Speaking of the attempts of men, “eminent in science and in the richness of their imaginations,” to explain organic life by descent, etc., as revivals of the methods of the Greek philosophers, which consisted in connecting together, and explaining thereby, facts of nature with conceptions almost entirely intellectual, he criticises their rashness, and adds: “These men could not but excite admiration. They spoke in the name of science alone; by its means they replied to aspirations perfectly justifiable on such a topic; they produced

the causes of race varieties has found all along believers and sceptics on both sides of the question. *Quatrefages* (*Human Species*, p. 159) says that Agassiz’s theory of a multiple origin of mankind is “the reproduction, *in the name of science*, of a theory at first proposed by La Peyrère, *in the name of theology*.” La Peyrère’s attempt to show that “man was created by nations” was not only in accord with Scripture, but *demandèd* by Scripture, is very curious. And he had numerous followers. Agassiz and other Christian polygenists of later days argued that Scripture did not contradict their doctrine. It is also well known that in the modern revival of race plurality by Voltaire and his allies in France, Germany, England, etc. (such as Rousseau, Bolingbroke, Gibbon, and Tom Paine), the alleged *falsity* of the race unity theory was fiercely urged as an argument for the rejection of the Bible and Christianity as worthless and false. Other sceptics urged the *Bible doctrine of race plurality* as proof that the Bible was false! Thus do men reason! As remarked by the *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* in 1850: “No one acquainted with the subject has any conception of the amount of learning and labor drawn into the discussion.” Among Southern writers on this subject of whom we may well be proud, both for the intrinsic value of their works and for the encomiums paid them by the highest authorities, scientific, theological, and literary, are Rev. Drs. J. Bachman and Thomas Smyth, of Charleston, S. C., and Dr. J. L. Cabell, Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology in the University of Virginia. All these distinguished scholars maintain, with great learning and force, that race peculiarities, “color,” etc., are the results of natural causes—climate, food, habits, etc. Rev. Stanhope Smith, D. D., LL. D., President of Princeton College, in a work on the “Causes of the Unity of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species” (New Brunswick, Philadelphia, Charleston, etc., 1810), assigns “climate, manner of life,” etc., as these causes. Dr. Smith gives some remarkable illustrations confirming his

theories which charmed by their fulness and the apparent precision of their explanations." He then proceeds to condemn the attacks made on these men in the name of religion: "Men as *imprudent as ill-judged have attacked them in the name of dogma.* Scientific discovery has degenerated into controversy; both parties have become excited; . . . they have vied with each other in violence [savants and theologians equally intolerant]. . . . I will only remind the one party of the trial of Galileo, and the other of the theories of Voltaire denying the existence of fossils."¹ We commend these words to those who cite Quatrefages. Take his counsel and beware of denouncing Evolution as anti-scriptural. Again, he confesses himself an agnostic as to the mode

views. among them a negro, Henry Moss, of Maryland (personally known to Dr. Smith), who completely changed from a black negro, with kinky hair, into a white man, with "fine straight hair of silky softness; . . . and in his appearance he could not be distinguished from a native Anglo-American." The whitening process was gradual, extending over a period of about ten years. It began on the abdomen, and soon appeared here and there on the body, encroaching on the original color until only black spots were left, "resembling dark clouds melting away at the edges." The parts of the body most exposed to air and sun were the last to whiten. The hair changed slowly from negro kinks to fine straight hair of silky softness, as the skin whitened under it, indicating that the peculiar form of the African hair is due largely to those secretions in the cells of the skin which cause color. This negro Moss, says Dr. Smith, attracted the attention and benevolence of the public, and his freedom was purchased by money raised for that purpose. He went to Virginia, and at last accounts he was alive and well and in appearance indistinguishable "from a native Anglo-American." A record of this case is in the Medical Depository of New York. It is mentioned by Dr. Wm. Barton, of Philadelphia; and Rev. Dr. Rodgers and Jno. R. B. Rodgers, M. D., of New York, examined Moss in company with Dr. Smith (pp. 92-95). Dr. Smith refers to Dr. Witherspoon's observation of the remarkable differences in complexion, figure, etc., of the people of East and West Scotland, resulting from climate, occupation, etc. (pp. 164-5). He cites the case of a young Indian student entering Princeton at the age of fifteen (during the Presidency of Dr. S.), who changed so much in features, etc., as to lead Dr. Smith to believe that if the "Anglo-American and the Indian were placed from infancy in the same state of society in this climate, which is common to them both, the principal differences which now subsist between the two races would in a great measure

¹ "Human Species," pp. 126-7.

of man's origin (p. 128); does not anathematise evolutionists; thinks their efforts legitimate; admits they have done good in provoking research, etc.; admits that they *may* finally succeed (p. 128). Quatrefages holds other views which some of the majority insisted on as false, or as *logical results, if Evolution were true: e. g.*, (1) "The characteristic phenomena differentiating man from beast are not in his material disposition nor in his physical organism. There is less difference between man and the higher apes (physically) than between the higher and lower apes" (p. 18). "In anthropology the axiom or truth which serves as a criterion is the fundamental, physical, and physiological identity of man with other living beings. All hypotheses at variance with

disappear when they should arrive at the age of puberty." He says: "Less difference existed at length between this Indian's features and those of his fellow-students than we often see between persons of the same nation (pp. 173-6). Rev. Dr. Thomas Smyth,¹ of Charleston, S. C., in his learned work on the "Unity of the Human Races," which Dr. Robert S. Candlish pronounced "the most comprehensive manual we can well have on this subject," quotes about 150 of the greatest names in the various professions and departments of learning who teach the unity of the race, and nearly all these (we know of no exception) also hold that race varieties are the results of natural causes. We have examined personally more than one-third the list given by Dr. Smyth, and from the quotations by various authors from the others we would infer that no scholar of any eminence, whose studies on this subject entitle his opinion to any consideration, denies that race varieties have been produced by natural causes, though they do not all agree as to the part played by each of these causes. Among these authors are: 1. *Naturalists*: Linnaeus, Buffon, Cuvier, Ray, Shaw, Pallas, Humboldt, Blumenbach, Lichtenstein, Sir Wm. Hooker, Camper, Lyell, Audubon, Bachman, Guyot, Pickering, Mantell, Darwin, Owen, etc. 2. *Physicians, Physiologists, etc.*: Sir Jno. Richardson, Abernethy, Sir Chas. Bell, Hunter, Lawrence, Prichard, W. B. Carpenter, Combe, Rush, Goode, Tiedemann, Torrey, Sir W. Ainslie, Arbuthnot, Prout, Boerhaave, J. Miller,

¹ Dr. Smyth's work was republished in Edinburgh, 1851. It was very highly endorsed by Rev. Drs. Wm. Cunningham, Robert S. Candlish, Alex. Duff, Jas. Hamilton, Prof. Jno. Brown, David Brown, of Glasgow, Wm. Symington, David King, Henry Cooke, of Belfast, Robert Halley, Leonard Bacon, J. G. Lorimer, J. Pye Smith, Jas. McCosh, and Hugh Miller. The leading British and American periodicals also warmly commended the work; among them the *British Quarterly*, the *Princeton Review*, the *London Evangelical Magazine*, etc.

this truth should be rejected. . . . Every solution which makes or tends to make man an exception, by representing him as free from those laws which govern other organised and living beings, is unsound and false" (p. 28). Now that great physical gulf whose existence was urged as a disproof of Evolution by the majority is dried up or bridged over by the chief living authority of our good friends. But Quatrefages did not *mean* to be unkind to you, brethren.

(2) He thinks the *minds* of brutes and man are the same in kind, differing only in *degree*. "Man and animals think and reason by virtue of a faculty which is common to both, and which is only more developed in man" (p. 21). He affirms the same thing of the language of man and of brutes (p. 21). The only fundamentally characteristic phenomena distinguishing man from beast are those of morality and religion (p. 22). This is worse than some theistic evolutionists who claim both a *mental* and *spiritual* gulf between man and beast. Nearly all who oppose Evolution (among them our majority friends) deny that the

etc., etc. 3. General scholars, theologians, philosophers, etc.: Stanhope Smith, Cardinal Wiseman, Chevalier Bunsen, Jas. McIntosh, Sharon Turner, Sir Walter Raleigh, Archbishops Sumner and Whately, Faber, Stillingfleet, Lord Bacon, Jno. Locke, Dugald Stewart, Sir Wm. Hamilton, Robertson (the historian), Heeren, Michaelis Calmet, Wells, Flourens, Lord Brougham, etc., etc. 4. Ethnologists, Linguists, etc.: F. Schlegel, Klaproth, Humboldt, Herder, Niebuhr, Abel Remusat, Sir Wm. Jones, Grotius, Carl Ritter, Birch, Lepsius, Kenrick, Latham, Quatrefages, etc., etc. Darwin thinks that all evolutionists must logically hold that "all the races of man are descended from a single primitive stock." He says: "Finally we may conclude that when the principle of Evolution is generally accepted, as it surely will be before long, the dispute between the monogenists and the polygenists will die a silent and unobserved death." It is interesting to note here that the late gifted and lamented Rev. Dr. A. Flinn Dickson, in a speech at Davidson College, before the appearance in this country, we believe, of Darwin's "Descent of Man"—though not an evolutionist—pointed out almost in Darwin's words that the truth of Evolution would settle the question of race unity. Darwin makes "sexual selection" the main factor in producing varieties, but thinks an "unexplained residuum is left," and that "unknown agencies" operate as in the case of individuals differing from their parents.¹

¹"Descent of Man," chap. vii.

mental difference between man and brute is one merely of *degree* and not of *kind*. They say, "If this is true, Evolution is true." And Quatrefages, their Leo XIII., says it is true. Quatrefages should be deposed, and those who quote him should be—more careful!

(3) Quatrefages teaches an antiquity for man which the majority assert implies or at least is demanded by the Evolution theory. He antedates the glacial epoch (p. 142). He lived in the tertiary age, in the miocene division (p. 151). Now, these geological eras (according to general scientific opinion) date many thousand years back, the computations ranging from 20,000 years to millions of years. It is doubtful whether any real authority in geology would put the figures as low as 20,000. Now, this opinion of Quatrefages was said to be consistent with and demanded by the Evolution theory alone. Authorities are sometimes very inconvenient.

(4) He thinks two geological revolutions separate man of to-day from the primitive stock, and that the primitive human type has been effaced, or disappeared (p. 239). "We know nothing of primitive man; from want of information it would be impossible to recognise him. All . . . we can say is that . . . he ought to be characterised by a certain amount of prognathism, and have neither a black skin nor woolly hair. . . . His color probably resembled that of the yellow races; his hair more or less red. . . . His language was a more or less pronounced monosyllabic one. . . . It is possible to believe that he did not enter upon the scene of the world with innate knowledge and the instinctive industries which belong to animals. Still less did he appear in a fully civilised state, mature in body and mind. . . . His knowledge was very small, . . . and he was ignorant of industries, to our eyes very elementary, and which we see appear in succession. Upon this point the Bible agrees with classical mythology" (pp. 242-3). Now this barbarous primitive condition of man, as pictured by Quatrefages, was urged as a necessary corollary from any descent theory. It is one of the essential attributes of the theory, say Dr. Woodrow's opponents. Their highest living authority testifies to the existence of this attribute. To establish

the mark or attribute of a thing is to prove the existence of the thing itself in which it inheres. Hence, on the premises of the majority, the descent theory is at least probable. We non-evolutionists, not having committed ourselves to the principles of reasoning employed by the majority, are not driven to such a dilemma. These four doctrines of Quatrefages: (1) The obliteration of the physical chasm between man and beast, (2) the identity in *kind* of human and brute mind, (3) the extreme antiquity of man, and (4) the savage state of primitive man, were all urged as marks or constituent elements of Evolution. We might say: "On your principle that agreement with a man in one thing implies agreement in all, you are compelled from the testimony of Quatrefages to agree with him that these four marks are constituent elements of *anti-Evolution* as well as of Evolution; or holding to Quatrefages as an authority on these four points as matters of fact, and to your own view that these facts render Evolution probably true, you must reject the testimony of Quatrefages *against* Evolution, and say that he, to be consistent with these alleged facts, must accept Evolution as true." Without pressing this point further, one thing is evident: these four *alleged* marks and logical concomitants of Evolution are no more necessary results or constituents of the descent theory of Dr. Woodrow and other Christian evolutionists than they are of anti-Evolution.

Principal Sir J. W. Dawson, of Canada.—All admit that he is an anti-evolutionist. But he, too, holds views on these subjects utterly inconsistent with those of the majority. Note these extracts from his "Origin of the World According to Revelation and Science."¹ "The Bible leaves us perfectly free to inquire as to the *plan* and *method* of the Creator" (p. 228). The majority generally held that the Bible settled the question of *plan*, etc. One speaker in the Synod of Mississippi said: "To try to tell me *how* God made man is impertinence and folly." Not so, however, thinks Dawson, a high authority with the majority. Again: "In that scheme of revelation all the successions and changes of organised beings, just as much as their introduction

¹ Harper & Bros., N. Y., 1877.

at first, belong to the plan and will of God. Revelation opposes no obstacles to any scientific investigation of the nature and method of this plan, nor does it contemplate the idea that any discoveries of this kind in any way isolate the Creator from his works. Farther, inasmuch as God is always present in all his works, one part of his procedure can scarcely be considered an intervention any more than another" (p. 380). That means, of course, that the origination, the production, the creation of man's body, was no more immediate or miraculous than anything God did in nature before or since that origination. This doctrine, it was charged, is a logical result, or a constituent part of Evolution. Only Evolution could deny that the creation of man's body was an act of special intervention, but here it seems that this denial is a mark of anti-Evolution as well. We need not repeat here the reasoning which puts the majority in a dilemma similar to that pointed out in showing the contradictions between our friends and Quatrefages. Again: "The expression in the case of man, '*out of the dust,*' would seem to intimate that the human body was constituted of merely elementary matter, without any previous preparation in organic forms. It may, however, be intended merely to inform us that while the spirit is in the image of God, the bodily form is of the earth earthy, and in no respect different in general nature from that of the inferior animals" (p. 378). If this paragraph means anything, it means that the condition of the dust of which Adam was made, whether organic or inorganic, is *not* definitely settled by the Bible; and taken in connexion with the preceding paragraphs, it means that the question whether the human body was constituted (created, produced) with or without "*previous preparation in organic forms*"—*i. e.*, by descent—is to be settled, if at all, from a study of nature and not from the Bible. Would that all the majority agreed with Dawson on this point! The shameful treatment of Prof. Woodrow would then have been impossible.

M. Joachim Barrande,¹ Emil Blanchard, Göppert, Giebel, Pfaff,

¹ A careful *résumé* of Barrande's work on the Silurian Rocks of Bohemia is given by Winchell in his work on "*Evolution.*" Harpers, 1874. Barrande has recently died. Sir Roderick Murchison died in 1871. All

Sir Roderick Murchison, and a *very few* others, exhaust the list of living or recently deceased naturalists who do not accept some form of the doctrine of descent. It is probably not too much to say that five per cent. would be a very liberal estimate for the proportion of living naturalists who reject every form of organic Evolution. A number of physicists and other scientific men whose studies do not embrace the biological sciences can be found who reject Evolution, but even their number is comparatively small.

(b) The testimony of *alleged anti-Evolutionists*.

Several prominent scientific men have been claimed and quoted on both sides. If it could be proved that they flatly contradict themselves, their testimony would simply be thrown out of court. But there are three things to be considered before taking such a course: (1) Some writers may admit that unexplained difficulties confront the theory and at the same time hold on to it as, on the whole, more probable, and encumbered with less embarrassment than anti-Evolution. (2) The rejection and the criticism of some particular phase of Evolution, *e. g.*, unmodified Darwinism or natural selection, by some writers may be misunderstood as a rejection of every form of the descent theory; *e. g.*, Mivart's characterisation of Darwin's theory as "a puerile hypothesis" has been mistakenly quoted as proof that Mivart was an anti-Evolutionist! A. R. Wallace's exception of man from "natural selection" has been misunderstood as a statement on his part that man's body was not derived from preëxisting animal life! (3) The utterances of men on this subject twenty-five or thirty years ago are erroneously cited as giving their present views, whereas within that time their opinions have changed. Lyell, Owen, Dana, LeConte, etc., are notable examples.

Prof. Rudolf Virchow, of Berlin University.—In our previous article we quoted Huxley's comment on Virchow's Munich Address, *viz.*: "It owes its extraordinary reception to an *imputed* righteousness. It is mistakenly supposed to be a recantation and

these writers are referred to by Rudolf Schmid in "The Theories of Darwin." Jansen & McClurg, Chicago, 1883. Murchison, Barrande, and Blanchard are the only ones of the six given whose writings we have seen.

a death-blow to Evolution; but though I certainly hold that doctrine with some tenacity, I am able, *ex animo*, to subscribe to every important general proposition which its author lays down." How "tenaciously" Huxley holds to Evolution may be judged from the fact that in his New York lectures he said it (organic Evolution) was "*as clearly demonstrated as the Copernican theory of astronomy.*" Now if Huxley could subscribe to that Address, then our friends in the opposition, in quoting it so triumphantly, got more out of it than was in it. Perhaps they read *between the lines*, or may be Huxley does not understand Virchow. Perhaps some light may be thrown on Virchow's Munich Address by his own explanation of it in a speech at the Edinburgh University Tercentenary. He says:

"You will allow me to speak to you on the position which I am *supposed* to have taken up towards the teachings of Darwin. The opinions which I have expressed have in some English publications been *much misunderstood*. *I have never been hostile* to Darwin; never have said that Darwinism was a scientific impossibility. But when I expressed my opinion at . . . Munich, I was convinced, and still am, that the development which it had taken in Germany was extreme and arbitrary, for the following reasons:

"1. Darwinism was interpreted in Germany as including the question of the *origin* of life, not merely its mode of propagation." He thought spontaneous generation a logical possibility, but not proven.

"2. His second reason for opposing the *German development* of Darwinism, referred to the descent of man from apes, or some other vertebrate animal. Was there anywhere a pro-anthropos? *The existence of such a precursor is a logical possibility, perhaps a probability.* But it is a purely speculative question. No anthropological teacher has any occasion to speak of a pro-anthropos, except as a matter of speculation. Haeckel *had proposed to introduce into our schools* (for CHILDREN) *a new system of religious instruction, based upon the doctrine of the descent of man*, and I still think it necessary to guard against the danger of constructing systems of doctrine out of possibilities, and making these the basis of general education."

Haeckel is a rank materialist and atheist (at least a monist), and this proposal from him was of course an effort to displace the Bible. We see no reason why any sober-minded evolutionist might not accept Virchow's statements. We see little prospect of our majority-friends getting much help or consolation from Virchow. But when people are in great distress a little comfort will go a long way. Any port in a storm.

Alfred Russell Wallace, the independent coöoriginator, with Darwin, of the theory of "natural selection."—Very strangely Wallace's belief that "natural selection" has limits as applied to man, and that certain features of his mind and body were not produced by this agency, has been mistaken as an opinion on his part that man was *not* of derivative origin—that his body was *not* descended from preëxisting animal forms. Nothing could be farther from the truth. By careless reading, or by unfamiliarity with the subject, it is easy to see how one might misunderstand Wallace in reading his essays, "The Development of Human Races under the Law of Natural Selection," and "The Limits of Natural Selection as Applied to Man."¹ Yet his words seem plain enough. Speaking of the earth going through its "grand cycles of geological, climatal, and organic progress," and the various life-forms being continually but imperceptibly "moulded into such new shapes as would preserve their harmony with the ever-changing universe," he says: "At length, however, there came into existence a being in whom that subtle force we call *mind* became of greater importance than his mere bodily structure, etc."² "A superior intelligence has guided the development of man in a definite direction, and for a special purpose."³ He does not think that man's development by some higher power than "natural selection," at all inconsistent with Darwin's theory. "It merely shows that the laws of organic development have been occasionally used for a special end. . . . I do not see how the law of 'natural selection' can be said to be disproved, if it can be shown that man does not owe his entire physical and mental development to its unaided action."⁴ This statement occurs after Wallace's profound profession of faith that "matter is force," and that "all force is will-force."⁵

If these passages leave any doubt as to Wallace's opinion, the following from his opening address as President of the Biological

¹ "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection." By A. R. Wallace. Macmillan, 1870.

² *Ibid.*, p. 325. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 359. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

⁵ "The will of one supreme intelligence." *Ib.*, p. 368.

Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Glasgow, 1876, removes it :

“The controversy (as to man’s development from some lower animal form) is now, as to the *fact* of such development, almost at an end, since one of the most talented representatives of Catholic theology—Professor Mivart—fully adopts it as regards physical structure, reserving his opposition for those parts of the theory which would deduce man’s intellectual and moral nature from the same source, and by a similar mode of development.

“Never, perhaps, in the whole history of science or philosophy, has so great a revolution in thought and opinion been effected as in the twelve years, 1859 to 1871, the respective dates of the publication of Mr. Darwin’s “Origin of Species” and “Descent of Man.” Up to the commencement of this period the belief in the independent origin of the species of animals and plants, and the belief in the very recent appearance of man upon the earth, were practically universal. *Long before the end of it these two beliefs had utterly disappeared, not only in the scientific world, but almost equally so among the literary and educated classes generally.* The belief in the independent origin of man held its ground somewhat longer, but the publication of Mr. Darwin’s great work gave even that its death-blow, for *hardly any one capable of judging of the evidence now doubts the derivative nature of man’s bodily structure as a whole, although many believe that his mind, and even some of his physical characteristics, may be due to the action of other forces than have acted in the case of the lower animals.*”

We cannot suppose Wallace was quoted as denying the derivative origin of man’s body with a deliberate intention to misrepresent his views. We are sure it was through misapprehension. At the same time the lack of information, and the careless reading which led to such misconceptions, are totally unjustifiable; for, on such misapprehensions as these, naturalists generally were erroneously supposed to reject the doctrine of descent, and on this mistaken notion our Synods based their uncalled-for action, injuring the cause of truth by staking the truth of the Bible on a given cosmic conception, and doing injustice to an honored, faithful, and orthodox servant of our Church.

Arnold Guyot (recently dead), though rejecting Darwinism proper, is claimed by evolutionists as not unfriendly to the doctrine of descent in its theistic form as God’s method of creating species. We have seen nothing in his last work to contradict this claim.

(c) *Evolution taught or accepted in the Biological Professorships in all, or nearly all, American and European Universities and Colleges.*—This fact was disputed on the authority of the *New York Observer's*¹ published denials of such teaching by several Presidents of American Colleges in their respective institutions. These Presidential denials would seem to be conclusive, but the real history of the matter puts the case in a very different light. It is substantially as follows: Dr. McCosh had said in the *Evangelical Alliance* at New York:

“It is useless to tell the younger naturalists that there is no truth in the doctrine of development, for they know that there is truth which is not to be set aside by denunciation. Religious philosophers might be more profitably employed in showing them the religious aspects of the doctrine of development; and some would be grateful to any who would help them to keep their old faith in God and the Bible with their new faith in science.”

The *New York Independent* endorsed these views of Dr. McCosh, saying: “We are all taught in our best schools, by our scientific authorities, almost without exception (and we laymen in science are therefore compelled to believe), that man was, at least so far as his physical structure is concerned, evolved from irrational animals.”² The *New York Observer* sent this paragraph to nine College Presidents, and asked them if it represented the teaching in their respective institutions. Dr. Chadbourne denied that the doctrine in the *Independent's* paragraph was taught at Williams College. Dr. Cattell, of Lafayette, said he had never heard any of his colleagues “expressing the opinion referred to in the slip you send me.” Dr. Brown, of Hamilton, said it was not “to his knowledge taught at Hamilton.” Dr. Potter, of Union, said “the printed statement is *not* a correct statement of the teaching in this College.” Dr. Robinson, of Brown University, said, “We do not teach the doctrine stated in the enclosed slip.” Dr. Anderson, of Rochester, and Dr. Seelye, of Amherst, made somewhat similar denials. Dr. Porter, of

¹ Late in 1879 or early in 1880.

² The *Independent* mistakenly found ground in the supposed truth of Evolution to confirm its *old* doubt about the historic reality of the fall of Adam—a *non sequitur*.

Yale, said, "The enclosed does not give a correct representation of the teaching in this College by our scientific authorities." Dr. McCosh, of Princeton, said, "We do not teach in this College that man is evolved from *irrational animals*. I teach that man's soul was made in the image of God, and his body out of the dust of the ground. I do not oppose development, but an atheistic development."

This *looks* unanimous enough. Without going further, it might be said, (1) that College Presidents do not *always* know *everything* their colleagues teach; (2) when part of the slip from the *Independent* contained a denial or doubt of the fall of man, the doctrine of the paragraph as a whole might be properly disclaimed (which seems to be the case with some of the replies), and yet Evolution taught or held in the sense of Dr. Woodrow's form of the theory. But there is more to follow.

The *Independent* "went behind the returns," and took the votes of the biological Professors themselves, with results differing widely from the "Presidential canvass." The following is a condensed statement of the facts elicited by the *Independent's* inquiries:

(1) At *Yale*, Professors Marsh, Dana, Verrill, Brewer,¹ and Smith, are pronounced evolutionists. Prof. Marsh said before the American Scientific Association: "*It is now regarded among the active workers in science as a waste of time to discuss the truth of Evolution. The battle on this point has been fought and won.*" The readers of contemporary scientific literature in journals, reviews, books, etc., know that this statement of Professor Marsh is literally true. The tone of nearly all working scientific writers who allude to the subject is no longer that of defence, apology, or polemic, but of assured confidence that Evolution is true as a matter of course.

(2) Princeton.—Dr. McCosh is known to be friendly to Evolution as far as its theological aspects are concerned. Professors Macloskie, Young, and Brackett, are friendly to the Evolution theory, both in its religious and scientific aspects.

¹ See Prof. Brewer's letter to Dr. Woodrow, quoted in Dr. Woodrow's speech in South Carolina Synod, and published in January number of this REVIEW and in *Southern Presbyterian*.

(3) Prof. A. S. Packard, of Brown University (Instructor in Zoology, etc.), fully believes in Evolution—man's body no exception. His published books support Evolution through and through.

(4) The Professor of Geology at Amherst is an unreserved theistic evolutionist.

(5) All the Professors at Harvard, whose chairs deal with biology, are evolutionists—man's body no exception. These Professors are Asa Gray,¹ Whitney (the geologist), Alexander Agassiz (son of Louis Agassiz), Hagen, Goodale, N. S. Shaler, James Farlow, and Faxon. Perhaps Alexander Agassiz will be regarded as a "degenerate son of a noble sire" by our good majority friends. But any one who honestly reads his works,² will see that in vigorous thought, careful research, and wide reading he is "a chip off the old block." Perhaps he was convinced of the unity of the race by the proofs brought against his father's theory, and then accepted his father's view: "*If all men descended from one pair, so did all monkeys; and if that be true, then man and monkey had the same origin.*" The *Independent* affirmed of these Harvard Professors, "They are all conservative theists—they do not believe that Darwinism, *i. e.*, Natural Selection—is a sufficient theory of Evolution—but they accept Evolution."

(6) University of Pennsylvania.—All the biological Professors are evolutionists, *viz.*, Professors Leidy and Allen in Comparative Anatomy, Professor Rothrock in Botany, and Professor Lesley in Geology.

(7) Johns Hopkins University, which aims to be the highest grade school in America, holds and teaches evolution in biology.

(8) Prof. Winchell³ teaches evolution at Michigan University. So with the other biological professors.

¹See Gray's "Darwiniana," Appleton, N. Y., 1884; "Natural Science and Religion," Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1880—lectures before the Yale Divinity students, advocating the truth of Evolution and its consistency with the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds.

²Especially the "Revision of the Echini"—Palæontological and Embryological Development: Address before Biological Section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. See "Proceedings" of American Association, 1881.

³"*Evolution*," by Alex. Winchell.

(9) At Cornell, President A. D. White¹ and others are pronounced theistic evolutionists. "And so of Bowdoin, Dartmouth, etc.," says the *Independent*. "But what is the use of going further? It would be the same story. There can scarcely an exception be found. Wherever there is a working naturalist, he is sure to be an evolutionist. We made inquiry of two ex-Presidents of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. One wrote us in reply: 'My impression is that there is no biologist of repute now-a-days who does not accept in some form or other the doctrine of derivation in time, whatever be the precise form in which they suppose the evolution to have occurred.' His successor replied: 'Almost without exception the working naturalists in this country believe in evolution. In England and Germany the belief in evolution is almost universal among the active workers in biology. In France the belief is less general, but is rapidly gaining ground. *I should regard a teacher of science who denied the truth of evolution, as being as incompetent as one who doubted the Copernican theory.*'" The *Independent* concludes thus: "We challenge the *Observer* to find three working naturalists of repute in the United States—or two (it can find one in Canada)—that is not an evolutionist. And where a man believes in Evolution it goes without saying that the law holds as to man's physical structure." Thus endeth the first lesson on the *Observer-Independent* controversy as to Evolution in our Colleges. We may add—

1. We think the New York *Observer* a very valuable, well-edited paper. As a religious journal for wholesome reading in families and elsewhere it stands in the very front rank. We think the *Observer's* theology (except its wrong inferences from Evolution) is generally sound. We think it possible that it *might* have gained the battle over the *Independent* but for one thing—*the facts were against it*. It ought to have called those professors in the biological chairs to the witness stand at first.

2. Newspapers and writers would have saved themselves some trouble, and avoided the mortification of having avoidable errors

¹ White's "Warfare of Science."

pointed out, had they read carefully, and *remembered*, both sides of this debate.

3. Second-hand information based even on the authority of a first class church paper, is not always perfectly trustworthy. Even the editors of church papers are not infallible—*i. e.*, not *quite* so, *always*—in their facts, their theories, their science, or their theology. We identified numerous quotations in the public prints taken from that superficial and misleading book, “Wainwright’s Scientific Sophisms.”¹ The style of quotation employed in that book, copied, too, by some of our majority friends, would enable any one to prove that Dr. Woodrow’s opponents generally were favorable to the doctrine of Evolution!! for they said (many of them) “it was a plausible theory;” that “some analogies seemed to favor it;” that it “could not be called heresy;” that it “could not be said to contradict Scripture in the highest sense (*i. e.*, Scripture’s real meaning as God intended it), but only in its relative sense,” *i. e.*, *our notion* of it, or the interpretation put upon it by the majority, etc. The same may be said of the style of quotation and reasoning employed by Rev. Dr. W. F. Crafts, of New York, on “Darwinism not Proven” in the June and July numbers of the *Pulpit Treasury*, 1884. It may be quite true that *Darwinism* is not proven. It may be and probably is true that a majority of naturalists do not accept Darwinism proper. But it is also true that an overwhelming majority of naturalists *do* accept, as *at least probably true*, the doctrine of Descent in some of its various forms. Hence, however honest and scholarly Drs. Wainwright and Crafts may be—and they are doubtless men of the highest character and purest motives—their writings on this subject are misleading. We press this point: with the majority the hypothetical and unproven character of Evolution was a controlling consideration in condemning Dr. Woodrow. The opinion of scientific men and the attitude of scientific chairs in our colleges towards the theory were important factors in establishing their belief that it was a “*mere unproven hypothesis.*” The facts on which the belief *against* Evolution was confessedly based

¹ Published in the Humboldt Library in 1881, and by Funk & Wagnalls in 1884.

are spurious, non-existent. Their spuriousness was ascertainable. This ascertainment was a duty—for a verdict was rendered with these *false facts as a basis*—a verdict involving the good name of an honored man. In civil courts we would call such a verdict injustice. The mental state or habit which would accept, without critical investigation, such testimony as accurately representing facts concerning scientific opinion, we could call credulity. An unwillingness to face candidly *all* the facts, we would call fear.

We might go on indefinitely examining the attitude of scientific professorships in our Colleges toward Evolution, the result would be a mere expansion of the accurate statements made in Dr. Woodrow's speech on this point in the South Carolina Synod and elsewhere, whereby it was shown that nearly every college of any note had in it professors who taught or held Evolution to be probably true. We are informed on good authority that the Professor of Geology in the University of Mississippi agrees substantially with Dr. Woodrow; whether or how much he teaches his views we do not know. It is well known that Prof. Caldwell¹ resigned his position in the Southwestern Presbyterian University because his views and teachings, being similar in substance to those of Dr. Woodrow, he thought it proper to withdraw rather than collide with the views of the majority of those controlling the institution. We are credibly informed, however, that prominent members of the "majority," both within and without the Synods controlling this institution at Clarksville, Tenn., thought there was no sufficient reason on this ground for Dr. Caldwell to resign; "*because he was a Professor in a COLLEGE, there was no objection to him as a scientific man holding or teaching these views in a COLLEGE!*"

Now that sounds almost incredible. It means just this: our young men (sons of our ministers, elders, deacons, and private members, who may be candidates for the ministry) may be taught by our scientific professors, even in our church schools, that Evolution is true; and then our professors in the theological schools *must* tell these same young men (if they handle the subject at

¹ Now Professor in the Tulane University of Louisiana.

all—which they can hardly avoid unless they ignore the most prominent topics in modern Apologetics) “Evolution is false—a mere unproven hypothesis, *because scientific men say so*, and it is not taught or held in the *scientific departments of our Colleges! and it contradicts Scripture and our Theology!*” We do not know positively Prof. Lyon’s¹ views; but on this theory he can teach the probable truth of Evolution in his lecture-room (in the Southwestern Presbyterian University), and Drs. Wilson, Price, Shearer, and Lupton in the adjoining lecture-rooms *must* teach the opposite (citing scientific men, Prof. Lyon included, as authority)—and all this within the space of one hour, and under the same roof! It would take very steady young men to keep their heads level under such circumstances. They might conclude that *somebody* was talking in a mere Pickwickian sense. We hardly suppose that all our majority friends adopt a view involving such absurd inconsistency.

We may add to this list of schools the Tulane University of Louisiana. Prof. Elliott (son of the late Bishop Elliott, of the Episcopal Church) in two lectures last winter avowed his belief in organic Evolution and its consistency with the Bible and Christian doctrine. We are told that the gifted young Professor Ayres holds the same view; if so, then there are at least three Professors² in this institution who are theistic evolutionists.

Furthermore, it is doubtful whether any college deserving the name in the United States, North or South, uses a text-book on geology or biological science whose author is *not* an evolutionist, and in which Evolution is not taught. Take Dana,³ LeConte.⁴

¹ Recently elected Dr. Caldwell’s successor at Clarksville.

² Professors Elliott, Ayres, and Caldwell. To these may be added the honored names of Professors T. G. Richardson and S. E. Chaillé.

³ Dana agrees with Wallace in holding to the derivative origin of man’s body, but that for his development there was required “a special act of a Being above Nature, whose supreme will is not only the source of natural law, but the working-force of Nature herself.” *Am. Jour. of Sci. and Arts*, Oct., 1876.

⁴ “Evolution is the central idea of Geology. It is this idea alone which makes Geology a distinct science. This is the cohesive principle which unites and gives significance to all the scattered facts, which cements what would otherwise be a mere incoherent pile of rubbish into a solid

Lyell, and Winchell, etc. The Colleges where the works of these authors are used as text-books on Geology are counted by the score; even where the professor in the school may not be an evolutionist, *e. g.*, Hampden Sidney, Va., (we do not know the views of the Professor of Geology there), LeConte's Geology is used as a text-book. So at Davidson College, Central University, Ky., etc. Take, again, the text-books on Botany—Asa Gray, Hooker, etc. Nearly all the present botanical text-books are written by evolutionists. See also the many institutions employing the works of Huxley, etc., as text-books on Physiology, Anatomy, etc. It may be added here that botanists who believe in the "descent with modification" of the present species of plants, almost without exception, hold the same view concerning animals, man included.

Prof. E. S. Morse, of Massachusetts, in his address on "What American Zoologists have done for Evolution,"¹ cites about thirty of the most distinguished American scientists, who have contributed by their work to the establishment of Evolution. In addition to those named by Prof. Brewer in his letter to Dr. Woodrow, and those quoted above, he mentions Dr. Jos. Leidy, Prof. W. B. Rogers, Prof. Parsons, Prof. A. R. Grote, Prof. E. D. Cope, Dr. Kneeland, Dr. C. C. Abbott, Prof. Chauncey Wright, Prof. Jno. Fiske, Prof. Wyman, Prof. Riley, Prof. Wilder, etc., etc. Speaking of Agassiz, Prof. Morse says: "Agassiz made *men* (by his teaching and influence), and the methods of work taught by him spread to other parts of the country. He made the American student acquainted with the classical work of European naturalists. . . . Agassiz's earnest protest against Evolution checked its too hasty acceptance among American students. But even the weight of his powerful opposition could not long retard the gradual spread of Darwin's views; and *now his own students, last to yield, have with hardly an exception, adopted the general view of derivation as opposed to that of special creation. The* and symmetrical edifice." LeConte's "*Elements of Geology*," p. 396. LeConte has written to Dr. Martin, of Memphis, "I endorse every word in Dr. Woodrow's Address," or words to that effect.

¹ Before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Buffalo, N. Y., August, 1876.

results of his protest have been beneficial in one sense. They have prompted the seeking of proofs in this country, *and now our students are prepared to show the results of their work in evidence of the laws of progressive development.*" His Address reviews this work as *illustrating and establishing, from known facts in Geology, Zoology, Palæontology, etc., each of the general principles of Evolution or Descent. E. g., Darwin admitted the absence of intermediate forms. He offered the imperfection of the geological record as a reason for these "missing links." He predicted that time might bring them to light, and when found, they would connect together widely separated groups. "Behold the prophet!"* Says Morse, "Through the labors of Marsh, Leidy, Hyatt, and Cope, animals have been discovered, not only showing the characters of two widely separated groups, but in some cases of three groups as they now appear," *e. g., common ancestors for the present widely separated hoofed quadrupeds, rodents, and carnivora, have been found! Species with characters intermediate between pigs and ruminants! "The gap between horses and lower forms has been filled. Three-toed horses, some no larger than foxes, and with these a perplexing maze of deer, antelopes, camels, sheep, hippopotami, and pig like animals, ruminant-like beasts, some no larger than ordinary squirrels," etc. Want of space forbids further enumeration as to the missing links found. Morse quotes Prof. Flower, the great English osteologist, as confessing that "these forms completely break down the line of demarcation between them. A gradual modification can be traced in the characters of the animals of this group corresponding with their chronological position, from the earlier more generalised to the latest comparatively specialised form, thus affording one of the most complete pieces of evidence that are known in favor of a progressive alteration of form, not only of specific, but even of generic importance through advancing ages."*

Morse shows how these naturalists apply their law of Evolution to account for the production of man's body from preëxisting animal forms. Of the proof for man's derivative origin, he says: "There is established a series of facts of precisely the same nature as is seen in those discoveries which link the horse in an

almost unbroken line to earlier and more generalised animals. . . . If man has really been derived from an ancestor in common with the ape, we must expect to show: 1. That in his earlier stages he recalls certain persistent characters in the apes. 2. That the more ancient man will reveal more ape-like features than the present existing man. 3. That certain characteristics pertaining to early men still persist in the inferior races of men." Morse then endeavors to show that the facts establishing these propositions "*have been fully contributed by American students.*" The researches and discoveries of Wyman, Cope, Shaler, Marsh, Lyon, Barnard, Gillman, Putnam, etc., in comparative anatomy and physiology, paleontology, fossils and remains from the mounds of Kentucky, Michigan, Florida, etc., are cited as verifying his statement. His conclusion is: "From the various evidences educed regarding the anomalous characters of the remains of primitive man, it seems impossible that a mind unbiassed by preconceived opinion should be able to resist the conviction as to man's lowly origin." Of course our readers will remember all along that we do not commit ourselves to any statement quoted. *Scientific opinion* has been appealed to by the majority as a reason for their condemnation of Dr. Woodrow. We are simply taking them to their own court and making them listen to its verdict. *It is grimly and dismally against them.*

British and European Naturalists nearly all Evolutionists.

It would seem to be a superfluous task to refer to or quote from such men as Huxley, Tyndall, etc., to show that they are evolutionists. To any one having the slightest acquaintance with recent scientific literature, the denial of the fact would be a laughable absurdity, and quotations from their writings to prove that they accepted the doctrine of descent a useless waste of time to prove what all admit. And yet the *Southwestern Presbyterian* (September 25th, 1884) and others actually quoted Huxley, Tyndall, the Challenger expedition, conducted by the *Evolutionist*, the late Wyville Thompson,¹ as supporting the position of the

¹"I do not think that I am speaking too strongly when I say that there

majority, that Evolution was *not* accepted by scientists generally, and was *therefore* a mere unproven hypothesis. The admissions made by these men that their acceptance of Evolution is "provisional so long as one link in the chain of evidence is wanting," that in accepting Evolution they are not ignorant of the "uncertainty of their data," etc., are admissions which they make concerning *other generally accepted theories in science*; such as the law of gravitation, the Copernican theory, the atomic theory, the nebular hypothesis, the undulatory theory of light—they are all accepted on the grounds of probability, resting on analogy and induction, which can make any theory probable, and probable only. If, therefore, the admissions of these men disprove Evolution, or prove that they do not accept it, then they disprove the other scientific theories just named, and show that they do not accept *them*, for many of them put Evolution in the same category, as to the nature of its evidence, with these other theories—a fact which was overlooked.

In citing some of the British and European naturalists, we will give in foot-notes facts concerning the positions held by these men, the professorships they have filled, the scientific societies of which they are members, and the honors and titles conferred upon them.

*Prof. Thos. H. Huxley:*¹

"Now Mr. Darwin's hypothesis is not, so far as I am aware, inconsistent

is now scarcely a single competent general naturalist who is not prepared to accept some form of the doctrine of Evolution."—Wyville Thompson (in "Depths of the Sea"), Professor of Natural Philosophy, University of Edinburgh.

¹ Fellow of the Royal Society; Professor of Natural History Royal School of Mines (1854 until now); Hunterian Professor in Royal College of Surgeons (1863–1869); twice Fullerian Professor of Physiology in the Royal Institution; President of the Ethnological and Geological Societies (1869–1870); President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1870); Secretary of Royal Society (1872); Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen (1872); member of Royal Commission Scientific Instruction and Advancement of Science since 1870; corresponding member of principal foreign scientific societies; honorary degrees from Universities of Edinburgh and Breslau, etc., etc.

with any known biological fact; on the contrary, if admitted, the facts of development and of comparative anatomy, of geographical distribution and of paleontology, become connected together and exhibit a meaning such as they never possessed before; and I, for one, am fully convinced that, if not precisely true, that hypothesis is as near an approximation to the truth as, for example, the Copernican theory was to the true theory of the planetary motions. . . . I adopt Mr. Darwin's hypothesis, therefore, subject to the product of proof that physiological species may be produced by selective breeding; just as a philosopher may accept the undulatory theory of light, subject to the proof of the existence of the hypothetical ether; or, as the chemist adopts the atomic theory, subject to the proof of the existence of atoms; and for exactly the same reasons, namely, that it has an immense amount of *prima facie* probability; that it is the only means at present within reach of reducing the chaos of observed facts to order; and, lastly, that it is the most powerful instrument of investigation which has been presented to naturalists, the invention of the natural system of classification, and the commencement of the systematic study of embryology."¹

Again, in Lecture VI., "Origin of Species,"² Huxley applies the legitimate logical tests of hypotheses (which we gave in our former article when discussing the meaning, the nature, and the use of hypotheses) to Darwin's theory. He says substantially:

"In order to explain or get at the cause of complex masses of phenomena we must invent a hypothesis, or make what seems a likely supposition respecting their cause. Having supposed a cause to explain the mass of phenomena, we must then try either to demonstrate our hypothesis on the one hand, or, on the other hand, try to upset and reject it altogether, by testing it in three ways: 1. We must show that the supposed causes of the phenomena exist in nature; that they are true causes. 2. We must show that the assumed causes of the phenomena are competent to produce such phenomena as those which we wish to explain by them. 3. We must show that no other known causes are competent to produce these phenomena. If we can satisfy these three conditions, we shall have demonstrated our hypothesis, or rather we shall have proved it as far as certainty is possible for us; for, after all, *any of our surest convictions may be upset or modified by a further accession of knowledge.*"

Huxley then proceeds to show that (a) Darwin's theory meets fully the first test, viz., the causes he assigns for organic phenomena, the inter-action of atavism and variability with the conditions of existence, etc., do exist; they are real causes.

¹"Man's Place in Nature" (1863), Humboldt Library edition, No. 4, March, 1880, p. 22.

²(1864) Humboldt Library edition, No. 16, December, 1880, pp. 19-22.

(b) As to the competency of these causes to produce the phenomena of organic nature, he says this is "indubitable to a certain extent; they account for the phenomena exhibited by races; they account for the purely structural phenomena exhibited by species; they account for most of the physiological characteristics of species; not only so, but they are competent to account for many which otherwise remain wholly unaccountable and inexplicable, and I may say incomprehensible." He cites as examples the facts embodied in systems of classification and in rudimentary organs, and adds: "Upon any hypothesis of special creation, facts of this kind appear to me entirely unaccountable and inexplicable; but they cease to be so, if you accept Mr. Darwin's hypothesis." He thinks the evidence of the descent of present widely differing animal species from some ancient common stock has evidence similar to that from which we infer the descent of the Greek and English tongues from a common Sanscrit stock. The graduated succession of animal forms in geological strata he thinks is explained only by Evolution. So with the facts of paleontology. "They are totally inconsistent with any other hypothesis which has been proposed." He then speaks of one set of phenomena as "not explained" by the theory as it now stands, viz., hybridism. On this point Huxley has been misunderstood and misquoted. He has been made to say that the phenomena of hybridism disprove Darwin's theory and other forms of the Evolution hypothesis; whereas he says no such thing. He says, indeed, that infertile hybrids have *not* yet been produced by selective modification from the same species. But to disprove the theory, he says it must not only be shown "that this *has* not been done, but that it *cannot* be done." He says: "So far, infertile hybrids *have not* been produced from a common stock. *On the other hand, I do not know that there is a single fact which can justify any one in asserting that such sterility cannot be produced by proper experimentation. For my own part, I see every reason that it may and will be so produced.*" He then gives facts to show how "uncertain and capricious sterility is, and how unknown are the conditions on which it depends." He thinks these will be better understood by and by; and "though Mr. Darwin's

theory does not completely extricate us from this difficulty at present, we have not the least right to say it will not do so. *There is a wide gulf between the thing you cannot explain and the thing that upsets you altogether. There is hardly any hypothesis in this world which has not some fact in connexion with it which has not been explained; but that is a very different affair from a fact that entirely opposes your hypothesis; in this case, all you can say is that your hypothesis is in the same position as a good many others.*"

(c) The third test—the competency of other causes to explain the phenomena—Huxley thinks is fully met by the Darwin theory. He says:

"I really believe the alternative is either Darwinism or nothing, for I do not know of any rational conception or theory of the organic universe which has any scientific position at all beside Mr. Darwin's. I do not know of any proposition that has been put before us, with the intention of explaining the phenomena of organic nature, which has in its favor a thousandth part of the evidence which may be adduced in favor of Mr. Darwin's views. Whatever may be the objections to his views, certainly all others are out of court. . . . Yet I accept it provisionally, *in exactly the same way as I accept any other hypothesis.* Men of science do not pledge themselves to (scientific) creeds; they are bound by articles of no sort; there is not a single belief that it is not a bounden duty with them to hold with a light hand, and to part with it cheerfully the moment it is really proved to be contrary to any fact, great or small. And if in course of time I see good reasons for such a proceeding, I shall not hesitate in coming before you and pointing out any change in my opinion without finding the slightest occasion to blush for so doing.

"We accept this view as we accept any other, so long as it will help us, and we feel bound to retain it only so long as it will serve our great purpose—the improvement of man's estate and the widening of his knowledge. The moment this or any other conception ceases to be useful for these purposes, away with it to the four winds; we care not what becomes of it! . . . I have attended closely to the controversies roused by Mr. Darwin's book. None of the mass of objections is of any great value, except that of sterility, just named. All the rest are misunderstandings of some sort, arising either from prejudice or want of knowledge, or still more from want of patience and care in reading the book!"

These extended citations from Huxley would not have been given, but for the surprising fact that those who ought to know better, quoted him as supporting the position of the majority.

The application here of the legal principle that the testimony of a witness in court must be received *in full* by the party that summons him to the stand, would work very disastrously to the majority. But we cannot let them off; we must say, "Gentlemen, Huxley is your witness, you subpoenaed him, now stand by him."

*Prof. John Tyndall.*¹—Perhaps no man would be more surprised than Tyndall himself to see his name quoted as sustaining the position of the majority, viz., rejecting Evolution as a mere unproven hypothesis, on the authority of scientific men. Yet he is so quoted; among others by the *Southwestern Presbyterian*, September 25, 1884. The sentence, "Those who hold the doctrine of Evolution are by no means ignorant of the uncertainty of their data," occurs in Tyndall's Address before the British Association at Liverpool in 1870. Even if Tyndall meant what our friends interpret him to mean here, it would be a little stretch of the word *present*, to say it represents "*present opinion*,"² when it was fourteen years old when quoted, and on a subject on which men's opinions have been changing so fast that, according to Wallace, only twelve years were required to work a complete revolution. Tyndall quotes this sentence from his Liverpool Address (1870) in 1878, in his review of Virchow's Munich Address, subsequently published in his "Fragments of Science," 2d series. His review of Virchow is spiced by the fact that "Virchow was held up to me in some quarters as a model of philosophic caution, who by his reasonableness reproved my rashness, and by his depth reproved my shallowness." It is interesting to read Tyndall's views of his relations to Virchow, and his opinion of Evolution. We think the eyesight that would see or the logic that would infer Tyndall to be the right man for our friends of

¹ Fellow of the Royal Society, Secretary of the Physical Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1852), Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution (1853 until now), Superintendent of the Royal Institution (succeeding Faraday to this office in 1867), President of the British Association in 1874, etc.

² The quotation from Huxley as to the "provisional acceptance of Evolution," etc., has to be stretched still more to make it "*present opinion*." It was written in 1863, hence was twenty-one years old when quoted—old enough to vote. See "Man's Place in Nature," Chap. II.

the majority to appeal to to disprove Evolution, must be "fearfully and wonderfully made." Let us see: Tyndall refers to Virchow's disclaimer of any wish or intention to disparage the great services rendered by Darwin to the advancement of biological science, of which no one had expressed more admiration than himself. He gives the substance of Virchow's Address, as follows:

"He enters an energetic protest against the attempts that are made to proclaim the problems of research as actual facts, and the opinions of scientists as established science. On the ground, among others, that it promotes the pernicious delusions of the socialists, Virchow considers the theory of Evolution dangerous; but his fidelity to truth is so great that he would brave the danger and teach the theory, if it were only proved. The burden of the lecture is that a marked distinction ought to be made between that which is experimentally established, and that which is still in the region of speculation. *As to the latter, Virchow by no means imposes silence.* He is far too sagacious a man to commit himself . . . to any such absurdity. . . . As long as a problem continues in this speculative stage, it would be mischievous, he considers, to teach it in our schools. 'We ought not to represent our conjecture as a certainty, nor our hypothesis as a doctrine. . . . We must draw a strict distinction between what we wish to *teach* and what we wish to *search for*. The objects of our research are expressed as problems (or hypotheses). *We need not keep them to ourselves; we are ready to communicate them to all the world,* and say, "There is the problem; that is what we strive for." 'The investigation of such problems, in which the whole nation may be interested, cannot be restricted to any one. This is the freedom of inquiry.' He will not concede to Dr. Haeckel 'that it is a question for the *schoolmaster* to decide, whether the Darwinian theory of man's descent should be at once laid down as the basis of instruction, and the protoplasmic soul assumed as the foundation of all ideas concerning spiritual being.'

"Virchow's position is of the highest practical importance. He says, 'Throughout our German Fatherland men are busied in renovating, extending, and developing the system of education, and inventing fixed forms in which to mould it. . . . In all the German States larger schools are being built, new educational establishments are set up, the universities are extended, "higher" and "middle" schools are founded; finally comes the question, What is to be the chief substance of the teaching?' The foregoing quotations from Virchow show that he thinks there ought to be a clear distinction made between science in the state of hypothesis, and science in the state of fact. From *school-teaching*¹ the former ought to

¹ Huxley, Tyndall, and others think Virchow means to exclude Evolution from the schools for *children* proper—not that professors in colleges,

be excluded. As it is still in the hypothetical stage, the ban of exclusion ought to fall upon the theory of Evolution."

After this *résumé* of Virchow, Tyndall proceeds to prove from his published writings that he had long before expressed these same views. He says, 1. "I have never advocated the introduction of the Evolution theory into our schools."¹ 2. He had always insisted on the distinction between *established fact* and scientific opinion or hypothesis. He quotes a paragraph from his Liverpool Address (1870), in which the sentence quoted by the *Southwestern Presbyterian* occurs, to prove his position. "I did what Virchow recommends," he adds, "showing myself as careful as he could be not to claim for a scientific doctrine a certainty which did not belong to it." Tyndall then refers to his endorsement of the "Theory of Descent" in 1877, in an address before the Midland Institute at Birmingham. In justification of his Birmingham Address he quotes the following from Dr. Hooker's Presidential Address to the British Association at Norwich in 1868:

"Ten years have elapsed since the publication of the "Origin of Species by Natural Selection," and it is therefore not too early now to ask what progress that bold theory has made in scientific estimation. Since the "Origin" appeared it has passed through four English editions, two American, two German, two French, several Russian, a Dutch, and an Italian. So far from Natural Selection being a thing of the past, *it is an accepted doctrine with almost every philosophic naturalist*, including, it will always be understood, a considerable proportion who are not prepared to admit that it accounts for all Mr. Darwin assigns to it.' In the following year at Innspruck, *Helmholtz took up the same ground*. Another decade has now passed, and *he is simply blind* who cannot see the enormous progress made by the theory during that time. Some of the outward and visible signs of this advance are readily indicated. The hostility and fear which so long prevented the recognition of Mr. Darwin's theory in universities, higher seminaries, and professional schools, were disallowed even by Virchow to discuss Evolution as a problem, and express their opinion to their students that it is "*probably true*." Two facts establish this view of Virchow's meaning, 1. His pupil, Haeckel, shows that Virchow taught, in this way, many unproven hypotheses of his own to his University students. 2. Evolution is *thus* taught or held in every German University.

¹ See Note on preceding page.

win by his own University have vanished, and this year Cambridge, amid universal acclamation, conferred on him her Doctor's degree. The Academy of Science in Paris, which had so long persistently closed its doors against him, has also yielded at last; while sermons, lectures, and published articles, plainly show that even the clergy have, to a great extent, become acclimatised to the Darwinian air. My reference to Mr. Darwin in the Birmingham Address was based upon the knowledge that such changes had been accomplished, and were still going on. That the lecture of Prof. Virchow can to any practical extent disturb this progress of public faith in the theory of Evolution, I do not believe."

Tyndall having pointed out the agreement between himself and Virchow, proceeds to specify the positions taken in the Munich Address wherein they differ. He criticises severely Virchow's attempt to affix a stigma upon Evolution by connecting it with Socialism, whose aim is to destroy existing forms of government.

"It welcomes anything that helps to this end, whether it be atheism or Papal infallibility. When Church and State were united against socialism, it was regarded with a common hatred. When differences arose between them, socialists began to dally with the Church.¹ Far nobler and truer to my mind than this fear of promoting socialism by *a scientific theory which the best and soberest heads in the world have substantially accepted* is the position assumed by Helmholtz, who in his 'Popular Lectures' describes Darwin's theory as embracing '*an essen-*

¹ Lange's History of Materialism, Vol. II., p. 538. Huxley also condemns sharply this attempt of Virchow to make Evolution odious. He says: "I think I shall have all fair-minded men with me, when I also give vent to my reprobation of the introduction of the sinister arts of unscrupulous political warfare into scientific controversy, manifested in the attempt to connect (Evolution) with the doctrines of a political party which is the object of hatred," etc. He refers to the blot on Edmund Burke's fame, viz., his "attempt to involve Price and Priestley in the furious hatred of the English masses against the author of the Revolution of 1789. . . . Professor Virchow is a politician—may-be a German Burke—he knows the political value of words, and as a man of science, he is devoid of the excuses that might be made for Burke. . . . Prof. Virchow should have unfolded the links of the hidden bonds which unite Evolution with revolution, and bind together the community of descent with the community of goods. . . . Since the 'Rejected Addresses' there has been nothing in literature at all comparable to the attempt to frighten sober people by the suggestion that evolutionary speculations generate revolutionary schemes in socialist brains."

tially new creative thought,' and who illustrates the greatness of this thought by copious references to the solutions, previously undreamed of, which it offers of the enigmas of life and organisation."

Tyndall differs with Virchow also as to what a theory is or should be, and the use of hypotheses (concerning which Virchow's own *practice*, especially when Professor at Würzburg, was inconsistent with the teachings of his Munich Address). He says:

"Theoretic conjecture often legitimately comes first (before verification). It is the forecast of genius which *anticipates* the fact and constitutes a spur toward its discovery. . . . Darwin's theory, for example, like the undulatory theory, has been a *motive power*, and not an anodyne. . . . A theory accounts for observed facts and helps us to look for and predict facts not yet observed. Every new discovery which fits into a theory strengthens it. A theory is not complete from the first; it grows, as it were, asymptotically toward certainty. Darwin's theory, as pointed out nine or ten years ago by Helmholtz and Hooker, was then in a state of growth; if they spoke of the subject to-day, they would be able to announce an enormous strengthening of the theoretic fibre. Gaps in continuity which then existed, and which left little hope of being ever spanned, have been since bridged over. The further the theory is tested, the more does it harmonise with progressive experience and discovery. We shall probably never fill all the gaps; but this will not prevent a profound belief in the truth of the theory from taking root in the general mind. Much less will it justify a total denial of the theory. *The man of science who assumes . . . the position of a denier is sure to be stranded and isolated.*"

These citations from Tyndall to prove that he does not support the majority in their position, that he and scientists generally regard Evolution as untrue, very doubtful, a mere unproven hypothesis, etc., to any one at all acquainted with his writings, must seem as useless as an argument to prove that the "*Dutch have taken Holland.*" But our friends claim him as their man in maintaining the "unprovenness" of Evolution. Well, gentlemen, our cross-questioning has brought out his testimony. It is with the jury. You should have told him what you wanted to prove by him—or acted more wisely, and not have called him. But there he is. He is against you. Perhaps we ought to feel—very sorry.

*Prof. St. George Mivart.*¹—The epithet—"a puerile hypothe-

¹ F. R. S., Fel. Lin. Soc., etc., Prof. of Biology in University College, London, since 1874. Lecturer in St. Mary's Hospital, Medical School, since 1862, etc.

sis"—which he applied to Darwinism, has been mistakenly supposed to be a repudiation on his part of the doctrine of descent or the derivative origin of species, man's body included. He does reject natural selection, and his criticisms of Darwin's form of the descent theory are very powerful and probably unanswerable. In his "Genesis of Species" (1871), "Man and Apes" (1873), and "Lessons from Nature" (1876), and "Contemporary Evolution" (1876), Mivart vigorously maintains the scientific and philosophic consistency of the theory that man's body was created by an evolutive or derivative process from some lower animal form, and his soul supernaturally and immediately. In the *Contemporary Review* last year he said :

"The great scientific event of the present time is the wide acceptance of the theory of Evolution and its use as a weapon of offence and defence. It is used both against the belief that intelligent purpose is, as it were, *incarnate* in the living world about us, and also in favor of a merely mechanical theory of nature. Dysteleology¹ is often associated *unfairly* with the illustrious name of the late Mr. Darwin. His speculative views lend themselves indeed to Haeckelianism, and have been pressed into its service. Yet they are by no means to be identified therewith. As Prof. Huxley has pointed out with his usual lucidity and force, Darwin's theory can be made to accord with the most thorough-going teleology."

Mivart is a sincere Roman Catholic—a philosopher as well as a naturalist of high standing. He is well versed in patristic and scholastic literature. He quotes freely from these sources, and reasons very plausibly to prove "that ancient and most venerable theological authorities distinctly assert *derivative* creation, and thus their teaching harmonises with all that modern science can possibly require."² Similar views are expressed by Tayler Lewis.³

*Prof. W. B. Carpenter.*⁴—The closing chapter of his "Men-

¹ *Dysteleology*: Devoid of aims, absence of design or end, the negation of the doctrine of final causes. The doctrine of the purposelessness of the organs and organisms which people a purposeless planet. It may be called the doctrine of the irrationality of the universe.

² "Genesis of Species," 2d, p. 305: "Lessons from Nature," p. 449.

³ "Six Days of Creation," "Nature and the Scriptures—Vedder Lectures, 1875."

⁴ F. R. S., Prof. of Phys. Roy. Inst., Prof. in Univ. Coll., London, Pres. British Association, 1872.

tal Physiology" (4th ed., Appleton, N. Y., 1884) contains some profound remarks on the relations between science and religion, law and force, and the evidences of a personal God. Specifying some of the causes of unbelief among certain scientific men, he names as one the denunciation and opposition of certain theologians to Evolution. He thinks the attempts to put down Evolution, "the great scientific hypothesis which engages much of the best thought of our time, by citing, '*God made man of the dust,*'" etc., are precisely parallel with the opposition once shown to the Copernican theory, geology, etc. In his Presidential Address before the British Association at Brighton, 1872, on "Man as the Interpreter of Nature," he came to this conclusion :

"The laws of nature are human conceptions, subject to human fallibility, and they may or may not express the ideas of the great Author of nature. To set up these laws as self-acting, and as either excluding or rendering unnecessary the power which alone can give them effect, appears to me as arrogant as it is unphilosophical. To speak of any law as 'regulating' or 'governing' phenomena is only permissible on the assumption that the law is the expression of the *modus operandi* of a governing power. . . . Modern science, fixing its attention exclusively on the *order* of nature, has separated itself from theology, whose office is to seek the *cause* of nature. In this science is fully justified alike by the entire independence of its objects and by the historical fact that it has been continually hampered and impeded in its search for the truth as it is in nature by the restraints which theologians have attempted to impose upon its inquiries. But when science, passing beyond its own limits, assumes to take the place of theology and sets up its conception of the *order* of nature as a sufficient account of its *cause*, it is invading a province of thought to which it has no claim, and not unreasonably provokes the hostility of those who ought to be its best friends."

In his "Mental Physiology" he states finely some important truths; *e. g.*, "Laws are the *predetermined uniformities of action* of the governing power. The laws of nature are *phenomenal uniformities*, having no coercive power whatever. The power in the universe is *mind* power—the mind of God."

Law is the predetermined plan of God's will. God is changeless in character, hence changeless in his method of working. Uniformity of law in the seen and in the unseen universe, in the realm of matter and of spirit (law being but the self-chosen plan of God's acting and his authoritative *order* for creaturely being), is

a simple corollary from the immutability of God. Law is changeless, because it is the perfect plan or order of a perfect God. The uniformity of law, the changelessness of his plan, renders it *knowable* to men, both in the natural and in the spiritual world—in the visible universe of sense and in the unseen universe of mind. Whether we study the visible or the invisible realm, we study them in and through their phenomena; and we find in these phenomena order, law, uniform methods of sequence—making the cosmos a harmony. As law, “whose voice is the harmony of the world, hath its seat in the bosom of God,” we would expect to find “*uniformities of action*” wherever God acts, whether in the world of mind or matter. Hence to learn a law of nature is to seize a thread which, if followed up, will be found stretching through the spiritual world. Thus a knowledge of law in either world is a clue leading us on to find the same law in the other.¹

Drummond's “Natural Law in the Spiritual World,” setting forth the unbroken continuity of the *same* laws through both realms, is so true that it seems self-evident, from the truth that law is the predetermined order of God's will and the self-chosen plan of his working, *if* this truth is remembered alongside of the fact of God's immutability and the inevitableness of a perfect God framing a perfect, and hence a changeless, plan. The wonder is, now that the doctrine is stated, that it was not perceived before. But now that a Drummond has seen it, and said it, no doubt it will eventually be a truth shining with its own light into all minds. It is thus with all great truths: when announced we see that they were right before our eyes all the time; unseen because so near. God chooses, and with a divine fitness, the time and the man to voice them.

Like parallels of latitude encircling the globe in an unbroken line over Himalayan snows and arctic icebergs, desert sands and oceanic isles and waves, northern pines and tropic forests, so laws—God's parallels of order—sweep through both hemispheres

¹As Drummond points out, however, *all* the laws of the spiritual world are not projected downward into the natural, though natural law reaches upward into the spiritual.

of being. Natural laws find their higher octaves in the spiritual. The higher notes are the same—they are the upper octave, repetitions of the lower. And as on the simple gamut of seven notes are built the endless combinations of harmony, heard in oratorios of the great masters on organ and flute, harp and horn, in the song of birds and the voice of storms, so a comparatively few and simple laws, the fore-ordained and ever-maintained modes of divine action, are repeated, interwoven, coördinated, and blended into the majestic and infinitely complex harmonies of the universe. A mighty master! A wondrous instrument! Glorious music! The grander and more wonderful we find the universe to be, the greater will God appear.

Other British Naturalists.

We cannot, for lack of space, make further detailed citations from British scientists. But we offer to make good, by quotations from their published writings, giving name of book, etc., chapter and page, this proposition, viz.: *Nearly every British naturalist—geologists, botanists, physiologists, anatomists, zoologists, etc.—accepts as at least probably true some form of the theory of organic Evolution, man's body included. Whether the form of the theory accepted by these men be Darwinism, or Owenism, the Evolution of Mivart, Naudin, Kölliker, Von Baer, Wigand, A. Müller, Weismann, Zittel, Dana, or Lyell, etc., they agree in holding to the theory of descent—the derivative origin of present species, man's body included. Many, if not all, of the Presidents of the British Association for the last fifteen years have been evolutionists. This we are prepared to prove from their addresses and the papers read before the meetings.* Evolution is taught or held by Professors in the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Oxford, Cambridge, Owen's College, Manchester, University College, London, the Royal Institution, etc., etc. How much it is taught in the lecture rooms to students we shall not say. In so far as scientific societies as such endorse scientific doctrines, or have scientific creeds, then if the views of an overwhelming majority of naturalists in these societies indicate their creeds, Evolution

is the scientific creed of the British Association, the Royal Society, the Geological Society, etc., etc. All this we are prepared to prove, if need be, by quotations, giving definite reference to publication and page. We are also prepared to prove in the same way that a majority of British physicists, chemists, etc., many European philologists and philosophers accept Evolution as perfectly consistent with the various sciences which they pursue. In addition to the writers already quoted from, we are prepared to give quotations from Prof. Richard Owen¹ (Royal College of Surgeons, London), Prof. Allen Thompson, President of the British Association, 1877, Prof. Grant Allen,² George J. Romanes,³ Francis Galton, W. K. Clifford⁴ (various works), W. H. Flower, Phillips,⁵ George Bentham,⁶ J. G. Allman,⁷ Prof. Geikie,⁸ Baden Powell,⁹ Prof. Tait,¹⁰ Balfour Stewart,¹¹ Sir Charles Lyell,¹² J. J. Murphy,¹² Sir John Lubbock,¹³ E. B. Tylor, and a host of others, showing that they accept the theory of descent. They are not all Darwinists. They differ among themselves in many particulars, but on the main fact of *derivation* they do agree.

Majority of European Naturalists are Evolutionists.

In proof of this fact, we are prepared to give citations from Naudin, Albrecht Müller ("Appearance of Man in Europe"), the Marquis Nadaillac,¹⁴ Dr. Aug. Weismann, Professor in University

¹ Anatomy, etc., of the Vertebrates, Vol. III., p. 786, etc.

² "Vignettes from Nature," "Evolutionists at Large," etc.

³ "Scientific Evidences of Organic Evolution," etc.

⁴ University College, London.

⁵ President British Association, 1879.

⁶ President of Linnean Society.

⁷ President of Biological Section British Association.

⁸ University of Edinburgh.

⁹ Prof. of Geometry, University of Oxford.

¹⁰ University of Edinburgh.

¹¹ Owen's College, Manchester.

¹² "Habits and Intelligence."

¹³ "Origin of Civilisation," etc., 1870.

¹⁴ "Prehistoric America." Putnam: London and New York, 1884.

of Freiburg¹ (the last chapter of Weismann's work attempts to show the harmony between Evolution and design). K. E. von Baer,² Prof. Zittel, Emil DuBois Reymond, De Candolle, Helmholtz, and numerous other German, French, Swiss, etc., naturalists. We suppose that it will hardly be necessary to quote from Prof. Carl Vogt, University of Geneva, Prof. Ernst Hæckel, University of Jena, Prof. Oscar Schmidt, University of Strasburg. The fact that they are materialistic evolutionists is well known, and perhaps admitted even by those who quoted Huxley, Tyndall, etc., as not evolutionists. Perhaps many of our readers have read Oscar Schmidt's "Descent and Darwinism,"³ and remember his statement that nearly all scientific men accept Evolution.

President Rudolf Schmid ("Theories of Darwin") cites nearly a hundred of the leading men in science, philosophy, and theology who accept or are friendly (on philosophic and theological grounds) to some form of organic evolution. We have already quoted Agassiz, Schmid, Wallace, Mivart, Carpenter, Marsh, Morse, two Presidents of the American Association, Asa Gray, Tyndall, Hooker, and several Presidents of the British Association, as all substantially uniting in testifying to the general acceptance of Evolution among scientific men. Several of these were cited by the majority to prove Evolution untrue, and *not* accepted by scientific men generally. Now the testimony of these witnesses proves the contrary of what they were summoned to prove. The testimony of such men as Agassiz, Schmid, Tyndall, the Presidents of British and American Associations, etc., to a simple matter of fact, viz., the opinions of scientists, is sufficient to establish that fact. Our majority friends, therefore, must consider, on their own principles, the fact established for them, for they rested the reality of the fact on the testimony of the witnesses whom they summoned.

¹"Studies in the Theories of Descent." Translated by R. Meldola: Rivington, etc.: London, 1882. See esp. Vol. 2, pp. 694-718.

² Professor of Zoology, University of Königsberg, 1819-1834; Librarian of the St. Petersburg Academy, etc., 1837-1876.

³ International Scientific Series, Vol. 13. Appleton: New York, 1875.

The desperate efforts made to prove Evolution untrue, *because rejected by scientific men*, by citing such witnesses as Tyndall, Huxley, Mivart, Schmid, etc., etc., show what straits our friends felt themselves to be in. We have now disproved the minor premise of the majority. On their own principles they are compelled to draw the reverse conclusion of the one sought to be proved, and affirm Evolution to be an established scientific truth, or "*at least probably true.*" Whether Evolution be false or not, one thing is clear: *our majority friends have not proven it false. On the contrary, their premises necessitate, for them, just the opposite conclusion.* And as the condemnation of Prof. Woodrow was based largely upon a demonstratively baseless notion concerning scientific opinion, it is destitute of all foundation in right, truth, or law.

The Majority in an Awful Dilemma.

To those within and without our Church who take a calm, critical, and judicial view of the wild excitement and unreasoning prejudice manifested in connexion with the numerous synodical decrees launched, in many instances, gratuitously¹ and recklessly at Evolution, the plight in which the majority have put our Church would be absurdly ridiculous, were it not so piti-

¹ Outside of the four Synods controlling Columbia Seminary, viz., South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, South Georgia and Florida, there was not the slightest call for any action on the subject. We took the ground from the start, and still hold it, that it was a piece of Quixotic impertinence and injustice for the other Synods or Presbyteries to intrude their voluntary *in thesi* deliverances on public notice for the purpose (avowedly in some cases) of influencing the action of the four controlling Synods; because— 1. They were competent to determine their own duty in the matter, and should have been left free to do so, without illegitimate attempts to influence them by outside pressure and authority, to the detriment of truth and sober judgment. 2. It was an arrogant assumption of greatness, authority, and wisdom, to presume in this way to influence church courts from without. 3. It was prejudging a question which in due course will come before the Assembly. We are informed by a prominent member of the Synod of Texas that the action of this Synod was merely "intended as an advertisement for the theological department in Austin College"! We do not by any means suppose that all our Texas brethren meant their decree "just for Buncombe," but that *one* should so regard it is—suggestive.

fully deplorable. Just see. The appeal to scientific opinion as a reason or basis of action of course means this, no more, no less: "Whatever scientific opinion says about the truth or falsity of Evolution is true." We have shown that scientific men generally endorse it. Hence the majority, on their own premises, must say, "Evolution is true." Now notice. That same majority declared: "Evolution is contrary to Scripture; destroys the headship of Adam; removes the ground of miracles, the atonement, inspiration; it is materialism, atheism, etc., etc."¹ As one writer puts it: "If Evolution is true, the Bible is false." Now by resting the truth of Evolution on scientific opinion, and as we have shown that it is accepted generally by this authority, therefore they have put themselves in a position which compels them logically, unless they recede, to draw the awful conclusion that the Bible is false! Now what will they do? They cannot deny the fact that scientific opinion generally accepts Evolution. That is a simple question of history, ascertainable by proper reading and investigation. We have established that fact, and could fill a volume with accumulative evidence of the same sort. If they hold on to the Bible, they must do one or the other of two things: (1) Recede from their ground that scientific opinion settles the scientific status of Evolution, or (2) recede from their ground that Evolution, as a mere description of the process of creation, is contradictory of Scripture.

If they recede from the sufficiency of scientific opinion to settle the status of Evolution, and still maintain their condemnatory decrees against Dr. Woodrow and Evolution, then they abandon one of the chief grounds on which this condemnation was based, and confess that their action was based upon "*a mere unproven hypothesis, an alleged fact, which turns out to be a false fact!*" What a spectacle! Church courts giving false testimony concerning a matter of fact and on the basis of a falsehood passing sentence of condemnation! We by no means charge any one with wilful ignorance or misrepresentation. Far from it.

¹ See various newspaper articles, the decrees of various Synods, the *Central Presbyterian*, the *Southwestern Presbyterian*, Dr. Dabney's *Sensualistic Philosophy*, and in this REVIEW.

Two mistaken notions underlie this woful state of affairs: (1) The erroneous view as to the fact of scientific opinion; (2) The erroneous belief that it is the Church's duty to pass judgment upon the truth or falsity of scientific theories *per se*, an error condemned by our Confession of Faith (Chap. XXXI., Sec. 4), forbidding church courts to "handle or conclude anything but that which is ecclesiastical." Church courts can legitimately touch only the moral interpretations or theological inferences drawn from scientific theories which plainly undermine faith in the Bible, or are expressly used to destroy the doctrines of our creed. The Bible gives the natural theology of material facts, not their scientific sequences, modes of occurrence, mutual interrelations, etc. All that the Bible tells us of nature might be reduced to these heads: God made all things wisely and well, in time—creative time being represented to us as six divine days, or orderly, successive forth-puttings of energy, the work of each divine day or manifestation of divine energy being complete, perfect as a part in relation to the past and the future, so that God's work-days and the work done therein, being complete and worthy of the divine purpose, might serve as a model for man—his work and character to be a copy of God's, and rest, to follow as the crown of Godlike character and Godlike truth. All things were made according to a divine plan, order, law; all made to co-work for moral and spiritual aims, which were to be summed up in man, God's image and representative, the sub-king and head of nature, capable of recognising God, man's relation to him, and capable of knowing and working for the accomplishment of the divine aims and moral ends of creation. Natural facts present to intelligence laws and analogies of moral truths, and the more we know of them, the more do we see their fitness to illustrate and symbolise spiritual truth; and as they are realisations of divine thought and purpose, the Bible teaches men to study "the wondrous works of God," and from the works of the *Great Worker* learn the *methods* of his workmanship. This being, in substance, the Bible's teachings about nature, all those questions concerning the *methods* of God's works—which the Bible seems plainly to declare are to be learned from the *works*, not from the

Book that tells *that* God made them all, and refers us to these *works* to find out all they can tell us, and all that is in them, concerning his *modes* of production and preservation—it follows necessarily that as to theories which touch *only* the mode, not the *fact and purpose*, etc., of creation, so long as they collide not with, or are not interpreted contrary to, the great basal truths sketched above, the Church, as such, is not called upon to decide upon their truth or falsity.

One consideration will evince the truth of this view. What is natural science? The *human* interpretation of nature. Is this interpretation infallible? No, it is fallible. What is theology? *i. e.*, as a science? The human interpretation of Scripture. Is it infallible? No. In which book, nature or the Bible (they are both God's), are *Christians* most liable to err? We do not know. The redeemed Christian *knows* that his Father's thought, skill, and power are manifested in his creation; he knows, too, that he is in a friendly sympathetic relationship to him whose thought and purpose are in this earthly home, where his Father is preparing him for a higher state. He knows the Bible reveals that love and grace which brought salvation, and which are ever making him more like God, and therefore better able to know and sympathise with the thoughts of that God, whether revealed in Scripture, nature, or providence. Perhaps the exceeding love, gratitude, and reverence with which the Bible is regarded, as the word of eternal life, may often lead Christians to read more into the Bible references to nature than was meant, and tend to make them misunderstand the Bible directions to study God's works to learn the Worker's methods.

Furthermore, the Christian knows that God is God for evermore, Maker, Redeemer, Father, Friend. He knows that the Bible is true, and that nature is true, though his interpretation of both may err. Now, what is the only court of appeal for church courts in "handling and concluding" all matters brought before them? The Scriptures, and the Scriptures only. As a Church her duties and testimonies are bounded by Scripture. Now, in deciding on the truth or falsity of scientific theories *per se*, the Church must necessarily base her judgment upon extra-

scriptural grounds, *i. e.*, on the opinions of scientific men. Thus spiritual judgments (the only kind proper to the Church) are based upon human conceptions of material things. It is too evident to need proof, that most of us rest nearly all our scientific faiths on the authority of scientific men. Says LeConte:¹

“*What is the rational basis of faith in matters of science? Simply the authority of scientific unanimity. . . . It must and ought to be so. The world could not get on without such faith in authority. Such unanimity is a thoroughly rational ground of belief.*”

Says Winchell:²

“If the evidences sustain it (*Evolution*) and the general sentiment of the scientific world accepts and indorses it, we may safely regard it as standing for a truth in nature; or, at least, as more probably standing for truth than the dissent—perhaps unenlightened dissent—of a few individuals. As truth it becomes the object of all honest research, and to reject is not only to insult the truth, but to defraud ourselves. Nay, if it be truth, it is God’s truth, and to reject it superstitiously or unreasoningly is an insult to the Author of truth. We incur greater danger of doing violence to truth by rejecting the general verdict of science, than by devoutly accepting it.”

Says Henry Calderwood, D. D., LL. D.,³ in his “*Science and Religion*” (a noble book, which we earnestly hope all will read and *study* with care):

“Most men must take their scientific knowledge on trust. . . . Conclusions are accepted as true when admitted by the great majority of scientific inquirers, no matter how much they may be at variance with previously accepted beliefs. The basis of faith is *comparative unanimity of scientific authority*. This is the test with scientific men in all departments of investigation lying beyond their own domain.”

¹ “*Religion and Science*,” p. 236. Appleton, N. Y., 1874.

² “*The Doctrine of Evolution*.” Harper & Bros., N. Y., 1874.

³ Professor of Mor. Phil. Univ. of Edinburgh. Prof. Calderwood in this book shows with unanswerable reasons that Evolution (to which he is favorably inclined, and which he says is generally accepted by scientific men) is perfectly consistent with the Bible. We count it one of our highest privileges to have been a student under him at Edinburgh in 1875 and 1876. We remember to-day the glow of pleasure and the sense of benefit we felt in listening to his opening address to his class, Nov., 1875. It was a splendid appreciative review of “*The Unseen Universe*,” a book just published anonymously—written by Profs. Tait and Balfour Stewart, and dealing with the questions before us in this paper.

We could quote indefinitely to the same effect. The majority have acted on the principle that scientific authority is not only the "*basis of faith*," but the "*pillar and ground of truth*." We do not commit ourselves in this way, for we remember the theories in Astronomy, Geography, and Geology, before the days of Copernicus, Columbus, and Hutton and Cuvier.

By attempting to settle the scientific status of Evolution, the majority made the Church base her decree on *human opinion*, and not God's word; nay, more, the decree was based on a false human opinion as to what human opinion was. The principle involves this ruinous error: human conceptions of nature must "control the interpretation of Scripture." As scientific opinion is ever growing, changing, the meaning of the Bible must change with it. The Bible thus becomes "a nose of wax," to be twisted into all sorts of shapes. All this comes from the anti-scriptural doctrine that science—God's *methods* in nature—are to be sought in his *word* instead of in his *works*, and from the unconstitutional error of supposing it to be the Church's duty to issue scientific decrees. The only way out of the difficulty is for the proper steps to be taken—either to annul the deliverances made and remove the stigma from Dr. Woodrow, or bring the matter before the legal tribunal of the Church—and let us see whether we be genuine Presbyterians and lovers of truth and right.

THE CONSENSUS OF CHRISTENDOM AGAINST DR. WOODROW'S
OPPONENTS.

II. *The Theological Character of Dr. Woodrow's Evolution.*

In condemning Evolution as anti-scriptural, heretical, etc., many appeals were made to religious opinion, to the Northern Presbyterian Church, to the outside Christian world generally, including all evangelical Churches. This argument, of course, means that the consensus of Christian opinion settles the theological status of any doctrine. Put in a syllogism it runs thus:

"The consensus of Christendom settles the theological status of a scientific theory.

"The consensus of Christendom affirms Evolution to be, *a*,

consistent with Scripture, heresy, etc.; or, *b*, consistent with Scripture, etc.

“Therefore Evolution is *a* or *b* (as in the minor premise above).”

The majority, laying down the major premise, and *a* of the minor premise, draws the conclusion “Evolution is heresy, etc.” If, as a matter of fact, their minor premise is disproven, and the reverse established, of course the conclusion also must be reversed.

Now, we lay down this proposition, which we can prove by citations from scores, if not hundreds (we have examined over a hundred), of representative scholars from the various evangelical Protestant Churches of Christendom, viz.: Evolution, as descriptive of the process by which the world (inorganic and organic) has been brought into its present condition, is tolerated by the consensus of Christendom as consistent with Scripture; and evangelical Churches generally allow their preachers and theological professors to hold and teach the consistency of theistic evolution with the Bible and with their doctrinal standards; and in multitudes of instances these preachers and professors hold and teach that Evolution is, scientifically, “probably true.” In every instance the teaching that Evolution, whether true or false, does not destroy the Bible, or any important doctrine, is tolerated as perfectly consistent with the doctrines set forth in the Reformed Symbols of Faith. Citations here to prove this statement must be few and brief; but, if challenged, we can and will furnish them in abundance.

1. *The opinions of scientific men as to the theological bearings of Evolution.*

Before setting forth the attitude of representative Christian sentiment on the theology of Evolution, we will refer to the opinions of scientific men themselves on this point. We can, by numberless citations from scientific literature, establish the fact that nearly all leading scientific men regard Evolution as consistent with our old doctrines concerning God, morality, etc., and that a large majority of these men are either Christians, church members “in good and regular standing,” or have well-defined church affiliations, leanings, and sympathies. Of course, there may be many things in the theological beliefs of some of these men we

do not endorse. Many, too, who either believe in God, immortality, etc., or admit the consistency of such faiths with Evolution,¹ hold opinions antagonistic to much that is in the Bible. But there is no causal connexion with their errors and Evolution. Darwin thought there was no reason why his theory "should shock the religious feelings of any one." He quotes approvingly what a celebrated author and divine wrote to him, saying that Evolution was "just as noble a conception of the Deity" as the old theory of immediate creation. The theistic mottoes from Bacon, Butler, and Whewell, Darwin endorsed as his own, and kept them on the reverse of the title page of every edition of his "Origin of Species." The closing sentence of this work, affirming the grandeur of creation and the Creator from the standpoint of Evolution was never changed.² He contends for the consistency of Evolution with religion in his "Descent of Man." The "affirmative answer by some of the highest intellects that ever existed, to the question whether there is a Creator and Ruler of the Universe," he thinks is correct.

Huxley says: "Teleology (design in nature) is not touched by the doctrine of Evolution, but is actually based upon the fundamental proposition of Evolution." Similar ideas might be quoted from Tyndall³ and Spencer.

These men are agnostics; though Spencer's controversy with Frederic Harrison shows that he thinks a good deal can be known about God after all. Their admissions show that there is no more logical connexion between Evolution and atheism and materialism than there is between the rule of three and pantheism. Prof. Kölliker⁴ says Darwin is in the fullest sense of the word a teleologist. (He is an evolutionist, though not a Darwinist.) Prof.

¹ Among these are Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and Tyndall. They all vehemently deny being atheists, or materialists, or that Evolution involves such doctrines.

² "Origin of Species," pp. 421-29.

³ See especially "Fragments of Science," p. 167, and "Additions to the Belfast Address."

⁴ Prof. of Anat. and Histology, Univ. of Würzburg. Huxley thought Darwinism was fatal to the Paleyan idea of Teleology—or rather that it swallowed it up in a grander, wider Teleology. Kölliker thought Darwinism was just the old Teleology—hence criticised this aspect of it.

Asa Gray, of Yale, contends stoutly for the consistency of Evolution with Teleology, the Bible, etc. His "Darwiniana" (last ed., 1884) and "Natural Science and Religion," lectures before the Yale divinity students (1880), are worthy of careful study as the views of one of the first of living naturalists. He is an evolutionist, a devout Christian holding firmly to the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds.

Prof. Brewer, of Yale, who says nearly all scientists are evolutionists, thinks a larger proportion of them are devout members of some evangelical Church than would be found in a similar number of lawyers or doctors.

Prof. Stanley Jevons¹ says: "I look upon the theories of Evolution and Natural Selection in their main features as two of the most probable hypotheses ever proposed. . . . Granting all this, I cannot for a moment admit that the theory of Evolution will destroy our theology." Prof. Simon Newcomb,² in an Address as President of the American Association, said, "Evolution is not atheistic; if it is, then all belief in second causes and natural law is atheistic." Mivart says, "The doctrine of Evolution is far from any necessary opposition to the most orthodox theology."

Principal Dawson³ says in substance, the theory of derivation is of little consequence to theology, when applied to the lower animals. What he says of its conflict with Scripture *only* when applied to account for the *absolute* "origin of things, or when employed to dispense with the action of divine power and when it represents man *with all his higher powers*, as a mere outgrowth of the variation of brute animal"—all this could be said by Dana, LeConte, Winchell, McCosh, Woodrow, and other theistic evolutionists. Dawson adds, "But for *these applications of it* the Darwinian hypothesis would be a harmless toy." If these words mean anything (taken in connexion with the quotation from Dawson on a previous page), they mean that theistic Evolution, which does *not* do these things here condemned, does not contradict Scripture, but is "*a harmless toy.*"

¹"Principles of Science," p. 762. Macmillan & Co., 1883.

²"Newcomb's Astronomy" is extensively used as a college text-book.

³"Nature and the Bible," pp. 135-42.

Sir William Thomson says: "The proof of the essential idea of Evolution *would have no bad effect on our theology*. God would remain then as now, the living fountain of all life. *His glory would not be shaded by it, if it should finally appear that he had created man by the slow approach of untold ages, and by the operations of natural law; rather it might enhance our ideas of divine power!*" Strong words from these two solid anti-Evolution Presbyterian elders¹—one in Canada, the other Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Glasgow University, Scotland. Our majority, agreeing with the distinguished men in not accepting Evolution, should agree with them in its theological harmlessness. Oken, Lamarck, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, the older Evolutionists of a past age, held Evolution to be consistent with theism. Robt. Chambers² said: "The work of creation is equally real and equally divine, whether it be effected mediately or immediately, with or without the intervention of means." Hugh Miller³ thought (in his review of the "Vestiges") the development theory perfectly consistent with strict theism. Dr. Buckland (on the "Vestiges") said: "So far from superseding an intelligent agent, such a view would exalt our conception of the consummate skill and power that could comprehend such an infinity of future uses under future systems in the original ground-work of his creation." These utterances are old enough—like good wine—to be rich and mellow. We advise our majority friends to drink them in; they may do your souls good, brethren. Try them.

Dr. Lionel Beale:⁴ "There is nothing in Mr. Darwin's views

¹ We find it hard to understand just what sort of an anti-Evolutionist Sir William Thomson really is. He thinks that life *originated* on this planet from germs or minute forms brought here by meteoric fragments from other worlds, and from that source life plant and animal "got its start." We would call that Evolution, though it denies spontaneous generation, which comparatively few naturalists think has anything to do with Evolution. See *Interior* (Chicago), Sept. 11, 1884.

² "Vestiges of Creation," p. 92—the evolutionary book which made such a stir forty years ago.

³ "Testimony of the Rocks," "Footprints of the Creator," etc.

⁴ "Protoplasm, or Matter and Life," 3d ed., London: J. A. Churchill. pp. 291-378. Dr. Beale is the highest type of a scientific man, scholar, and Christian. We are not sure that he accepts Evolution as a scientific truth. He seems to reserve a definite opinion.

that conflicts with the conclusions I have reached from a very different course of study (p. 293). . . . The argument for design is strengthened instead of weakened by new facts of science. . . . Darwin does not dispense with miracle. His doctrine implies miracle of a consummate kind (p. 377). Miracle constitutes a necessary part of his (Darwin's) system. So far from excluding miracle, or supernatural influence, the Evolution of Darwin starts from miracle" (p. 378).

Prof. Flower¹ says: "Man's soul, hopes, and faiths, are uninfluenced by the way in which each man was born, so they are *totally independent of and uninfluenced by the mode in which the race originated*, whether from dead dust, or by modification of preëxisting animal forms." Prof. Baden Powell says: "In proportion as man's moral superiority is held to consist in attributes not of a material or corporeal nature or origin, it can signify little how his physical nature originated. Science has nothing to do with man's soul, which is hyperphysical." J. J. Murphy,² replying to the objection to Evolution that where change is gradual it cannot be fundamental, hence if man be *from apes* he must remain ape, says: "Not so; the *parallel fact* is seen in *individual* development—the change there is gradual, but fundamental." Each person begins life (as to his body) a gelatinous protoplasmic germ; a homogeneous, organless, senseless speck, growing gradually into a complete man. Prof. Richard Owen³ says: "According to my derivative hypothesis, *a purposive route of development, manifesting intelligent will*, is as determinable in the succession of races as in the organisation of the individual." Sir Charles Lyell⁴ says: "Evolution does not substitute a material, self-acting machinery for a supreme creative intelligence." He thinks as much "power, wisdom, design, or forethought, are needed for the gradual evolution of life from lower to higher forms, as for a multitude of separate, special, and miraculous acts of creation." He thinks the opposition to Evolution is

¹ Quoted in "Mivart's Genesis of Species," p. 300.

² "Habit and Intelligence," p. 582.

³ "Anatomy of the Vertebrates," Vol. 3, p. 808.

⁴ "Principles of Geology," 11th ed., p. 500.

like that once shown to astronomy, geography, geology, and the age of the earth.

So we might go on indefinitely quoting from philosophers' and scientists' opinions to the effect that there is no conflict between religion and Evolution. We will refer specifically to Professors Hermann Ulrich¹ and Paul Janet² among philosophers. Says Ulrich: "We do not at all oppose the theory of descent in general, but only the purely mechanical conception of it, which shuts out all governing *plan* and *design*."³ Paul Janet's great work on "Final Causes" contains a profound discussion of the bearings of Evolution (Book I., Chaps. 7-9) upon teleology. He shows conclusively their perfect consistency. He says: "Not only does the idea of Evolution *not* exclude the idea of final causes, it seems, on the contrary, naturally to imply it" (p. 218). Evolution is not inconsistent with creation—it is only a mode of creation. "Special creations are one manner of conceiving the creative action, Evolution is another" (p. 220). R. H. Lotze⁴ also holds the consistency of Evolution with theism.

In short, we might safely say that the consensus of science and philosophy agree in holding Evolution to be consistent with theism, and perhaps it would not be going too far to say that a large majority of leading scientists (nearly all of whom are Evolutionists) are Christian men, and their Christian faith, theoretically and practically, is not affected by their views on Evolution. Now it is evident that if the *supposed* opinion of scientists concerning the truth or untruth of Evolution be a proper basis of synodical decrees, then their real views as to the *theological character of Evolution* ought to have equal weight in securing deliverances in harmony therewith.

2. *The Consensus of Christendom against the Majority.*

The position taken by the majority was that to allow a Professor to teach Evolution to be probably true in a theological semi-

¹ Professor in the University of Halle.

² Professor of History of Philosophy at the Sorbonne, Paris.

³ "God and Man," Part I., pp. 248-250.

⁴ Prof. of Phil. Univ. of Leipsic, 1839-1844; Prof. of Phil. Univ. of Göttingen, 1844 until now.

nary was an endorsement and official teaching of Evolution by the Church; which of course means that the Church endorses and teaches all the views held by her professors on all subjects, political, literary, scientific, philosophic, dietetic, sanitary, and so on *ad infinitum*. Of course, on this view, the Church taught that the elect angels were *confirmed* in holiness after a limited period of obedience, as an act of grace, on the ground of the homage rendered to the law by the atonement of Christ, a doctrine taught by Dr. Palmer when he was Professor at Columbia (we believe), and made very plausible and wondrously beautiful by his masterly diction and keen reasoning; but still we believe it an unproven (and harmless) hypothesis; and we do not know that it is the "received interpretation."¹ The same might be said of Dr. Girardeau's views on instrumental music and metaphysics, Dr. Dabney's teachings on geology (Lectures, pp. 170, etc.). However, while not altogether accepting the unmodified theory that the Church teaches and is responsible for all the notions of her theological professors, the majority have assumed and acted on that principle. They must stand by it, in what now follows concerning other Churches.

The *Northern Presbyterian Church* allows her theological professors and preachers to teach that theistic Evolution is reconcilable with Scripture. Dr. McCosh says: "I hold the doctrine of Evolution on the understanding that the whole process is the work of God, and that there are higher manifestations of God's power which cannot thus be accounted for" (*Homiletic Monthly*, January, 1884, Philosophic Series, and various writings). He says he has always taught his students at Princeton that "there is evolution everywhere in nature, and that there is nothing in this evolution, properly explained and duly limited, inconsistent with revelation." He thinks if he taught his students that Evo-

¹ Our honored friend, Dr. Palmer, of course will not misunderstand the above allusion. Knowing our profound respect and admiring friendship for him, he will be the last to think any unjust criticism of him is meant. We condemn neither the doctrine nor the teaching of it (as done by him) even in the Seminary. We cannot *quite* see it, but think it allowable to personal liberty.

lution was false and "contrary to Scripture, they would be tempted to give up the Bible, because they find Evolution to be a truth in nature." Prof. F. L. Patton (Homiletic Monthly, April, 1884), of Princeton Seminary, teaches that "theistic evolution does not exclude the supernatural nor creation;" that the "world process," according to theistic evolution, "does not differ much from the same process as given in Genesis." He thinks the "question whether natural selection is *anti-biblical* or not turns upon the question whether or not it is *anti-teleological*. *Modified by the hypothesis of an inner law of development, . . . natural selection is not only not anti-teleological, but teleology enters into its very essence.*" (Hence, from the premises, it is not anti-biblical.) According to this law, "nature has been moving in the direction of an end; and the existing organic world is the realisation of ideals of which all lower forms of life were prophecies. But theism is the only rational explanation of *finality* in nature. Natural selection will not hurt theism." He thinks if the old view of man's origin be given up, and we learn that man's body was produced by descent from brute forms, while his soul was not so derived, but directly created (according to many naturalists), it would be "*more than we have a right to say that no scheme of reconciliation could be found*" between this idea and the Bible. Such an idea, he says, need not be rejected on the ground of respectability. We need not be sensitive about ancestry. "Nothing very shocking in the idea that God used organised matter (even though an ape) in making man, for organised matter is a higher form of matter than unorganised." The creation of man's body by "the slow process of genetic development does not make God any the less our Creator and the Father of our spirits." Prof. Patton thinks thus while regarding Evolution as still unproved.¹

¹We modestly venture to think Prof. Patton (who is usually profound and masterly in his logic and his philosophy) makes a logical slip when he says the theory of a *derivatively created* body and a directly created soul "involves organic and *psychological* continuity." The very terms "non-derivative origin of the soul" deny "psychological continuity." Hence the difficulty he finds in reconciling the theory with woman's creation, unity of the race, Adam's righteousness, headship, and fall, is (1) based on an idea foreign to the theory—upon an attribute not inherent in the

Prof. A. A. Hodge (*Outlines of Theology*, pp. 39-40) classifies the evolution theories in their theological relations under three heads. He describes the first thus: "Those which neither deny nor obscure the evidence which the order and adaptation observed in nature afford to the existence of God and his immanence in and providential control of his works. . . . *With this class of Evolution theories the natural theologian has, of course, only the most friendly interest.* Even if continuous Evolution could be proved as a fact, the significance of the evidence of intelligent order and contrivance *would not be in the least affected.*"

Prof. C. W. Shields, of Princeton College, teaches to the same effect that creation by organic evolution is consistent with theism and Scripture. Prof. Kellogg's (Allegheny Seminary) agreement with Dr. Woodrow on the non-contradiction of Evolution and Scripture is well known. We might quote from Dr. Howard Crosby (ex-Chancellor N. Y. Univ.) unqualifiedly and warmly endorsing J. A. Liefchild's "*Great Problem*," a book which teaches the consistency of Evolution and Christianity, and from numerous other theologians in the Northern Presbyterian Church, in colleges, seminaries, and pulpits, who agree with Dr. Woodrow as to the theology of Evolution. Now on the theory of the majority, all this is the *teaching of the Church North*. Not a word of objection has ever been raised to these doctrines. Their

theory, but a subjective addition to it from Prof. Patton's mind. (2) It is a *non-sequitur*, for *ex hypothesi* man's body as a suitable dwelling for his soul (to be immediately created when the body was ready) was the divine purpose to the realisation of which nature was divinely made to work. This purpose included the necessary divinely-correlated adjustments between the purposed and gradually prepared body and the soul. Hence there is no more difficulty here with Adam's headship, fall, etc., than there is on the theory that the matter of his body, the moment before creation, was dead, though *possibly* it had in cosmic cycles passed through the stages of fire-mist, gas, rock, trees, and animals. The continuity (whatever it be) involved in the passage from man to brute (let the change be slow or rapid), is consistent with *fundamental* change in mind and body, just as the passage from senseless embryo to perfect man is consistent with fundamental physical and mental change, and the difficulties in the latter case connected with moral responsibility are as great as the alleged difficulty of the former in connexion with Adam's headship and fall.

propounders have not been cast out of their professorships. Note this : among all the doctrinal differences—the specified errors of the Northern Church—*its toleration of Evolution has never been named*. Yet pretty long lists of errors have been written. What is not condemned is therefore approved. This *must* be so on the majority's theory that they must *condemn* in order not to approve Evolution. It will not do to plead ignorance. Drs. McCosh and Crosby spoke out twelve years ago ; even Dr. Charles Hodge said twelve years ago, in a work which is a text-book at Columbia :¹ "There may be a theistic interpretation of the Darwinian theory." Brethren, you ought to have known and condemned (to be consistent) long ago the Northern Church's toleration of Evolution as consistent with Scripture, for many of you gave as a reason for condemning Dr. Woodrow, "Oh, the Northern Church will call us heretics if we don't." Many of you even threatened to go to the Northern Church rather than stand Dr. Woodrow. "Anything rather than Evolution," was the cry—"even the Northern Church."² On this subject it would have been a case of "out of the frying-pan into the fire." The attitude of the Northern Church was given as a reason for condemning Dr. Woodrow ; therefore their toleration of the inculcation of the consistency of Evolution with Scripture by their theological professors should be a reason for removing this sentence of condemnation.

The Dutch Reformed Church.—In 1855 Tayler Lewis³ taught *precisely* the doctrine taught by Dr. Woodrow, viz., that the creation of man's body by evolutionary process from a lower animal form was perfectly consistent with Scripture. The Dutch Reformed Church endorsed this doctrine (after having twenty years to study and digest it) by selecting Lewis as Vedder Lecturer⁴ for 1875 before their theological students at New Brunswick. The evolution views he then taught are in advance of

¹ "Systematic Theology," Vol. II., p. 16.

² See writers in the *Central Presbyterian*, etc.

³ "Six Days of Creation," Chap. 20.

⁴ "Nature and the Scriptures," 1875, *published with the imprimatur of the solid old Calvinistic Dutch Church!*

those of 1855. He finds Evolution, by strict exegesis, to be the mode of creation described in Genesis. Some of the finest writing in the English language is found in his grand demonstration of the unreasonableness and awfulness of atheistic Evolution.¹

In 1883 Dr. J. B. Drury was Vedder Lecturer. Through him the venerable Dutch Church taught her theological students: "It seems most probable that Evolution, considered as descriptive of the process by which the world has come to its present condition, is likely to become established. Already with the majority of scientists is it accepted as a working hypothesis, and each year is adding to the number of those who, *in this sense*, are evolutionists (p. 15). . . . He (Darwin) inaugurated a revolution in scientific methods, and lived to see Evolution become the prevalent working hypothesis of science" (p. 17). On the theology of Evolution, Dr. Drury says: "Let Evolution be seen to be only an instrument or method of God, and it ceases to be antagonistical to faith and religion" (p. 30). He very properly says mechanical evolution (self-originated, operating necessarily and continuously, without intervention of any power above or outside of itself), or materialistic Evolution, cannot account for man. "The advent of man with powers bespeaking a different order of being, . . . demands the interposition of an omniscient, omnipresent Creator; and this is strictly accordant with a divinely coördinated and controlled Evolution." Drury agrees with Wallace, it seems (p. 61), that a "superior intelligence guided the development of man in a definite direction and for a definite purpose. Wallace, as we have seen, teaches the derivative origin of man's body, and special divine intervention to account for his soul. There is nothing, so far as we can see, in Lect. III. that Dr. Woodrow could not consistently say.

We could give other proofs that the Dutch Church tolerates Evolution as consistent with Scripture, but these are enough.

¹ Passages in Lect. V. have been totally misunderstood and misquoted by not considering the qualifying words, "*unqualified* Evolution," "endless" Evolution, "mechanical" Evolution," etc., which he is careful to use in condemning any form of Evolution. Dr. Woodrow, or any other theistic evolutionist, could heartily endorse p. 219, and everything in Lect. V.

Our Church has long endorsed the orthodoxy of the Dutch Church. It has been about the only Church pure enough in doctrine for us to exchange fraternal delegations with "since the war," and lo and behold, Evolution has been tolerated in that Church as theologically harmless for thirty years!

The Congregational Church.—We might quote from Profs. Gulliver, of Andover Seminary, and G. F. Wright, of Oberlin, and many others, to show that Evolution was tolerated in that Church also.

The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (Shades of Covenanters, Seceders, Relief Body, Erskine, Brown, and the rest, just think of it) allows her noble and gifted Prof. Calderwood to be very friendly to Evolution and to teach its consistency with Christianity ("Science and Religion"). Many of her public teachers hold the same view, and she never said, "Don't do it!"

The Free Church of Scotland has long allowed her theological professors to teach the consistency of Evolution and Christianity. Dr. James Buchanan, while Divinity Professor in the New College, Edinburgh, over thirty years ago, taught thus: "The argument for theism does not depend on the *mode of production*, but on the *character of the resulting product*. Were the theory of development admitted, it would not destroy the evidence of theism any more than the propagation of plants and animals under the existing system."¹ Buchanan was a contemporary of Chalmers, Cunningham, Candlish, and a host of great orthodox scholars and theologians, and he was never condemned. Only last year this same Calvinistic orthodox Presbyterian Free Church made Prof. Drummond (a hearty theistic Evolutionist) her professor in the theological school at Glasgow, putting him in a chair quite similar to the Perkins Chair at Columbia! "Natural law in the Spiritual World," the book which won his LL. D. and this professorship, assumes and teaches Evolution all the way through. We Southern Presbyterians never said a word about the Free Church's idea about the consistency of Evolution and Christianity away back in the "forties" and "fifties" (before

¹"Faith in God and Modern Atheism," 1855, Vol. I., pp. 437-62, criticising the "*Vestiges*."

“some of us” minority men were born), when we were praising them and helping with our money to make their free and independent “start in the world.” We have never condemned their toleration of Evolution in the various Scotch Universities.

The Established Church of Scotland's toleration of Evolution as consistent with Christianity is well known. It would be difficult to find among her leading theologians, scholars, and professors, any who do not hold that theistic Evolution is consistent with Scripture. Prof. Flint at Edinburgh is an example. Prof. Knight, of St. Andrews, Principal Tulloch (if we are rightly informed), Dr. George Matheson, and many others, can be named and quoted.

The Episcopal Church in Great Britain and America has hosts of great scholars and zealous churchmen who are either evolutionists, or teach its consistency with Christianity. Among these are the late Charles Kingsley, Bishop Jackson, Bishop Temple, Canon Farrar, Canon Barry, J. W. Reynolds,¹ President of Sion College. Judging from the tone of writing in the British periodicals within the past few years, representing all Protestant bodies in the kingdom, it would not be too much to say that the best thinkers there generally, and perhaps a majority of theologians of all classes, either assent provisionally to Evolution as a probable hypothesis, or hold its compatibility (whether true or false) with Scripture.²

E. de Pressensé doubtless represents the best thought in the Reformed Church of France. She permits him to teach: “The idea of Evolution is then inseparable from that of design. . . . The doctrine of Evolution thus understood appears to us altogether worthy to be accepted.” Pressensé quotes approvingly

¹“The Supernatural in Nature,” London, 1880.

²Bishop Henry Potter, of New York, said to the writer last winter, in substance: “I sympathise heartily with you and your allies in contending that Prof. Woodrow should be allowed liberty in this matter. I realise that you are fighting a battle in which all Churches are equally interested, for it involves a fundamental principle of Protestant Christianity—freedom of thought and conscience in things indifferent.” In this Bishop Potter represents the best thought, and doubtless the majority, of American Episcopalians.

Wallace, Naudin, Gaudry, Janet, Ribot, Flint, and others who are friendly, on philosophic and theological grounds, to Evolution.¹

We have referred to Prof. Rudolf Schmid, D. D., as representing the "Evangelical Protestant Church" in Germany. We can furnish numerous other proofs that other Protestant bodies in continental Europe tolerate both the acceptance of Evolution as "probably true," and the inculcation of its consistency with Christianity.

We have now shown fully (and can furnish cumulative evidence) that the *consensus of Christendom is against Dr. Woodrow's opponents*. His ejection is condemned by the best thought in Christendom among orthodox evangelical Christian scholars. The principles held or taught, and the practice pursued toward theological professors and public teachers on the subject of Evolution by the enlightened judgment of Christendom, rebuke and condemn the action of the majority in expelling Prof. Woodrow from the Perkins Professorship. It has been virtually claimed that the *size* of the majority in our Church who condemned Dr. Woodrow was proof that the "*Holy Ghost spake in condemnation of this error*"² (*sic*). Well, how about the *size* of this vast majority of Christendom condemning the majority in the Southern Presbyterian Church? Does Satan speak through *minorities* in our Church, and through *majorities* outside of it? We hold the majority to their premises, according to which they must say: The Holy Ghost speaks through Christian *majorities* and Satan through Christian *minorities*. Dr. Woodrow's condemners are a small minority of Christendom. Therefore——Brethren, stand by your logic and fill up that blank. Your "received interpretation" theory must not be applied solely as it works to your advantage and our disadvantage. Be consistent. Look at our theological text-books and see how the consensus of creeds and of theologians is cited in support of doctrines laid

¹ "A Study of Origins." By E. De Pressensé, D. D., Jas. Pott & Co., N. Y., 1884. An able, finely written work. Chap. IV., Book II.—"The Doctrine of Evolution"—deserves careful reading.

² Rev. Dr. J. B. Mack in *St. Louis Presbyterian*.

down! See the newspaper discussions and debates in church courts on all important subjects, how appeals are made to the consensus of Christendom, the views of theologians, and the practice of churches,¹ as their reasons for this or that course. The principle implied is that the consensus of Christendom (the views and practices of other Churches) is a *probable* argument for or against a course of action. Whatever the appeal be worth, Dr. Woodrow's opponents have made it, erroneously—yea, grievously so—assuming without thorough investigation that it was for them. Whereas it is against them.

It is now evident that the logical groundwork for a complete reply to Dr. Girardeau's speech for the silencing of Dr. Woodrow has already been laid in the foregoing discussion. His speech (says the *Southwestern Presbyterian*, March 5th) "embodies the strength of the argument on the other side." In this judgment agree the *Central Presbyterian*, the *St. Louis Presbyterian*, and others. Some of these criticise sharply his "ultimate standard" and "relative standard" theory. The criticism of Dr. Smith is very cogent and strong. To us it seems that if Dr. Girardeau's "ultimate standard" idea fails, the whole argument falls. We leave Dr. Girardeau, however, to the tender mercies of Drs. Smith and Farris. They have destroyed the foundation; can it be replaced? We hope our honored friend will pardon the temerity which ventures to criticise him. His noble gifts of head and heart, and his wide learning in theology and philosophy, have always held our warm admiration. It is not our strength that emboldens us, but facts and principles that are with us.

Dr. Girardeau's *main* argument (the others are met in this and our preceding papers) is: "Dr. Woodrow must be silenced because his views are contrary to the '*received interpretation of our Church.*'" We all stand on this proposition, viz.: No teaching contrary to Scripture and our standards is allowable, espe-

¹ See especially debates in the Charleston Assembly, 1880, on the Power of *In thesi* Deliverances on dancing, etc., Lexington Assembly on Ministerial Qualifications, discussion on Deceased Wife's sister, etc., etc. See also Hodge, Thornwell, Dabney, Turretin, J. Müller, and—Dr. Girardeau, citing others' views.

cially in important matters. This, however, must not exclude legitimate discussion on proposed constitutional amendments. The minority hold that Scripture and the standards—not unfairly interpreted—are *probably silent* on Evolution. This is their *main* proposition—the non-contradiction of Evolution by Scripture and the standards. And we resort to these authorities for the proof. Maintaining their silence, we claim liberty from them and from God to learn from nature, if we can, “God’s plan of creation” (whether it be Evolution or not). And if any of us think there are probable grounds for believing Evolution to be true (nearly *all* our knowledge rests on probability), then God, the Bible, and the standards, give us liberty to think so, and say so. We think the divine principles of freedom set forth in our standards were violated in Dr. Woodrow’s ejection. The constitutional limitations to the “received interpretation” theory were ignored, under the influence of excitement, authority, popular tradition, and prejudice. There is our position.

We will notice, 1. Dr. Girardeau’s answer to the point that “*all the professors are allowed to do what Dr. Woodrow does, viz., teach views opposed to the general judgment of the Church.*” He concludes that this “*chief point of the argument . . . is no point at all*” (Speech, pp. 19–21). The present writer first made this point in the *Southwestern Presbyterian*, somewhat in this form: “All professors teach incidentally, but really, views in philosophy, history, philology, science, etc., either as an organon, *i. e.*, instrumentally to the real purpose of their *constituent* teachings, or as *obiter dicta*, which are the inevitable deposits from the individuality and experiences of a professor. That these often were not endorsed by the majority of the Church, but so long as they were not plainly and vitally contrary to the standards, and were not used to undermine them, liberty was allowed.” Speaking of this point, Dr. Girardeau said to the writer (in September, 1884): “There you touched with a needle’s point the heart of this whole question.” Now we submit that the standards and the Bible in their “absolute sense” are *silent* as to Evolution; that the exposition of the arguments *pro* and *con* for Evolution is mere or-

ganon, *i. e.*, instrumental to the real teaching and main purpose of Dr. Woodrow; that his opinion as to its *probable truth* is mere *obiter dicta* as related to his positive *constituent* teaching that the God of the word and of the works is one; that no Bible truth contradicts a nature truth, and that the *natural theology* of revelation (to use a solecism) and the *natural theology* of nature are in harmony. This is Dr. Woodrow's *teaching*; all else is organon and *obiter dicta*. He does not teach his not-generally-received views to destroy faith; hence the same freedom should be allowed him as is allowed Dr. Girardeau, *e. g.*, in his organon-*obiter dicta* metaphysics, etc., which may or not be generally approved. The Church does not feel called on to pronounce upon these extraneous matters, and will not cramp his individuality by telling him he must hold to Kant, Reid, Berkeley, or Locke, so long as his metaphysics, like Dr. Woodrow's Evolution, is not used against our creed.

2. In answer to the argument that the differences between Dr. Woodrow and others were analogous to those between parties in our Church on predestination, the will, imputation, etc., hence liberty should be allowed, Dr. Girardeau takes remarkable ground (see p. 21). He denies the analogy because the parties specified appeal mutually to the *Bible* and the standards to prove their positions, and because *they* would not hold views contrary to the standards!

We reply: (1) Views are held and allowed by these very parties contrary to the *popular received interpretation of the standards*, *e. g.*, six-day creation and geology; death in the animal world before the fall; the nebular hypothesis, etc.

(2) Dr. Woodrow would not, nor would any of us, hold even a scientific theory plainly contrary to the standards. We fail to see why Evolution, if contrary to the standards, would be in another category with the theological errors named; their *opposition to the standards* is the common feature that classes them under the genus error.

(3) "There is no analogy between allowing liberty as to Evolution and on the will, etc., because the parties differing on the will appeal to the Bible and the standards." We read that frequently to be sure of its sense, and we reply:

(a) We *do* appeal to these authorities to prove their *silence*, and consequent allowing of freedom.

(b) Of any two opposing views on imputation, predestination, the will, etc., one is right, the other wrong. Does an appeal to the Bible and the standards diminish the kind and degree of the error in the wrong view? Dr. Girardeau's logic means just that, or it is meaningless. Hence his premises involve this awful conclusion: Error is harmless, and freedom to teach it is allowable, if Scripture is urged in its support. Therefore if a professor should teach Socinianism, Unitarianism, Mormonism, etc., at Columbia, give him liberty so long as he appeals to the Bible and the standards! But because Prof. Woodrow does not *argue from Scripture* for the *truth* of Evolution, he must go. Of course on this ground the difference between Dr. Girardeau and the majority of the Charleston Assembly on *in thesi* deliverances was very small and harmless because both appealed to the Bible and the standards. Yet we remember how Dr. Girardeau then thought that the error of his opponents was very dangerous and hurtful.

3. The received interpretation of our Church a reason for expelling Dr. Woodrow. The argument is plausible, but superficial. From his own premises, Dr. Girardeau's conclusion should have been the reverse. Let us see:

(a) Dr. Girardeau did not think Dr. Woodrow a heretic. Evolution may *not* contradict the absolute sense of Scripture, *i. e.*, God's meaning of Scripture. Dr. Girardeau admits that neither he nor the Church ought to call Dr. Woodrow's views heresy. Evolution is a scientific hypothesis. As it cannot be called heresy, it cannot be said to contradict Scripture in any important sense of that word. Now the "*received interpretation*" and practice of our Church is that non-heretical scientific theories stand in the relation of non-contradiction to the Bible. Evolution is such a theory; therefore, according to the *received interpretation*, Evolution (being not heresy, according to Dr. Girardeau) does not contradict Scripture.¹

¹ We can show from various authorities, Hodge, Calvin, Arnot, Chalmers, Lewis, Thornwell, etc., that our "received" teachers agree with Dr. Woodrow, *in principle*, as to the relation between science and revelation.

(b) The *practice* of our Church towards non-heretical scientific theories (which were yet contrary to the common interpretation of our standards) shows that she regards the relation between them and the Bible to be non-contradiction :

(1) She has allowed *liberty of view and teaching* on scientific subjects, showing she does not regard physical doctrines *per se* to be dangerous.

(2) She has permitted on scientific subjects views and teachings which did and do *seem* to contradict the Bible and standards and which yet contradict the popular view, *e. g.*, on geology, etc.

It is our *received interpretation* and practice to allow discussion and free teaching on non-heretical theories *against* popular notions and the first impulses and judgments of the popular mind. Hence it was a *departure* from "received interpretation" to yield, without long and careful discussion, to the first excited impressions of the crowd. Hence Dr. Girardeau ought, on his own premises, to have defended Dr. Woodrow, and taught the Church that in condemning him so hastily (for a non-heretical doctrine) she was violating her traditional interpretation of her own law.

(3) It is the practice of our Church, her "*received interpretation*," to aid her own judgment in reaching truth and determining duty, to examine closely and be legitimately influenced by the consensus of Christendom in situations kindred to her own. We submit that Dr. Girardeau, therefore, ought (believing Evolution to be not heresy) to have counselled more deliberation and careful study by the whole Church, so that the judgment of Christendom (and the opinions of Christian scientists), which it is our "*received interpretation*" and practice to consult, as an aid and a light (secondary, indeed, but an aid) for our own guidance in similar affairs, might have been ascertained. The Holy Ghost guides *all* God's people, and he teaches *much* to us through the conduct and historic experience of others.

4. Evolution is, confessedly (not being heresy), not forbidden by the higher meaning of Scripture. Hence God hath left men's minds and lips free. Therefore Dr. Girardeau should have ar-

gued: "*Evolution is not heresy; it may be in accord with Scripture; therefore leave Dr. Woodrow free, for it is our law to permit speech where God is silent. It is our 'received interpretation' to command silence only when God speaks.*"

5. Whatever may be said of Dr. Girardeau's position, that the Synod of South Carolina was not called on to vindicate Dr. Woodrow from charges of heresy, etc. (Speech, p. 5), one thing is clear: *It is the duty of his Presbytery and Synod either to vindicate completely or try him (Dr. Woodrow) on the charges made.* It is the "received interpretation" of our church courts to vindicate their members (by trial or otherwise) from charges against them. Proof: *When anonymous charges were circulated against Dr. Woodrow in the Charleston Assembly, a committee appointed to investigate, recommended full and complete vindication, and a rebuke against the originator and circulator. Dr. Girardeau joined in the unanimous vote by which this paper was adopted.* This is law, and this is its "received interpretation." Let justice be done. Let truth and right prevail.

J. WILLIAM FLINN.

NOTE.—The author of the foregoing article intended the substance of it to appear as three articles in successive numbers, but at our request he consented to give it its present form, that the whole might be published at once.—EDS. SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Revision of the Old Testament has been received far more calmly than its predecessor from the Jerusalem Chamber. It may notwithstanding be affirmed that its value is not one whit less, and in certain respects is greater. As is now so well known, the venerable men to whom we owe the authorised Bible were better Greek scholars than Hebrew scholars, and (like Erasmus) knew more of Latin than they did of either Hebrew or Greek. It was a matter of course that these men, indeed that any men, engaged in such a work, should have committed errors that were more than merely verbal ones. Such errors are occasionally to be met with, for instance, in books like Job, the Psalter, and the later Prophets, and more infrequently even in the historical books. The wonder is that they are not far more numerous. A benignant Providence has marvellously preserved the kernel of the word intact in the midst of all the transformations of the husk, and one of the most gratifying results of the revision is to have made this conspicuously manifest. The incomparable English of King James's Version could not be touched without marring it; but the Canterbury students of the Hebrew Testament have had the signal advantage over the Canterbury students of the Greek Testament, that they have enjoyed the opportunity of considering and pondering the criticisms of the earlier and more tentative exhibitions of the work of the revisers, and of observing its effect upon the general mass of readers; and so they have happily contrived to keep somewhat nearer than those who went before them did to the true vernacular idiom and the rhythm of the time-honored Version that was in the hands of our fathers. "The more's the pity" that they should have wandered at all from the straight path that ought to have been the only one trodden by their feet. The upshot is that they have in a majority of instances, where it was possible, corrected the not uncommon blunderings of King James's Version, and given to the world a singularly accurate translation of the Hebrew text. At the same time they have succeeded to

a praiseworthy extent in conserving what was noblest and purest and sweetest in the syllables that have been so dear to us from our infancy. The greatest gratification of all springs from the fact now so apparent to every reader, viz., that the old translators did not hurt the corn and the wine of inspired truth, and consequently that this much dreaded revision movement will exert no effect whatever upon the substance of our creeds and Confessions, and will indeed hardly even touch their form. Whether the new Canterbury Bible, as a whole, or its Old Testament or its New Testament division, will ever take the place of the Version of King James, is a question that need give us no concern. It will certainly never do so unless the work done under Victoria is deemed, not only by scholars but by the people generally, to be better than the work done in the days of Geordie Buchanan and John Lightfoot. That such will be the verdict of the people we do not consider to be at all probable. That a true *revision* of the Authorised Version should one day be made is eminently desirable, and may yet be witnessed by some other generation. Such a revision would undoubtedly "prove all things" that we have now, but would sedulously "hold fast that which is good." Or if it should be judged that the Authorised Version is hopelessly bad—like Jeremiah's "very naughty figs," so evil as to be beyond the point of toleration—the day may come when a version shall be made that will be ostensibly as well as really a new one, and that will combine in felicitous juxtaposition, and it may be exceed, the accuracy of the Victorian scholars and the glorious and hallowed music for which we are indebted to the scholars of the era of James—a music, we opine, which the world will not willingly let die. Meanwhile we should be thankful for every useful help towards the interpretation of the sacred text, and it is precisely in this light that we chiefly prize the noble product of the self-denying and admirable labors of the revisers.¹

¹"The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, translated out of the Original Tongues: being the Version set forth A. D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised. Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Oxford, at the University Press, 1885. Minion, 8vo. All rights reserved."

Dr. Chambers, the author of the *Companion to the Revised Old Testament*,¹ has been for ten years a member of the American Company of Old Testament Revisers, and if our memory is not at fault, is to-day its President. He was, therefore, peculiarly fitted by circumstances, as he was equally so on the score of his gifts and scholarship and standing in the Church, to prepare this volume—in some sense the counterpart to Dr. Roberts's *Companion to the Revised New Testament*. The design of the book is not to defend the Revision, but to expound it. The need that existed for a thorough revision is argued, and the plan of this particular revision is unfolded. Remarks are then made on the original text, the changes are indicated, and the reasons set down for making them. The list of changes is exhaustive from the beginning to the end of the Old Testament, and will make this book more interesting to some than the revision itself.

It is not too much to say of Pusey's "*Minor Prophets*"² that it has already become the classic commentary in English on this part of the Scriptures. Forty years in the chair of Hebrew in Oxford University, together with the venerable author's rare gifts and attainments, his unusually deep and varied personal experience, and what would seem to be the special grace of the Holy Spirit, amply qualified Dr. Pusey to be a satisfactory interpreter of certain portions of the Old Testament. Little trace will be found in this book of the old Tractarian movement, or of that tendency of thought and feeling in the English Church which an American Presbyterian once said ought to have been styled, not Puseyism, but Newmanism. The exposition is at once elaborate and popular—eminently critical, and yet at the same time thoroughly devout and practical.

We are well assured that this *Syllabus*³ of Professor Shearer

¹ *A Companion to the Revised Old Testament*. By Talbot W. Chambers. 12mo., pp. 269. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Price \$1.

² *The Minor Prophets; with a Commentary, Explanatory and Practical Introductions to the several Books*. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church. Vol. I.: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Jonah. Large 8vo., pp. 427, price \$3. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885.

³ *Bible Course Syllabus*. Prepared by the Rev. J. B. Shearer, D. D.,

will prove (as it has already proved) of invaluable service to many a student of the Bible. It is complete in three volumes, one for each of three classes in the Southwestern University, the Junior, the Intermediate, and (we infer) the Senior. The present volume we take to be designed for the highest class. It is interleaved in such a way as to afford at every turn blank pages for note-taking. The author, as is matter of notoriety to most of our readers, is a Master of Arts of the University of Virginia, and one of the ablest teachers and trainers of men that we have in the Church.

Professor Brown's book on Assyriology¹ is a new form given to an address pronounced at the opening of the last term at Union Theological Seminary, New York. The Appendix contains a list of the books bearing directly on the history and exposition of the science, as well as on the particular discoveries. The author, though a comparatively young man, is one of the acknowledged experts in oriental and biblical studies. Like Dr. Briggs, he belongs to the advanced school and needs to be watched closely.

The discussion between the famous leader of the English Agnostics and the acknowledged champions of the English Positivists (or Comteists) is one of the most noteworthy of our time.² The one worships nothing, but contends for the existence of an unknowable Power that underlies and in a manner unifies all phenomena. The other (like his master, the crazy Frenchman) worships the sum total of Humanity. The book to have been complete ought to have also embraced Fitz-James Stephen's rasping commentary. All three are unbelievers.

Professor Henry Baird's History of the Huguenots at home is

Professor of Biblical Introduction in the Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tennessee. 16mo. Clarksville, Tenn.: Neblett & Titus.

¹ Assyriology: Its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study. By Professor Francis Brown. 1 Vol., 12mo., \$1.25. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

² The Nature and Reality of Religion. A Controversy between Frederic Harrison and Herbert Spencer. 12mo., paper, 50 cts.; cloth, \$1. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

happily followed up by Dr. Charles Baird's valuable account¹ of their trans-atlantic migrations. Dr. Baird has spent twelve years collecting his materials, and has ransacked the alcoves of France and England, as well as a mass of official documents, state papers, etc., and old family records in this country. Dr. Baird's honored name was not needed to vouch for the good work here accomplished.

The motive of Dr. Briggs in his new history of American Presbyterianism² was evidently twofold. It was partly his wish to supply a vacuum that has long existed in this branch of historical theology. It was also clearly his aim to find in these documents and annals of the Church an adequate support for his advanced positions in regard to the Canon, Inspiration, and the Puritans. In the first effort the learned and distinguished author has met with a high measure of success. In the second, he has by no means been so fortunate. The appendix exhibits thirty-three documents of original letters, records, and the like, most of which had never before been published. This alone would give the book considerable value. We happen to know that Dr. Briggs availed himself conscientiously of the best sources of information in Great Britain, and was assisted in his laborious researches by Professor Croskery, of Londonderry, himself a master of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland. Towards Dr. Briggs's aberrant views of doctrine we need hardly say we occupy an attitude of direct antagonism.

Dr. Philip Smith³ has been a successful pupil in the school of Dr. William Smith, the author of the Bible Dictionary and of the History of Rome. This is the second volume (and part) in the series of Smith's Manual of Church History. The idea and execution of this work have been excellent.

¹ History of the Huguenot Emigration to America. By Charles W. Baird, D. D. 2 Vols., \$4. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

² American Presbyterianism: Its Origin and Early History. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D. D., etc. With maps. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1885. Pp. 520, 8vo., price \$1.75.

³ The History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages, etc. By Philip Smith, B. A., author of the "Student's Old Testament History," etc. 8vo., pp. 600. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.50.

Plutarch can never be superseded; but modern criticism has enabled us to be more accurate, and it was well to group the lives of Greeks and of statesmen.¹ The idiosyncrasies of our fellow-men, and especially those of men of genius, is a subject of unflinching interest.² The name of Louis Pasteur³ is that of one of the most illustrious men of science of this or any other age. This biography, by his very competent son-in-law, follows him up from his early childhood till he discovered the constitution of the paratartrates of soda and ammonia, which had escaped the notice of the great chemist Mitscherlich, and began to ponder the theory of "molecular dissymmetry." The author carries the reader through Pasteur's researches into fermentation, vinegar, spontaneous generation, the maladies of wine and beer, the silk-worm disease, splenic fever, hydrophobia, and other disorders. We owe to Pasteur a magnificent enlargement of our knowledge as to "attenuated viruses" and the protective power of vaccination. The introduction is by Tyndall, one of Pasteur's most fervent admirers. The series of experiments (since complemented by Tyndall and others) by which the advocates of spontaneous generation were silenced is one of the most elegant and decisive in the history of the natural sciences.

The admirers of the Hares (and their name is legion) and those interested in Russia,⁴ as so many are just now, will welcome this new guide to foreign travel.

Henry Taylor's *Autobiography*⁵ is a feast both to the reason and the taste, and in some sort also to the affections. It has been

¹ *Lives of Greek Statesmen. Solon—Themistocles.* By the Rev. Sir George W. Cox, Bart., M. A., author of "A General History of Greece," etc. 16mo., pp. 227. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price 75 cents.

² *Personal Traits of British Authors.* Edited by Edward T. Mason. With portraits. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers. Sold by Woodruff, Cox & Co., Cincinnati. Price 25 cents.

³ *Louis Pasteur: His Life and Labors.* By M. Valery Radot. Translated from the French by Lady Claud Hamilton. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1 Vol., 12mo., \$1.50.

⁴ *Studies in Russia.* By J. C. Augustus Hare. New York: Scribner & Welford. 12mo., illustrated, \$4.20.

⁵ *Autobiography of Henry Taylor; 1800—1875.* In two volumes, 12mo., pp. 307, 287. New York: Harper & Brothers.

compared to Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*—which it resembles in scope and interest rather than in manner—but puts one more in mind of Crabb Robinson's journals and the memoir of Ticknor. It was written down to the period when the author was in his eighty-fifth year. The greater part of it was composed before he was sixty-five. Importance is attached to his statements by the fact that he was forty-eight years in the Colonial office. He declined the Secretaryship of the Colonies and also the Governorship of Upper Canada. Gladstone's testimony is, "He would have been a great man, had he been ambitious." Taylor was the friend of the most eminent men of the day, and these volumes are rich in reminiscences of Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Moore, Tennyson, Browning, and Mill. Opinions differ as to Henry Taylor's capacity. He has been pronounced a man of genius. He was perhaps rather a man exquisitely fitted to appreciate, absorb, and reproduce what was said and done by men of genius. There can be no question that he was a man of high character and sound judgment, or that he possessed a striking power of characterisation. Mr. Stickney's¹ book on the theory of our General Government is one that has already awakened wide attention, and is sure to provoke debate and criticism. He hedges for a National Convention to make a thorough-going change in the Constitution; which, if we understand the matter, he desires to assimilate more nearly to the British Constitution, and at the same time is sanguine of thus making more really democratic. Mrs. Dickinson² is a relative of Solomon Spalding, whose stolen fiction in manuscript was made the basis of the so-called *Book of Mormon*. We have here a minute account of this gigantic and triumphant fraud on the part of a gang of rogues and scoundrels. Judge Greene's excellent *Note-Book*³ is the fourth

¹ *Democratic Government. A Study of Politics.* By Albert Stickney. 12mo., pp. 166. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price \$1.

² *New Light on Mormonism.* By Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson. With Introduction by Thurlow Weed. 12mo., pp. 272. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Price \$1.

³ *Judge Greene's Note-book.* By Mary C. Miller, author of the *Arnold Family series*, etc. 16mo., pp. 311. Philadelphia Board of Publication. Price \$1.15.

and last volume of the "Reformation Series" for children. It is a book of travels through England, France, Geneva, Zurich, Basle, and other Reformation countries and places, and Rome.

The new and greatly improved edition of De Bourrienne's celebrated *Memoirs*¹ comes just in time after the publications of Metternich and Madame de Rémusat, the reissue of the work of Madame Junot. These several witnesses will be found to agree tolerably well in their main estimate of Napoleon. Bourrienne would tell stories, and has been detected in them; but his account of the great Frenchman is generally accepted as on the whole a true one. It must be remembered indeed that he was often snubbed by his great master, and at last dismissed from the post of private secretary. His opportunities were unrivalled, and he declares: "I speak of Napoleon such as I knew him. I neither wish to obscure nor embellish his glory. . . ." Mr. Marvin's² book has made a great impression in England. The author was the friend of Skobelev; and is the acquaintance of Komaroff, as well as of other warriors on both sides. This is the book of books on the Anglo-Russian war that is still impending. Gordon's³ *Diary* stirs the soul like a trumpet. There is a disposition just now to overrate his intellectual capacity. His moral character could not well be overrated, and should be held up to the admiration of future ages. There may have been a spice of fanaticism about him, as has been so frequently alleged; but he was an humble Christian and a sound Calvinist, and as daring a hero as any paladin of romance. He was also a devoted patriot, and the world has seldom seen such self-abnegation in the service of one's country. His woeful fate in the Soudan has crowned a life of incredible and almost heedless valor with the halo of immortality.

¹ *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte.* By Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne.

² *The Russians at the Gate of Herat.* By Charles Marvin. 1 Vol., paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

³ *The Diary of General Gordon.* Keagan, Paul, French & Co., London, and Messrs. Houghton & Mifflin, Boston.

³ *General Gordon, the Christian Hero.* By the Author of "Our Queen," "New World Heroes," etc. 12mo., pp. 374. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.25.

The work of Mr. Edwin G. Booth¹ is unique in literature and is simply indescribable. It is of value to the lover of Virginia annals. Mr. Booth is a man of large means and extensive liberality, and a good Presbyterian elder. He had some remarkable adventures during the war, and has seen a vast number of interesting and famous people. An extraordinary collection of wood-cuts of notable men is placed at the end of the book.

John Stuart Mill is in large measure responsible for the brilliant vagaries of Henry George. The advance of the people in England has culminated in an enormous increase in the number of voters in that realm. The danger is in the direction of a rabble democracy and a senseless communism. Yet we cannot but rejoice in the social and material uplifting of the toiling poor.²

There have been two self-styled mind-readers³ in Great Britain within the last few years. One of them was exposed by Mr. Labouchère and others as a charlatan. The other was guided by the tell-tale muscles. Such a thing as direct mind-reading was not even pretended in this instance. Mr. Gladstone proved a somewhat stubborn subject, but was convinced of the genuineness and fairness of the interesting experiments made by this astonishing pin-hunter. The accession of the Marquis of Salisbury to the first place in the British Government lends a new interest to the volume⁴ devoted to his life and speeches, which has by this time, we presume, been placed on the counters in London. To any one who has ever visited shady Warsaw, or learned to ask for the golden tea of China by its Polish name on passing the jealous frontier of the Czar, the German sketch of the land of Kosciusko,

¹ *In War Time. Two Years in the Confederacy and Two Years North. With many reminiscences of the years long before the war.* By Edwin G. Booth. Philadelphia: John D. Avil & Co., 1885.

² *The Progress of the Working Classes in the last half Century.* By Robert Griffin, Esq., LL. D., President of the British Statistical Society. With Notes on American Wages. This is "Question of the Day." No. XX. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price 25 cents.

³ *Mind Reading and Beyond.* By William A. Hovey. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, \$1.25.

⁴ *The Life and Speeches of the Marquis of Salisbury.* By F. S. Pulling. Sampson Low & Co., London.

translated into our vernacular, will be all the more acceptable because written by the hero of Paris and Sedan.¹

¹Poland: An Historical Sketch. By Count von Moltke. Translated by Emma S. Buchanan. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author. Chapman & Hall, London.

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With the address of each subscriber, we now print the date of the last number for which he has paid. For example, those who have paid in full for the current volume—Vol. XXXVI.—will find after their names, “Oct. '85,” which means that they have paid for the October number of 1885, and of course for all preceding it. If any one has paid for all past volumes, and one dollar on XXXVI., he will find “Jan.” or “Jny, '85 and 25c. ;” which means that he has paid for the January number of 1885, and 25 cents on the April number. And so in other cases.

Those who have not paid for the current volume will confer a favor by forwarding the amount due to JAMES WOODROW & Co., Columbia, S. C.

In compliance with the wishes of many friends, it is announced that hereafter, *as a general rule*, the names of writers for this REVIEW will be attached to their articles, and the initials of each to the critical notices.

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ARTICLE I.

A TRUE CONSERVATISM.

In Church and State, in sect and party, the words *conservative* and *radical* have acquired a prominence and an emphasis, in the present, never accorded to them in the past. In the pulpit, the senate, and the forum, as well as in the columns of the journal and the pages of the essay or the review, these two terms are the recognised landmarks of every form of modern thought and disquisition. They are the poles of feeling, of taste, of opinion and principle. Every one who talks or writes at all, claims for himself that he belongs to one of these categories, and insists on referring an opponent to the opposite. In American politics we not only discover that the two great parties into which our population is divided are essentially different in the sense of these two criteria, but that each party is further divisible into a conservative and a radical section. There are Republicans who insist upon keeping their party rigidly in the line of its precedents, and others who maintain that its original mission has been fulfilled, and the time has come to propound new issues before the people. There are also Democrats who desire to continue the conflict on principles announced a century ago, whilst others urge the necessity of contending for the more practical interests of the present generation.

In English politics the same tendency is manifested. On the one hand we find Whigs, Liberals, and Radicals, arrayed under one personal influence against conservative and progressive Tories on the other. In every nation of Europe sufficiently civilised to have a parliamentary and constitutional government, there are not only parties, but sections of parties, and shades of opinion as diverse as the combinations of the primitive colors in the spectrum. To a great extent this is a matter of temperament. The restless and sanguine are prone to change; the quiet and timid are generally tenacious of the *status quo*. Education also has much to do with the tendencies of popular thought. The atmosphere of Eton and Oxford, and that of a rural congregation of an Established Church, are, for different reasons, equally effective in generating a rigidly conservative spirit. On the other hand, a centre of British manufactures, or a village in the bosom of New England, necessarily breeds opinions far in advance of the age in which we live. They are the natural *habitat* of free speculation.

The conflict of these two forces is a perpetual war in the vitals of society. The stationary Turk and the mercurial French communist, are the extreme types of a differentiation that pervades every community not wrapt in social and spiritual death. Whenever two men are associated together, the one will be found more progressive and the other more cautious. Where masses are actively employed, the two elements will assert themselves in collision, and manifest their force in opposite policies. They are plainly visible in every part of the Christian Church, and it may not be unprofitable to devote a few calm pages to the study of the phenomena by which they are marked in our religious history. The epoch is favorable, because a comparative lull is perceptible on the surface of the great ocean of religious opinions. There is no great agitation of the waves, and the two great currents may be examined in a rational and charitable spirit.

It may be premised that the popular notion of these terms is erroneous in representing them as absolutely contradictory. It is generally understood that conservatism adheres to the *old*, out

of mere stubbornness, and radicalism seeks the *new*, out of utter wantonness. We aim to show that this is not necessarily true; that conservatism is reconcilable with progress, and radicalism with safety and truth. The terms are ambiguous and conflicting, because applied to a variable standard. The criterion of truth must first be determined before we can know in what direction a departure from it lies.

It is obvious that revelation provides an unchangeable standard of judgment. Expediency, on the other hand, presents no infallible rule. It is necessary, therefore, to inquire whether a revelation has been made, and how far it is available. The first is a matter of faith, and for all Christian men has been definitely settled. The extent to which we can use it as a rule is unfortunately one of the very questions that divide the two classes. It is conservative to say that its testimony may be ascertained. It is radical to say that its sense depends upon the interpretation. We have the same means of understanding the text that we have of construing the commentary. In both cases an imperfect medium intervenes.

If we admit the existence of a revelation, we must admit that its area is susceptible of definition. Within these bounds must lie the Christian creed. The standard being intelligible and infallible, no deviation from it is defensible. All adherence to it is conservative of it. Every return to it is conservative progress. Radicalism may consist either in forsaking it or in embracing it more fully. It may be destructive only of error, and constructive of a clearer and stronger faith.

The Christianity of some sects is built up of materials furnished by revealed truth alone. In others it is constructed of materials derived in part from tradition. In the former class conservatism consists essentially in adhering to the Scriptures. In the latter it includes to a great extent a profound regard for antiquity. The consequence of this difference is, that the Oriental, Romish, and Anglican sects are characterised by excessive conservatism; whilst the other Reformed sects have produced more numerous examples of a dangerous radicalism. In the latter class the weight of tradition is not felt as a regulating force. In

the absence of a lively faith, revelation, unprotected by superstition, is apt to be assailed by a proud speculative reason in some of its most vital parts. So far as God is understood to speak, a true conservatism will resist every licentious liberty with his inspired word, and a true faith will be satisfied with nothing short of it. But the spirit of independence that rejects tradition is apt to rebel against authority, and hence, in some of the Reformed Churches, we observe a strong tendency to rationalism.

Our own denomination, like others, has suffered much in the past from the chronic conflict between conservative and radical parties. Even here, in our Southern organisation, we are not entirely free from troubles of this nature. Our conservative is stiff and stubborn, and our radical aggressive and reckless, as they are elsewhere. Happily, so far, the contention has related chiefly to matters of polity and policy, and very slightly to difference in dogma. But, even on the former class of questions, Presbyterians have always boasted of the derivation of their principles from the Scriptures. Their appeal has ever been "To the law and to the testimony!" Our true conservatives have therefore been exceedingly tenacious of the scriptural authority upon which our polity and usages profess to be based. Much as they have been wont to respect the successive Books of Order and Discipline under which we have lived in the past, they have never attributed to them a sanctity approaching that of the word of God. Our traditions do not extend back more than a few centuries, and are constituted, as all will confess, of the opinions of fallible men. A true conservatism does not therefore exalt these opinions to such a dignity that their inconsistencies must be preserved out of respect to their authors.

As the roots of our system are declared to be traceable to the inspired Scriptures, our wisest conservatives are genuine *radicals*, inasmuch as they insist always upon basing every proposition upon a scriptural precept or principle. On the other hand, the Church is troubled by a class of thinkers to which these terms can be applied in none but a modified sense. They are persons who imagine themselves to be thorough radicals, or thorough conservatives, but are thoroughly mistaken in their classification. They

are not radicals, because they pay little regard to ultimate, fundamental principles. They are not conservatives, because they are unwilling to subject their opinions to scriptural tests.

One way of testing the matter is to ascertain the views of the individual in reference to the Reformation. According to common apprehension, the conservative mind is satisfied, the radical dissatisfied with the results that have been achieved. The former will obstruct at every step all efforts that may be made to change the forms into which the Church has crystallised. The latter, with more or less veneration for the work of the Reformers, manifests a desire to see that work advanced to a higher perfection. In one sense he is a radical, because he is an advocate of progress; but in another sense he may be intensely conservative, because he would progress in the direction of the Scriptures.

Of such elements is composed every body of presbyters in our denomination. We have long been accustomed to classify them. There are distinctly three of these classes into which all must naturally fall. There are, first, the destructive radicals, always an erratic few in our Southern Presbyterian Church. One other class is made up of those who adhere to precedent and usage with constitutional tenacity, in obedience to their personal temperaments, which are more influential upon their conduct than reason itself. The third class consists of those who recognise the Reformation as an effort to conform the Church to the Scriptures, undertaken by holy but fallible men, and never fully completed. They desire to see unceasing progress made towards that ultimate perfection which the Head of the Church has promised to his people.

These three classes are found in every Protestant denomination. In the Church of England the lines are conspicuous and distinct. The Broad Church party are destructive radicals. The High Church are the non-progressive conservatives. The Evangelicals are the progressive conservatives of that communion. The Ritualists are simply Romanists under a thin disguise, and may be fairly counted out. The Methodist body also contains many destructive radicals who advocate any change that expediency may suggest. Another large element in the denomination consists of the Wes-

leyan conservatives, who insist upon adhering to the opinions of the great founder. Others are, no doubt, to be found who would class themselves with our progressive conservatives, and gladly see their Church conformed to a scriptural model. In the Baptist communions parties are not well defined, but the same elements are present. The body is not homogeneous, and defies accurate classification. But a destructive radicalism now and then manifests itself in local churches. Disregard of tradition renders a non-progressive conservative party impossible. But, still, on one or two points represented as essential, our Baptist friends are generally as tenacious of a creed as any of their neighbors. And yet we have no reason to doubt that many of their number sincerely aim to conform to the precise requirements of the Scriptures, erring only in their interpretation. The result of this tendency is an ever increasing disposition to break over the close-communication wall that divides them from their fellow Christians.

Recurring to our own fold, we find a few restless spirits panting for change in method and creed, not on the ground of conviction, but of expediency. It is obviously impossible for them to become a party in the Church, first, because the number is very small, and, secondly, because they are not agreed in reference to the changes they wish to see introduced. They are alike only in their spirit of dissatisfaction. They want to see changes of form and usage which will adapt our system to the varying tastes of society, and tend to increase the popularity of the Church. They want to see changes of creed which will withdraw certain features of the Confession which challenge the dissent of other denominations. They would abandon, here and there, the distinctive features of the system, and make the Church sufficiently elastic to entice the religious masses into its fold.

There is no religious body in which fewer such troublesome elements are to be found than in our own connexion.

So patent is this fact, that it has become almost a proverb, that a Southern Presbyterian is unconquerably conservative. This spirit shows itself not only in ecclesiastical affairs, but in questions of a political and social nature. As a body, we are actually one in all such matters. Scarcely a minister in our bounds would

vote for the nominee of a certain party, or introduce an innovation in social ethics. And yet no clerical force in the world more scrupulously abstains from all political and social complications. Before the late Presidential election, a canvass of the Congregational ministers of Chicago was taken at a meeting of their club, showing an overwhelming majority for Blaine. Such a thing among our ministers at the South would have been esteemed a gross impropriety. Ministers of all denominations waited on Mr. Blaine in a body in New York. No such ceremony could have taken place among ministers of any sort amongst us, and least of all on the part of those connected with the Southern Presbyterian Church.

During the late civil war, the same difference was manifested. Mr. Beecher, Bishop McIlvaine, and, we believe, also one of the Romish bishops, were sent to Europe in behalf the Union cause. There was no such mission on the part of the South.

It is notorious that ministers rarely ever take part in political meetings in our latitude, no matter how deeply they may be interested. In the other sections nothing is more common, and even the pulpit is sometimes prostituted to party purposes. This self-control, this systematic abstinence from all effort to exercise clerical influence in politics, is largely due to the decided stand taken by the Southern General Assembly on the relations of Church and State. No ecclesiastical body has so emphatically repudiated all connexion between them. The Romish Church everywhere, either openly or secretly, seeks to direct the political influence of its votaries. Consistency requires it at her hands. All Protestant denominations in the Northern States are liable to become involved in this deplorable policy in times of popular excitement. This Church alone has inscribed upon its banner a total severance of the spiritual and temporal kingdoms.

But within our own bounds, and in the midst of our cherished conservatism, there are different phases of the same principle. Our conservatism is either progressive or reactionary, according to the temperament or the training of the individual mind. Our doctrine and polity are objects of great veneration, but this respect is manifested by different persons in different ways. Some

revere them as monuments of the wisdom of the Reformers, others as the symbols of a faith singularly scriptural and comparatively free from human error.

The contents of our system are evidently of two kinds: one derived from scriptural authority, literal or implied; the other the product of human reason in view of expediency. To these might be added a number of practices dictated by neither, but resulting simply from custom or habit. Now, a man may be conservative in respect to all these elements, but, if a sincere Christian, he will respect them in due proportion. But the difficulty of preserving the proportion in our mental operations is great. Few attain such an elevation of thought that they are willing to sacrifice usage to reason or expediency to revelation. Differences of opinion and errors of judgment are almost always due to such a bias on the one hand, or to an extravagant zeal to copy the Scriptures in everything on the other. Some undoubtedly fall into this extreme. They fail to observe that the Bible is a guide so far as its truths are adapted to all nations, but no guide at all in matters peculiar to the Jews. It is a sound and safe rule to follow scriptural examples so far as they are universal in their application, but never to insist upon them if they were local or temporary.

It is not uncommon in our day to hear the Bible and the creed contrasted, and the Scriptures represented as opposed to all dogmatic formulas. There are probably a few in our connexion who would be glad to see our Confession considerably modified, and perhaps abbreviated, under the pretext of rendering it more clearly conformed to the testimony of revelation. The number is very small, and the bare thought of such a change is generally repudiated. It is true that it has been made possible to exclude one expression from the Confession, but under such restrictions as to preserve the document from all inconsiderate alteration. Any such change must be almost unanimous. So far as our *doctrinal* formulas are concerned, there is little danger of sacrificing dogma out of zeal for the Scriptures. Nor can it be said that our Church is likely to abandon any of its established principles in the matter of government. We derive all their essential

features from very plain Scriptures, and we are tenacious of them as principles, all the more firmly because in our day they are generally admitted by the best minds in other denominations. Diocesan episcopacy and absolute independency will hardly ever recover from fatal blows they have recently received. The principle of representative self-government is fast becoming the recognised policy of all Protestant Churches. Even the Papal Church in this country affects a certain degree of respect for the body of the people.

That form of radicalism which would substitute reason for revelation, has no party in our section of the Church. On that subject we are all professed conservatives, so unanimously that if there is dissent, it is compelled to assume a very dense mask.

But, as has already been intimated, there are two classes of conservatives in our midst. One class is founded in constitutional reasons, not only because they cling with a stalwart grip to the Constitution of the Church, but because they are disposed to do so by the constitution of their minds and temperaments. These brethren may be relied upon to vote *no* upon every proposition involving change. This wholesome rule is often applied with masterly skill in killing off dangerous innovations that would mar the scriptural consistency of our system. At such times the services of the constitutional conservative are invaluable in defending the ark of God. There are occasions, however, when this spirit becomes inconvenient and painfully obstructive. Many parts of our system are founded upon mere usage, growing out of some past expediency. Some of these will long be tolerated, however distasteful to those who long for greater simplicity, out of deference to the generations that adopted them. Others may be objected to as out of harmony with the fundamental scriptural principles upon which our system reposes. For example, it is a comparatively harmless usage that provides for a public declaration of *vacancy*, by a minister appointed for the purpose, from the pulpit of the vacant church. It involves some unnecessary travel and trouble, but violates no principle, and will doubtless continue to be one of our formalistic peculiarities in generations to come. In the same spirit we will probably hold

on to certain formal phrases which no stated clerk would omit for any consideration, but which were parts of a foreign dialect long since disused in ordinary speech.

On the other hand, the question sometimes arises whether some of the specific provisions of our Book of Order are not inconsistent with the scriptural principles on which it is based. In reference to such inquiries, our brethren in the various Synods and Assemblies are always divided. One class contends for a continuance of the work of amendment, that our system may be made more and more consistent with itself, and more closely conformed to the models found in the New Testament. They think it but right that a Church which constantly challenges other sects to meet its issues on scriptural grounds, shall aim constantly at a progressive approach to that common standard.

The other class are the constitutional conservatives, whose rallying cry is, "*Let well enough alone.*" This cry would be very creditable to the venerable gentlemen who adopt it, if it were directed towards a true conservatism. Employed in opposition to all innovation of doctrine or principle, it is our palladium and our shield. It is only when it is resorted to from a superstitious regard to antiquated error, or in defence of some absurd usage, that it becomes irrational and indefensible.

With profound respect for their character and their motives, we cannot avoid a little impatience towards some of these obstructionists, not because they resist certain propositions, but on account of the manner of that resistance. Fair argument with tongue or pen is one thing, and a noble thing at that, when honestly urged on either side of an open question. But finesse, special pleading, sophistry, and dodging, are less becoming in ecclesiastical discussion than in any other sphere. Such exhibitions are sometimes noticeable in our controversies, and make a very unfavorable impression. Still more reprehensible is the adroit use of parliamentary tactics to kill off or postpone a troublesome issue. Such devices are not unknown in our higher courts. To pack a jury is disgraceful, but it is not considered quite so bad to pack a committee. Tricks of this kind are indeed rare in ecclesiastical assemblies, but they are possible, and in some cases have been seriously suspected.

There is, however, an error into which these negative gentlemen are liable to fall which is not so offensive, and yet produces untold confusion. We refer to the habit of answering the weak rather than the strong points presented by the affirmative. This may be smart and sharp practice at the bar, but really it is out of place in the Church. In the wrangles of lawyers before juries it may be well enough to leave the truth to be vindicated by the opposite party. But in a discussion, oral or written, concerning a scriptural truth, it seems to us improper to forget that truth is the very thing sought for by all parties. It may gratify our personal vanity to expose the fallacies of an opponent, but our chief aim must be to discover whether his strongest reasoning is defective.

Several amendments to the Book of Order have been proposed, and all we have to say in reference to them is this: That it is our duty as presbyters to inquire whether they are needed to conform our Constitution more closely to the scriptural standard. If we honestly believe that the provisions, as they stand, are in complete harmony with scriptural authority and precedents, a true conservatism should induce us to resist amendment with all our influence. If, on the other hand, we candidly conceive that the proposed amendment would render the Constitution more consistent in its details with the fundamental principles derived from the New Testament, the same true conservatism will incline us to adopt it.

We refer more particularly to the demand made in many quarters for a change to be made in the standard of education for the ministry, and to the proposed amendment of the rule concerning moderators. We will not argue these points at length, but simply state them.

The first of these propositions may suggest an actual depression of the standard, or its preservation at its present level, with a modification of the specific requirements now made generally obligatory. In either case the matter to be determined is what the scriptural standard was, excluding the supernatural element, and what amount and kind of culture is necessary now to compensate the Church for its loss. In this inquiry it should be

remembered that the supernatural element was not always present, but sometimes in abeyance, and that the case of Timothy, whom the Apostle Paul prepared for his work, affords almost the only information bearing upon the question. If a fair interpretation of what Paul wrote to Timothy on the subject indicates to any thoughtful reader that he deemed the specific culture required in our present Book necessary in a candidate for the ministry in the absence of miraculous guidance, his conscience will promptly bid him reject the proposed change. But if these scriptures make no such impression, it will be necessary to inquire further whether any specific culture is necessary to make up for the loss of supernatural guidance. Estimating the divine influence promised the first apostles and evangelists at its highest value, we may well question whether any acquired culture can ever compensate for its withdrawal. It is therefore a matter of expediency, upon which the Scriptures throw no light, except in the general principle, that "the man of God should be thoroughly furnished unto all good works." But this furniture is, in express terms, connected with the Scriptures (see 2 Tim. iii. 16). It follows necessarily that the culture contemplated by St. Paul was a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, and our only remaining inquiry must relate to the kind of mental training which this implies.

It is plain that the apostle regarded a careful mental training as important for those ministers upon whom the guidance of the Church would devolve when inspiration should be withdrawn; and it is equally obvious that this training was to be such as to qualify the candidate to expound the word of God. The question is therefore raised in this connexion, whether this implied both general information and a specific acquaintance with other than the vernacular language. The quotations of our Lord and his apostles from the Old Testament are so generally from the Septuagint, that it seems impossible for a calm reader to make any other inference than this, that the vernacular of each evangelist was to be the medium of his scriptural learning. Timothy would be "thoroughly furnished" for his work, if he should thoroughly master the Scriptures in his native tongue. It is common, how-

ever, for those who defend our present requirements, to argue that a knowledge of Latin and Hebrew is indispensable, and that without this knowledge the minister of the word could not know that he was preaching the truth of God. There is, however, an obvious fallacy in this, for he is compelled, in the very act of preaching, to present the truth in vernacular terms to the audience. If this medium is unreliable, how is it possible for the people to know that they are listening to the word of the Lord? If, therefore, the knowledge of Latin and Greek, as a prerequisite to the ministry of the word, is to be insisted upon, the argument will need a different support, and its advocates will be compelled to base its claims upon general expediency.

There can be no doubt that in our day all knowledge, including linguistic acquisitions, is desirable in a minister of the gospel. Nearly all Christian denominations admit it. But the question is a fair one, whether any qualifications, except aptness to teach and a satisfactory acquaintance with the very book which is to be expounded, can be properly made an essential prerequisite. We say it is a fair question, because the Scriptures do not settle it. We say it with a firm conviction that an education embracing the languages in which the best literature is imbedded is the highest attainable among men, and that ministers who have enjoyed these advantages will generally prove the most efficient preachers. But, at the same time, it may be fairly urged that *actual preaching* is the best test of efficiency, and that many excellent men are liable to be diverted from our ministry by our specific requirements. We are not disposed to advocate a reduction of the standard of efficiency, but are, nevertheless, inclined to believe that if we would consistently "pray the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth laborers into his harvest," we must be careful to remove every obstacle not clearly warranted by the word of God. This we regard as a true conservatism, to endeavor to replenish the ranks of the ministry with good preachers, without insisting upon tests for which no scriptural reason can be produced.

As matters now stand, we have a Constitution adapted in some of its provisions to none but American communities. We cannot

propagate our principles among foreigners without abandoning these restrictive provisions, the importance of which is so much urged at home. No one dreams of applying our educational rules to candidates in the foreign field. It is conservative to desire that our system shall be such that our missionaries may everywhere recommend it to native churches without serious modification.

Such, also, is our view of the moderator question now pending before the Presbyteries. It involves a principle deeply imbedded in our system, which is often violated in our practice. This principle the fathers of the Presbyterian Church have for centuries recognised as a scriptural one, that the authority of all presbyters in church courts is equal in weight and extent. "The parity of the ministry" is a modern expression in comparison, which emerged during the controversy with High Church Episcopalians. There are no ruling elders in that denomination, and the only question referred, of course, to the parity or imparity of the ministry. But from the beginning of the Reformed Churches the principle referred to was generally adopted, and has been handed down to us as one clearly revealed in the word of God. It is expressed distinctly in our successive Books of Order, and explicitly affirmed in that which our Church has last adopted with so much deliberation.

Presbyterians have thus consistently held, from generation to generation, as a corner-stone of their scriptural polity, that all presbyters possess an equal authority in the government of the Church. The proof, if needed, can be promptly furnished from the following facts. It has always been required that every solemn act of authority should be the joint act of a numerical majority of the members of a court. In the Session, almost always, and frequently in all the other courts, such acts have been carried by a preponderance of ruling elders. Every organisation or dissolution of a church, every licensure, ordination, installation, and deposition of ministers, every decision of cases in complaint or appeal, every discovery and condemnation of heresy and error, has been as much the work of ruling elders as of ministers; and all are aware that without their consent there can, in ordi-

nary cases, be no admission to sealing ordinances. It is the *Session* that decides that faith and repentance are in exercise. It is the *Presbytery* that ordains to the work of the ministry. It is, therefore, no longer an open question whether the authority of the presbyters in a court is equal in all its members.

It has occurred to many in our Church that our Book of Order and our inherited usages are, in certain details, inconsistent with this great principle. It is represented as "irregular" that a ruling elder shall be chosen to preside over one of our higher courts. A certain degree of disability has thus become attached to this class of members in their own eyes and those of others, which has grown at last into a vast gulf in our Church between the members of the same body.

In our Books of Order the authority of a moderator has been clearly stated to be *delegated* from the whole body. He exercises power which originally belongs to all those who elect him. It can be none other than that possessed in common by the presbyters. A ruling elder, however well qualified for the chief duty of the office, is nevertheless ineligible to it, in the opinion of many, in consequence of his incapacity to preach and pronounce a benediction. In theory, any one in the clerical class is eligible, but no one in the ruling elder class. This restriction has impressed many persons as a practical denial of the principle referred to. They argue that the authority cannot be equal if the eligibility is unequal. This does not necessarily follow. The authority to ordain does not imply a right to ordination. The restriction does not, therefore, contradict the principle.

It is obvious that this restriction is altogether inferential. If it is founded either in Scripture or expediency, it ought to be explicitly recognised in the Constitution. If we contend for it, we should contend for its being made a distinct feature of the organic law.

A true conservatism will take no such position, unless it is prepared to sustain it by scriptural authority or on the ground of expediency. That the New Testament furnishes any precedent for this restriction will hardly be maintained. The whole support of it, as a positive provision, must be constructed by logical

processes. But this must prove a difficult task without some important general principle as a guide. For such a principle we inquire in vain, unless it is to be found in an original difference of rank. There is no principle that requires a sermon at the beginning of a session by any particular preacher. There is no principle that forbids a moderator to employ a substitute at any stage of proceedings that seems to demand it. Is there a dignity of rank conveyed in ordination that renders the minister peculiarly fit to receive this delegated authority? This is what the restriction affirms, if it affirms anything worthy of our consideration. There is a vague but profound impression in some minds that ordination to the ministry confers a certain sanctity on the person that elevates him far above his fellow presbyters. This difference of spiritual rank forbids the elevation of an inferior to a position where he may command his superior. It is a sentiment which has become almost a superstition, and when asked for its reasons in the word of God, is absolutely dumb. But independently of this sentiment, it is extensively held among Presbyterians that the office of moderator involves a duty and a dignity peculiarly appropriate to ministers of the word. On this point conservatives may well divide, but for different reasons from those referred to. It is a fair question of expediency whether the office should be filled by election at all, or for a term of years, or in recognition of certain high qualifications possessed by very few. It is competent for the Church, in its discretion, to provide for the office in any way whatever, provided that it does not directly or indirectly inculcate upon its members a pernicious error.

Such an error is our very objection to a tenacious adherence to the special provisions of our Book of Order. It draws a line of spiritual *rank* through all our courts, dividing the ministers from the elders like sheep from the goats, and pronounces a judgment of inferiority upon the latter. On the other hand, its general principle, as derived from the Scriptures, pronounces the two orders equal in the courts, and implies that this equality should be recognised. All discriminations, therefore, that tend to convey the impression of a difference of rank in the courts, should be carefully removed. According to our views of joint authority,

each member, of whatever rank outside, is an equal sharer of all the privileges and powers belonging to the body. This does not confer a title to any appointment, but it absolutely forbids the ineligibility of any member. It is true conservatism to occupy this moderate ground, and advocate the removal of such provisions as now so seriously affect the symmetry of our system.

The opposition to the slight change proposed cannot find any excuse in the Scriptures. They furnish no evidence of a difference of ordination between the two classes. The utmost that can be said is that the forensic services of ministers are more directly connected with worship, and impart greater dignity to the performer. It may be a dictate of discretion that, as a general rule, the moderator should be selected from this class; but it is due to the scriptural equality of the two classes, in point of authority, that the ruling elder should no longer, as such, be positively *ineligible* to that office. And this, we believe, a true conservatism demands. It conserves the scriptural parity of the members of the court, and maintains it as the corner-stone of our system, without disturbing the usage that assigns priority to the ministry.

At the same time, it is a wholesome progress in reformation to remove another prolific cause of inefficiency in our Church. The moderatorship is an office of a court in which all members are equal. A division of them into two classes, the eligible and the ineligible, impresses the mind with a false notion of inferiority very unfavorable to Christian activity. By its removal we approach the scriptural principle more closely, that all the members of a court are spiritual officers, coequal presbyters or bishops, the overseers appointed by the Holy Ghost to feed the spiritual flock and govern the Church of God.

We do not here advocate such a change, since we regard it as an open question, but we insist that some change is imperative which shall remove the impress of inferiority. A permanent moderatorship, limited to men of prescribed qualifications, would be in the line of a true conservatism, and at the same time divide our courts in a way less invidious and opprobrious than the present. But the Church will scarcely be persuaded to a backward step, and is far more likely to adopt the ultimatum now before it.

The result will be a customary election of an experienced minister to the moderator's chair, and an occasional elevation to the same post of a ruling elder eminently qualified for it.

JAMES A. WADDELL.

ARTICLE II.

A SHORT ESSAY TOWARD THE IMPROVEMENT OF
PSALMODY.¹

To speak the glories of God in a religious song, or to breathe out the joys of our own spirits to God with the melody of our voice, is an exalted part of divine worship. But so many are the imperfections in the practice of this duty, that the greatest part of Christians find but little edification or comfort in it. There are some churches that utterly disallow singing; and I am persuaded that the poor performance of it in the best societies, with the mistaken rules to which it is confined, is one great reason of their entire neglect; for we are left at a loss, say they, what is the matter and manner of this duty; and therefore they utterly refuse. Whereas if this glorious piece of worship were but seen in its original beauty, and one that believes not this ordinance, or is unlearned in this part of Christianity, should come into such an assembly, "he would be convinced of all, he would be judged of all, he would fall down on his face and report that God was in the midst of it of a truth" (1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25).

¹NOTE.—The full title of this essay, written some two hundred years ago by the celebrated Dr. Isaac Watts, is: "*A short essay toward the improvement of psalmody: or an enquiry how the psalms of David ought to be translated into Christian songs, and how lawful and necessary it is to compose other hymns according to the clearer revelations of the gospel, for the use of the Christian Church.*" Dr. Watts's works not being accessible to our readers generally, and the question he discusses being still a live one, we have thought it advisable to transfer this essay to our pages.—Eds. S. P. REVIEW.

In order to trace out the matter or subject of religious singing, let us collect into one view the chief texts of the New Testament where this worship is mentioned, and afterwards see what arguments may be deduced from thence to prove that it is proper to use spiritual songs of human composure, as well as the psalms of David, or the words of other songs recorded in Scripture.

The most considerable texts are these :

Matt. xxvi. 30, and Mark xiv. 26, relate that our blessed Lord and his disciples sung an hymn. Acts xvi. 25 : "Paul and Silas prayed and sung praises unto God." 1 Cor. xiv. 15 : "I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also." Ver. 26 : "Every one of you hath a psalm." Eph. v. 19, 20 : "Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs ; singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord, giving thanks always for all things to God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." Col. iii. 16, 17 : "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, in all wisdom teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs ; singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord : And whatsoever ye do in word or in deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him." James v. 13 : "Is any among you afflicted, let him pray : Is any merry, let him sing psalms." Rev. v. 9 : "And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book and to open the seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood." Rev. xiv. 3 : "And they sung as it were a new song before the throne." Rev. xv. 3 : "And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works," etc. To all these I might add Acts iv. 24, etc., where it is supposed the disciples met together and sung ; for they lift up their voice to God with one accord, and said : "Lord ! thou art our God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is : Who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing ? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered

together against the Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth, against thy holy child Jesus whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done," etc.

If we turn over the New Testament, and search all the songs that are there written, we shall find the matter or subject of them as various as the occasions upon which they were sung or spoken. Such are the song of the Virgin Mary (Luke i. 46, etc.); the song of Zecharias (ver. 67); the song of the angels (Luke ii. 13); and of Simeon (ver. 29). Besides many others in the Book of Revelation. The three chief words used to express the matter of singing are *ψαλμοί, ὕμνοι, καὶ ᾠδαί*: psalms, hymns, and songs, as the three verbs from which these are derived are generally used to express the act of singing, *ψάλλω, ὑμνέω, καὶ ἀδω*. Now, if it were lawful after so many learned contentions about these words, I would give my sense of them thus:

1. I think no man hath better explained the original meaning of these words than Zanchy. A psalm, *ψαλμός*, is such a song as usually is sung with other instruments besides the tongue. Hymns, *ὕμνοι*, such as are made only to express the praises and set out the excellences of God. Songs, *ᾠδαί*, such as contain not only praises, but exhortations, prophecies, thanksgivings; and these only sung with the voice.

2. The Scripture doth not always confine itself to the original meaning of all these words; for *ψαλμός*, a psalm, and the word *ψάλλω*, are used, 1 Cor. xiv., and in other places of the New Testament, where we can never suppose the primitive church in those days had instruments of music. And the word *ᾠδή* a song, is used several times in the Book of Revelation, where harps are joined with voices in the emblematical prophecy.

3. The sense, therefore, of these words in the New Testament seems to be thus distinguished:

A psalm is a general name for anything that is sung in divine worship, whatsoever be the particular theme or matter; and the verb *ψάλλω* is designed to express the melody itself rather than to distinguish the matter of the song, or manner whereby the mel-

ody or music is performed; and therefore in Eph. v. 19, our translators have well rendered ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες, "singing and making melody"; and it should be thus rendered (James v. 13): "Is any merry, let him make melody." I confess in the New Testament the noun ψαλμός refers generally to the Book of Psalms, and without doubt there are many of the psalms of David and Asaph, and other songs among the books of the Old Testament, which may be prudently chosen and sung by Christians, and may be well accommodated to the lips and hearts of the Church under the gospel. Yet this word is once used in another sense, as I shall show afterwards.

An hymn, whether implied in the verb ὑμνέω or expressed in the noun ὕμνος, doth always retain its original signification, and intend a song whose matter or design is praise. Nor is there anything in the nature or use of the word either in Scripture or other authors that determines it to signify an immediate inspiration or human composure.

A song, ᾠδή, denotes any theme or subject composed into a form fit for singing, and seems to intend somewhat suited to the gospel state, rather than any Jewish psalms or songs in all the five verses in the New Testament where it is used.

Eph. v. 19 and Col. iii. 16: It is joined with the word *spiritual*; and that seems to be used by the apostle in all his epistles as a very distinguishing word between the law and the gospel, the Jewish and the Christian worship. The Jews had carnal ordinances, and carnal commandments, and their state and dispensation is often called flesh, but the Church under the gospel is "a spiritual house, blessed with spiritual blessings, endowed with spiritual gifts, to worship God in spirit and in truth, to offer spiritual sacrifices, and to sing spiritual songs."

Col. iii. 16 confirms this sense, "for the word of Christ must dwell richly in us in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." Now, though the books of the Old Testament may in some sense be called "the word of Christ," because the same Spirit which was afterwards given to Christ the Mediator did inspire them; yet this seems to have a peculiar reference to the doctrine and discoveries of Christ under the gospel, which might be composed

into spiritual songs for the greater ease of memory in learning, teaching, and admonishing one another.

Rev. v. 9 and xiv. 3: There is mention of a new song, and that is pure evangelical language, suited to the New Testament, the new covenant, the new and living way of access to God, and to the new commandment of him who sits upon the throne, "and behold, he makes all things new." The words of this song are, "Worthy is the Lamb, for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood," etc., and none could learn it but those who follow the Lamb, who were "redeemed from among men," etc. And it must be noted here that this book of the Revelation describes the worship of the gospel Church on earth, as is agreed by all interpreters, though it borrows some of its emblems from the things of heaven and some from the Jewish state. I might here remark, also, that when a new song is mentioned in the Old Testament, it refers to the times of the Messiah, and is prophetic of the kingdom of Christ, or at least it is a song indited upon a new occasion, public or personal, and the words of it are accommodated to some new tokens of divine mercy.

Rev. xv. 3: "They sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb;" that is, a song for temporal and for spiritual deliverances; or, a song for all ancient or all later salvations of the Church. As Moses was a redeemer from the house of bondage, and a teacher of divine worship with harps and ceremonies, so the Lamb is a Redeemer from Babylon and spiritual slavery, and he is the great Prophet to teach his Church the spiritual worship of the gospel. The Church, now under the salvations and instructions of the Lamb, sings with the voice to the glory of the vengeance and the grace of God, as Israel under the conduct of Moses sung with harps; for we must observe that these visions of the Apostle John often represent divine things in a gospel church, in imitation of the ranks and orders of the Jewish camp and tribes, and by the rites and figures used in the time of Moses; and it would be as unreasonable to prove from this text that we must sing the very words of the xvth of Exodus in a Christian church as to prove from this book of the Revelation that we must use harps and altars, censers, fire, and

incense. But it is plain that the xvth of Exodus cannot be here intended, because the words of the song are mentioned just after, namely, "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints." Yet, after all, if it could be proved that the very song which Moses sung is here designed, still it must be confessed that the song of the Lamb is also to be sung; and if the following words in this text are not to be esteemed the song of Moses, then neither are they to be esteemed the song of the Lamb; because there is not any express mention of the Lamb, or his death, or resurrection, or redemption: nor is there any other song in Scripture that bears that title; and consequently it must signify a song composed to the praise of God for our deliverance by the Lamb, in imitation of the joy composed for deliverance by the hand of Moses. And thus at least we are to suit part of our psalmody to the gospel state, as well as borrow part from the Old Testament, which is the chief point I designed to prove.

The next inquiry then proceeds thus: How must the psalms of David, and other songs borrowed from Scripture, be translated in order to be sung in Christian worship? Surely it will be granted that to prepare them for psalmody under the gospel requires another sort of management in the translation than to prepare them merely for reading as the word of God in our language, and that upon these two accounts:

First. If it be the duty of the churches to sing psalms, they must necessarily be turned into such a sort of verse and metre as will best fit them for the whole church to join in the worship. Now, this will be very different from a translation of the original language word for word; for the lines must be confined to a certain number of syllables, and the stanza or verse to a certain number of lines, that so the tune being short, the people may be acquainted with it, and be ready to sing without much difficulty; whereas if the words were merely translated out of the Hebrew as they are for reading, every psalm must be set through to music, and every syllable in it must have a particular musical note belonging to itself, as in anthems that are sung in cathedrals. But this would be so exceeding difficult to practise, that

it would utterly exclude the greatest part of every congregation from a capacity of obeying God's command to sing. Now, in reducing a Hebrew or a Greek song to a form tolerably fit to be sung by an English congregation, here and there a word of the original must be omitted, now and then a word or two super-added, and frequently a sentence or an expression a little altered and changed into another that is something akin to it. And yet greater alterations must the psalms suffer if we will have anything to do with rhyme; those that have labored with utmost toil to keep very close to the Hebrew have found it impossible; and when they have attained it most, have made but very poor music for a Christian church. For it will often happen that one of the most affectionate and most spiritual words in the prose will not submit to its due place in the metre, or does not end with a proper sound, and then it must be secluded and another of less proper sense be put in the room of it. Hereby some of the chief beauties and excellences of David's poetry will be omitted and lost, which, if not revived again, or recompensed by some lively or pathetic expression in the English, will necessarily debase the divine song into dulness and contempt. And hereby also it becomes so far different from the inspired words in the original languages that it is very hard for any man to say that the version of Hopkins and Sternhold, the New England or the Scotch psalms, are in a strict sense the word of God. Those persons, therefore, that will allow nothing to be sung but the words of inspiration or Scripture ought to learn the Hebrew music, and sing in the Jewish language; or at least I can find no congregation with which they can heartily join according to their own principles but the congregation of choristers in cathedral churches, who are the only Levites "that sing praise unto the Lord with the words of David and Asaph the seer" (2 Chron. xxix. 30).

Secondly. Another reason why the psalms ought not to be translated for singing just in the same manner as they are for reading is this, that the design of these two duties is very different. By reading, we learn what God speaks to us in his word; but when we sing, especially unto God, our chief design is, or

should be, to speak our own hearts and our words to God. By reading, we are instructed what have been the dealings of God with men in all ages, and how their hearts have been exercised in their wanderings from God, and temptations, or in their returns and breathings towards God again; but songs are generally expressions of our own experiences, or of his glories; we acquaint him what sense we have of his greatness and goodness, and that chiefly in those instances which have some relation to us. We breathe out our souls toward him, and make our addresses of praise and acknowledgment to him. Though I will not assert it unlawful to sing to God the words of other men which we have no concern in, and which are very contrary to our circumstances and the frame of our spirits, yet it must be confessed abundantly more proper, when we address God in a song, to use such words as we can for the most part assume as our own. I own that it is not always necessary our songs should be direct addresses to God; some of them may be mere meditations of the history of divine providences, or the experiences of former saints; but even then, if those providences or experiences cannot be assumed by us as parallel to our own, nor spoken in our own names, yet still there ought to be some turns of expression that may make it look at least like our own present meditation, and that may represent it as a history which we ourselves are at that time recollecting. I know not one instance in Scripture of any later saint singing any part of a composure of former ages that is not proper for his own time without some expressions that tend to accommodate or apply it. But there are a multitude of examples amongst all the scriptural songs that introduce the affairs of preceding ages in the method I have described. Ps. xlv. 1, etc.: When David is recounting the wonders of God in planting the children of Israel in the land of Canaan, he begins his song thus, "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what works thou didst in their days, in times of old, how thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them, how thou didst afflict the people, and cast them out." Ps. lxxviii. 2, etc.: "I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter dark sayings of old which we have

heard and known, and our fathers have told us; we will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord." So he relates the converse and covenant of God with Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, as a narration of former providences and experiences (Ps. cv. 8, 9, 10, etc.). So in the Virgin Mary's song, and the song of Zechariah. And I know not anything can be objected here but that a prophet perhaps in some instances may assume the words of Christ or the saints in following ages; but it should be observed that this is almost always in such respects wherein persons or circumstances present were typical of what is future, and so their cases become parallel.

By these considerations, we are easily led into the true method of translating ancient songs into Christian worship. Psalms that are purely doctrinal, or merely historical, are subjects for our meditation, and may be translated for our present use with no variation, if it were possible; and in general all those songs of Scripture which the saints of following ages may assume for their own. Such are the ist, the viiith, the xixth, and many others. Some psalms may be applied to our use by the alteration of a pronoun, putting *they* in the place of *we*, and changing some expressions which are not suited to our case into a narration or rehearsal of God's dealings with others. There are other divine songs which cannot properly be accommodated to our use, and much less be assumed as our own without very great alterations, name'y, such as are filled with some very particular troubles or enemies of a person, some places of journeying or residence, some uncommon circumstances of a society, to which there is scarce anything parallel in our day or case. Such are many of the songs of David, whose persecutions and deliverances were very extraordinary. Again, such as express the worship paid unto God by carnal ordinances and utensils of the tabernacle and temple. Now, if these be converted into Christian songs in our nation, I think the names of Ammon and Moab may be as properly changed into the names of the chief enemies of the gospel so far as may be without public offence. Judah and Israel may be called England and Scotland, and the land of Canaan may

be translated into Great Britain. The cloudy and typical expressions of the legal dispensation should be turned into evangelical language, according to the explications of the New Testament. And when a Christian psalmist, among the characters of a saint (Ps. xv. 5), meets with the man that "puts not out his money to usury," he ought to exchange him for one that is no oppressor or extortioner, since usury is not utterly forbidden to Christians, as it was by the Jewish law; and wheresoever he finds the person or offices of our Lord Jesus Christ in prophecy, they ought rather to be translated in a way of history, and those evangelical truths should be stripped of their veil of darkness, and dressed in such expressions that Christ may appear in them to all that sing. When he comes to Ps. xl. 6, and reads these words, "Mine ears hast thou opened," he should learn from the apostle to say, "A body hast thou prepared me" (Heb. x. 5). Instead of "binding the sacrifice with cords to the horns of the altar" (Ps. cxviii. 27), we should "offer up spiritual sacrifices, that is, the prayer and praise of the heart and tongue, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. ii. 5). Where there are any dark expressions, and difficult to be understood in the Hebrew songs, they should be left out in our psalmody, or at least made very plain by a paraphrase. Where there are sentences, or whole psalms, that can very difficultly be accommodated to our times, they may be utterly omitted. Such is Ps. cl., part of the xxxviii., xlv., xlviii., lx., lxviii., lxxxii., cviii., and some others, as well as a great part of the Song of Solomon.

Perhaps it will be objected here that the Book of Psalms would hereby be rendered very imperfect, and some weak persons might imagine this attempt to fall under the censure of Rev. xxii. 18, 19—that is, "of taking away from, or adding to, the words of the book of God." But it is not difficult to reply, that though the whole Book of Psalms was given to be read by us as God's word for our use and instruction, yet it will never follow from thence that the whole was written as a psalter for the Christian church to use in singing. For if this were the design of it, then every psalm and every line of it might be at one time or another proper to be sung by Christians. But there are many hundred

verses in that book which a Christian cannot properly assume in singing without a considerable alteration of the words, or at least without putting a very different meaning upon them from what David had when he wrote them; and therefore there is no necessity of translating always entire psalms, nor of preparing the whole book for English psalmody. I might here add, also, Dr. Patrick's apology in his century of psalms first published, that he took but the same liberty which is allowed to every parish clerk to choose what psalm and what verses of it he would propose to the people to sing.

Give me leave here to mention several passages which were hardly made for Christian lips to assume without some alteration: Ps. lxxviii. 13, 14, 15, 16: "Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold. When the Almighty scattered kings in it, it was white as snow in Salmon. The hill of God is as the hill of Bashan, etc. Why leap ye, ye hills, etc. (verse 25). The singers went before, the players on instruments followed after, amongst them were the damsels playing with timbrels: Bless ye God in the congregation, even the Lord from the fountain of Israel: There is little Benjamin with their ruler, the princes of Judah and their council, the princes of Zebulun, and the princes of Naphtali. Because of thy temple at Jerusalem kings shall bring presents unto thee. Rebuke the company of spearmen, the multitude of bulls, with the calves of the people, till every one submit himself with pieces of silver." Ps. lxxi. 2, 3, etc.: "Take a psalm, and bring hither the timbrel, the pleasant harp with the psaltery, blow up the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed on our solemn feast-day," etc. Ps. lxxxiv. 3, 6: "The sparrow hath found an house; and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, etc. Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee, in whose heart are the ways of them, who passing through the valley of Baca make it a well, the rain also filleth the pools." Ps. cviii. 2, 7, 8, 9: "Awake psaltery and harp, I myself will awake early. God hath spoken in his holiness; I will rejoice, I will divide Shechem, and mete out the valley of

Succoth; Gilead is mine, Manasseth is mine, Ephraim also is the strength of mine head, Judah is my lawgiver, Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe, over Philistia will I triumph; who will bring me into the strong city, who will lead me into Edom?" Ps. lxxix. 8 and cix. are so full of cursings that they hardly become the tongue of a follower of the blessed Jesus, who, dying, prayed for his own enemies: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Ps. cxxxiv. is suited to the temple or tabernacle worship; the title is, A Song of Degrees—that is, as interpreters believe, to be sung as the kings of Israel went up by steps or degrees to the house of God. In the two first verses the king calls upon the Levites, "which by night stand in the house of the Lord, to lift up their hands in the sanctuary, and to bless the Lord"; the third verse is an antiphona or reply of the Levites to the king: "The Lord that made heaven and earth bless thee out of Zion." It would be endless to give an account of all the paragraphs of ancient songs, which can scarce ever be accommodated to gospel worship.

The patrons of another opinion will say we must sing the words of David, and apply them in our meditation to the things of the New Testament. But can we believe this to be the best method of worshipping God, to sing one thing and mean another? Besides that, the very literal sense of many of these expressions is exceeding deep and difficult, and not one in twenty of a religious assembly can possibly understand them at this distance from the Jewish days; therefore, to keep close to the language of David, we must break the commands of God by David, who requires that we "sing his praises with understanding" (Ps. xlvii. 7). And I am persuaded that St. Paul, if he lived in our age and nation, would no more advise us to sing unintelligible sentences in London than himself would sing in an unknown tongue at Corinth (1 Cor. xiv. 15, 19). After all, if the literal sense were known, yet the application of many verses of David to our state and circumstances was never designed, and is utterly impossible; and even where it is possible, yet it is so exceeding difficult, that very few persons in an assembly are capable of it; and when they attempt it, if their thoughts should be inquired

one by one, you would find very various, wretched, and contradictory meanings put upon the words of the Hebrew psalmist, and all for want of an evangelical translation of him. It is very obvious and common to observe that persons of seriousness and judgment, that consider what they sing, are often forced to break off in the midst, to omit whole lines and verses, even where the best of our present translations are used; and thus the tune, and the sense, and their devotion, is interrupted at once, because they dare not sing without understanding, and almost against their consciences. Whereas the more unthinking multitude go on singing in cheerful ignorance wheresoever the clerk guides them, across the river Jordan, through the land of Gebal, Ammon, and Amalek. He leads them into the strong city, he brings them into Edom; anon they follow him through the valley of Bacha, till they come up to Jerusalem; they wait upon him in the court of burnt offerings, and "bind their sacrifice with cords to the horns of the altar"; they enter so far into the temple, till they join their song in consort with the high-sounding cymbals, their thoughts are bedarkened with the smoke of incense, and covered with Jewish veils. Such expressions as these are the beauties and perfections of a Hebrew song; they paint everything to the life. Such language was suited by infinite wisdom to raise the affections of the saints of that day. But I fear they do but sink our devotion and hurt our worship.

I esteem the Book of Psalms the most valuable part of the Old Testament upon many accounts. I advise the reading and meditation of it more frequently than any single book of Scripture; and what I advise I practise. Nothing is more proper to furnish our souls with devout thoughts, and lead us into a world of spiritual experiences. The expressions of it that are not Jewish or peculiar, give us constant assistance in prayer and in praise. But if we would prepare David's psalms to be sung by Christian lips, we should observe these two plain rules:

First, they ought to be translated in such a manner as we have reason to believe David would have composed them if he had lived in our day. And, therefore, his poems are given as a pattern to be imitated in our composures, rather than as the precise

and invariable matter of our psalmody. It is one of the excellences of Scripture songs that they are exactly suited to the very purpose and design for which they were written, and that both in the matter and in the style and in all their ornaments. This gives life and strength to the expression, it presents objects to the ears and to the eyes, and touches the heart in the most affecting manner. David's language is adapted to his own devotion, and to the worship of the Jewish Church; he mentions the very places of his journeys, or retirements of his sorrows, or his successes; he names the nations that were enemies of the Church, or that shall be its friends; and though for the most part he leaves the single persons of his time nameless in the body of his psalm, yet he describes them there with great particularity, and often names them in the title. This gives us abundant ground to infer that should the sweet singer of Israel return from the dead into our age, he would not sing the words of his own psalms without considerable alteration; and were he now to transcribe them, he would make them speak the present circumstances of the Church, and that in the language of the New Testament. He would see frequently occasion to insert the cross of Christ in his song, and often interline the confessions of his sins with the blood of the Lamb; often would he describe the glories and the triumphs of our blessed Lord in long and flowing verse, even as St. Paul, when he mentions the name and honors of Christ, can hardly part his lips from them again. His expressions would run ever bright and clear; such as here and there we find in a single verse of his own composures, when he is transported beyond himself, and carried far away from Jewish shadows by the spirit of prophecy and the gospel. We have the more abundant reason to believe this if we observe that all along the sacred history, as the revelations of God and his grace were made plainer, so the songs of the saints expressed that grace and those revelations according to the measure of their clearness and increase. Let us begin at the song of Moses (Ex. xv.) and proceed to David and Solomon, to the song of the Virgin Mary, of Zecharias, Simeon, and the angels, the hosanna of the young children, the praises paid to God by the disciples in the Acts, the doxologies

of Paul, and the songs of the Christian Church in the Book of the Revelation. Every beam of new light that broke into the world gave occasion of fresh joy to the saints, and they were taught to sing of salvation in all the degrees of its advancing glory.

Secondly, in the translation of Jewish songs for gospel worship, if Scripture affords us any example, we should be ready to follow it, and the management thereof should be a pattern for us. Now, though the disciples and primitive Christians had so many and so vast occasions for praise, yet I know but two pieces of songs they borrowed from the Book of Psalms. One is mentioned in Luke xix. 38, where the disciples assume a part of a verse from the cxviiith psalm, but sing it with alterations and additions to the words of David.

The other is the beginning of the second psalm, sung by Peter and John and their company (Acts iv. 23, 24, etc.). You find there an addition of praise in the beginning, "Lord, thou art God which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is." Then there is a narration of what David spoke, "Who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said," etc. Next follow the two first verses of that psalm, but not in the very words of the psalmist. Afterwards an explication of the heathen and the people, namely, the Gentiles and Israel. The kings and the rulers, namely, Herod and Pontius Pilate, and the holy child Jesus is God's anointed. Then there is an enlargement of the matter of fact by a consideration of the hand of God in it, and the song concludes with the breathing of their desires towards God for mercies most precisely suited to their day and duty; and you find when they had sung, they went to prayer in the assembly, and then they preached the word of God by the Holy Ghost, and with amazing success. O may I live to see psalmody performed in these evangelic beauties of holiness! May these ears of mine be entertained with such devotion in public, such prayer, such praise? May these eyes behold such returning glory in the churches! Then my soul shall be all admiration, my tongue shall humbly attempt to mingle in the worship, and assist the harmony and the joy.

After we have found the true method of translating Jewish songs for the use of the Christian Church, let us inquire also how lawful and necessary it is to compose spiritual songs of a mere evangelic frame for the use of divine worship under the gospel.

The *first* argument I shall borrow from all the foregoing discourse concerning the translation of the psalms of David. For by that time they are fitted for Christian psalmody, and have all the particularities of circumstance that related to David's person, and times altered and suited to our present case; and the language of Judaism is changed into the style of the gospel; the form and composure of the psalm can hardly be called inspired or divine: only the materials or the sense contained therein may in a large sense be called the word of God, as it is borrowed from that word. Why, then, may it not be esteemed as lawful to take some divine sense and materials agreeable to the word of God, and suited to the present case and experience of Christians, and compose them into a spiritual song? especially when we cannot find one ready penned in the Bible, whose subject is near akin to our present condition, or whose form is adapted to our present purpose.

The *second* argument shall be drawn from the several ends and designs of singing, which can never be sufficiently attained by confining ourselves to David's psalms, or the words of any songs in Scripture. The first and chief intent of this part of worship, is to express unto God what sense and apprehensions we have of his essential glories; and what notice we take of his works of wisdom and power, vengeance and mercy; it is to vent the inward devotion of our spirits in words of melody, to speak our own experience of divine things, especially our religious joy; it would be tiresome to recount the endless instances out of the Book of Psalms and other divine songs, where this is made the chief business of them. In the texts of the New Testament where singing is required, the same designs are proposed; when the Ephesians are filled with the Spirit, the Enlightener and Comforter, they are charged to indulge those divine sensations, and let them break out into a spiritual song (Eph. v. 19). When any is merry or cheerful, the Apostle James bids him express it by sing-

ing. Give thanks unto God, is the command of St. Paul to the saints while he enjoins psalmody on them; and speaking the wonders of his power, justice, and grace, is the practice of the Church constantly in the visions of St. John. To teach and admonish one another, is mentioned by St. Paul as another design of singing; the improvement of our meditations, and the kindling divine affections within ourselves, is one of the purposes also of religious medody, if Eph. v. 19 be rightly translated. Now, how is it possible all these ends should be attained by a Christian, if he confines his meditations, his joys, and his praises, to the Hebrew Book of Psalms? Have we nothing more of the nature of God revealed to us than David had? Is not the mystery of the ever-blessed Trinity brought out of darkness into open light? Where can you find a Psalm that speaks the miracles of wisdom and power as they are discovered in a crucified Christ? And how do we rob God the Son of the glory of his dying love, if we speak of it only in the gloomy language of "smoke and sacrifices, bullocks and goats, and the fat of lambs"? Is not the ascent of Christ into heaven, and his triumph over principalities and powers of darkness, a nobler entertainment for our tuneful meditations, than the removing of the ark up to the city of David, to the hill of God, which is high as the hill of Bashan? Is not our heart often warmed with holy delight in the contemplation of the Son of God our dear Redeemer, whose love was stronger than death? Are not our souls possessed with a variety of divine affections, when we behold him who is our chief beloved hanging on the cursed tree, with the load of all our sins upon him, and giving up his soul to the sword of divine justice in the stead of rebels and enemies? And must these affections be confined only to our own bosoms, or never break forth but in Jewish language, and words which were not made to express the devotion of the gospel? The heaven and the hell that we are acquainted with by the discovery of God our Saviour, give us a more distinct knowledge of the future and eternal state than all the former revelations of God to men. Life and immortality is brought to light by the gospel; we are taught to look far into the invisible world, and take a prospect of

the last awful scene of things. We see the graves opening, and the dead arising at the voice of the archangel, and the sounding of the trump of God. We behold the Judge on his tribunal, and we hear the dreadful and the delightful sentences of decision that shall pass on all the sons and daughters of Adam; we are assured that the saints shall "arise to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we be for ever with the Lord." The apostle bids us "exhort or comfort one another with these words" (1 Thess. iv. 17, 18). Now, when the same apostle requires that "the word of Christ must dwell richly in us in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and spiritual songs"; can we think he restrains us only to the psalms of David, which speak very little of all these glories or terrors, and that in very obscure terms and dark hints of prophecy? Or shall it be supposed that we must admonish one another of the old Jewish affairs and ceremonies in verse, and make melody with those weak and beggarly elements, and the yoke of bondage, and yet never dare to speak of the wonders of new discovery except in the plain and simple language of prose?

Perhaps it will be replied here that there are some scriptural hymns in the Book of Revelation that describe the affairs of the New Testament, the death and kingdom of our Lord Jesus, and these are lawful to be sung in a Christian church. I am glad that our friends of a different opinion will submit to sing anything that belongs to the gospel; I rejoice that the Bible hath any such pieces of Christian psalmody in it, lest everything that is evangelical should be utterly excluded from this worship by those who will sing nothing but what is inspired; but how seldom are these gospel-songs used among our churches? How little respect is paid to them in comparison of the Jewish psalms? How little mention would ever be made of them if it were not to defend the patrons of Jewish psalmody from the gross absurdity of an entire return to Judaism in this part of worship? But give me leave also to add that these Christian hymns are but very short, and very few; nor do they contain a hundredth part of those glorious revelations that are made to us by Christ Jesus and his apostles; nor can we suppose God excludes all other parts of the gospel from verse and singing.

Most express words of Scripture furnish me with a third argument (Eph. v. 19, 20, and Col. iii. 16, 17), which are the two chief commands of the New Testament for singing; both bid us "make melody, and give thanks to God the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." This is one of the glories of gospel-worship, that all must be offered to the Father in his name. So very particular is our Lord Jesus in this command, that his last sermon to his disciples mentions it four times (John xiv. 13, 14, and xvi. 23, 24). Now why should we make conscience of praying in the name of Christ always, and offer up our praises in his name when we speak in prose? And yet when we give thanks in verse, we almost bind ourselves to take no more notice of the name of Christ than David or Moses did. Why should every part of divine worship under the gospel be expressed in language suited to that gospel, namely, praying, preaching, baptism, and the Lord's Supper; and yet when we perform that part of worship which brings us nearest to the heavenly state, we must run back again to the law to borrow materials for this service? And when we are employed in the work of angels, we talk the language of the infant-church, and speak in types and shadows? while we bind ourselves to the words of David, "when he inclines his ear to a parable and opens his dark saying upon the harp" (Psal. xlix. 4). We have given too great countenance to those who still continue the use of the harp while they open the dark saying.

The fourth argument may be thus drawn up: There is almost an infinite number of different occasions for praise and thanksgivings, as well as for prayer, in the life of a Christian; and there is not a set of Psalms already prepared that can answer all the varieties of the providence and the grace of God. Now if God will be praised for all his mercies, and singing be one method of praise, we have some reason to believe that God doth not utterly confine us even to the forms of his own composing. This is thought a very sufficient reason to resist the imposition of any book of prayers; and I grant that no number of prayers of human composure can express every new difficulty or future want of a Christian; scarce can we suppose a divine

volume should do it, except it be equal to many folios. However I can see nothing in the inspired book of praises that should persuade me that the Spirit of God designed it as an universal Psalm-book; nor that he intended these to include or provide for all the occasions of thanksgiving that ever should befall Jews or Christians in a single or social capacity. We find in the history of Scripture, that new favors received from God were continually the subject of new songs, and the very minute circumstances of the present providence are described in the verse. The destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, the victory of Barak over Sisera, the various deliverances, escapes, and successes of the son of Jesse, are described in the songs of Moses, Deborah, and David. The Jews in a land of captivity sat by the rivers of Babylon, and remembered Sion; they could find none of the ancient songs of Sion fit to express their present sorrow and devotion, though some of them are mournful enough; then was that admirable and artful ode written, the cxxxviiith Psalm, which even in the judgment of the greatest human critics, is not inferior to the finest heathen poems. It is a more dull and obscure and unaffecting method of worship to preach or pray or praise always in generals. It doth not reach the heart nor touch the passions; God did not think any of his own inspired hymns clear and full and special enough to express the praise that was his due for new blessings of grace and providence; and therefore he put a new song into the mouths of Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon; and it is but according to his own requirement, that the British islands should make their present mercies under the gospel the subject of fresh praises (Is. xlii. 9, 10). "Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them; sing unto the Lord a new song, and his praise from the end of the earth; ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein; the isles and the inhabitants thereof." As for the new songs in the Revelation, the occasions of some of them are very particular, and relate to the fall of anti-Christ; it can never be imagined that these are a complete collection of psalms to suit all the cases of a Christian church; they are rather given to us as small originals, by imita-

tion whereof the churches should be furnished with matter for psalmody, by those who are capable of composing spiritual songs according to the various or special occasion of saints or churches. Now shall we suppose the duty of singing to be so constantly provided for when there was any fresh occasion under the Old Testament, and just in the very beginning of the New, and yet that there is no manner of provision made ever since by ordinary or extraordinary gifts for the expression of our particular joys and thanksgivings? This would be to sink the gospel, which is a dispensation of the Spirit, of liberty, of joy, and of glory, beneath the level of Judaism when the saints were kept in hard bondage, and had not half so much occasion for praise.

The fifth argument may be borrowed from the extraordinary gift of the Spirit to compose or sing spiritual songs in the primitive Church, expressed in 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 26. The several parts of divine worship, praying, preaching, and singing, were performed by immediate inspirations of the Holy Spirit in that day, for these two reasons: 1. That there might be a discovery of divine power in them, and the seal of a miracle set to the several parts of Christian worship, to convince the world and to confirm the Church. 2. Because there was not time to acquire a capacity of preaching, praying, and composing spiritual songs by diligence and study, together with the ordinary assistance of grace and blessing of providence, which would have taken up many years before the gospel could have been universally preached. But even in those times of inspiration, as Timothy himself "was not to neglect the gift that was in him, given by imposition of hands, so he was charged to give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine, to meditate upon these things, to give himself wholly to them, that his profiting might appear unto all" (1 Tim. iv. 14, 15). And it is granted by all that the ministers of the gospel in our day are to acquire and improve the gifts of knowledge, prayer, and preaching, by reading, meditation, and frequent exercise, together with earnest requests to God for the ordinary assistance of his Spirit, and a blessing on their studies. Why, then, should it be esteemed sinful to acquire a capacity of composing a spiritual song? Or

why is it unlawful to put this gift in exercise for the use of singing in the Christian church, since it is one of those three standing parts of worship which were at first practised and confirmed by inspiration and miracle?

Some may object here that the words *ψάλλω* and *ψαλμός*, which the apostle useth in this chapter, intend the psalms of David, and not any new song. But if we consult the whole frame and design of that chapter, it appears that their worship was all performed by extraordinary gifts. Now, it was no very extraordinary thing to bring forth one of David's psalms; nor would it have been proper to have hindered the inspired worship with such an interposition of the ordinary service of an ancient Jewish song; it is very credible, therefore, that the word psalm in this place signifies a new spiritual song, and it is so used frequently in the writings of the primitive fathers, as appears in the citations, page 289.

To close this rank of arguments, I might mention the divine delight that many pious souls have found in the use of spiritual songs, suited to their own circumstances, and to the revelations of the New Testament. If the spiritual joy and consolation that particular persons have tasted in the general duty of singing be esteemed a tolerable argument to encourage the duty and confirm the institution, I am well assured that the argument would grow strong apace, and seal this ordinance beyond contradiction, if we would but stand fast in the liberty of the gospel, and not tie our consciences up to mere forms of the Old Testament. The faith, the hope, the love, and the heavenly pleasure that many Christians have professed while they have been singing evangelical hymns, would probably be multiplied and diffused amongst the churches, if they would but breathe out their devotion in the songs of the Lamb as well as in the song of Moses.

Thus far have we proceeded in a way of argument drawn from Scripture and the reason of things. Many objections have been prevented, or sufficient hints given for the removal of them. Those that remain and seem to have any considerable strength, shall be proposed with an attempt to answer them; for I would not have Christians venture upon the practice of anything in divine worship without due knowledge and conviction.

Object. 1. The directions given for psalmody in some parts of the Old Testament lead us to the use of those songs which are inspired (Deut. xxxi. 16, 19, etc.). "And the Lord said unto Moses, Write ye this song for you, and teach it the children of Israel, put it in their mouths, that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel; for when I shall have brought them into the land which I swore unto their fathers, which floweth with milk and honey, etc., then they will turn unto other gods." And in Ps. lxxxix. 1, 2, 3, 4, where we are required to worship God by singing, we are not commanded to make a new psalm, but to take one that is already made, for the words run thus: "Sing aloud unto God our strength, make a joyful noise to the God of Jacob; take a psalm, and bring hither the timbrel, the pleasant harp with the psaltery, blow up the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed, on our solemn feast day, for this was a statute for Israel, and a law of the God of Jacob."

Ans. 1. I have cited these texts at large wherein the objection lies, that an answer might appear plain in the texts to every reader. How peculiarly do these commands refer to the Israelites? The very words of the precept confine it to the Jews, to the men that dwelt in Canaan, to the worship that is paid with timbrels and trumpets, to the days of the new moon, and solemn Jewish festivals? and if we will insist upon these scriptures as precise rules of our present duty and worship, the men that use musical instruments in a Christian church will take the same liberty of returning to Jewish ordinances, and use the same text to defend them.

Ans. 2. But if we should grant ourselves under the gospel still obliged by these commands, yet they do not bind us up entirely to inspired forms of singing, since the same sort of expression is used concerning prayer (Hos. xiv. 2). "Take with you words, and say unto the Lord, take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously," etc. Now who is there that esteems himself confined to use no other prayer but scriptural forms? In other places where these duties are enjoined, we are bid to pray, or to praise, or to sing; and why should we not be as much at liberty

to suit the words and the sense to our present circumstances in singing as well as praying, or in praising with verse as well as praising in prose?

Object. 2. The examples of Scripture direct us to inspired matter for singing: Deut. xxxi. 21: "Moses wrote this song the same day, and taught it the children of Israel." 1 Chron. xvi. 7: "David delivered first this song, to thank the Lord, into the hand of Asaph and his brethren." Now, in his dying words, the sweet psalmist of Israel tells us (2 Sam. xxiii. 1, 2): "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue." And in the days of Hezekiah, which was some ages after David (2 Chron. xxix. 27, 28, 29, 30): "Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt-offering upon the altar: and when the burnt-offering began, the song of the Lord began also, with the trumpets and with the instruments ordained by David, king of Israel, etc. Moreover, Hezekiah the king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praise to the Lord, with the words of David and of Asaph the seer."

Answer. These are nothing but examples of Jewish, and very ceremonious, worship; nor do they effectually prove that the Jews themselves were forbid upon all occasions whatsoever to use more private composures in their synagogues, though in the temple it is probable that for the most part they sung inspired psalms. But it must be remembered that these psalms are all suited to their dispensation, and yet without doubt they chose such out of them from time to time as best fitted their present case; and so will we Christians take as many of the psalms of David and other scripture songs as are suited to our dispensation and our circumstances; but these will be but very few in comparison of what the ancient Levites might use, especially if we must sing the very words of David and Asaph the seer without omission or paraphrase.

Object. 3. We cannot pretend to make better spiritual songs than the Spirit of God himself has made; therefore, if we should neglect these, and sing human composures, we should incur the censure of the prophet Malachi (chap. i. ver. 13, 14): "Ye brought that which was torn, and the lame, and the sick, thus

ye brought an offering; saith the Lord, should I accept this of your hands?"

Answer 1. Can we pretend to make better prayers than the Spirit of God has made and scattered up and down through all the Old and New Testament? Can we suppose better sermons than Moses or Solomon? Better than our Saviour and his apostles preached, and the Spirit of God hath recorded? Why, then, should not we use scripture forms of praying and preaching, as well as of singing? And though we may hope for the ordinary assistance of the Spirit in our prayers and sermons, yet how can we expect that these shall be as good as those which were composed by his extraordinary inspiration?

Answer 2. Divine wisdom accommodates its inspirations, its gifts, its revelations, and its writings, to the particular cases and seasons in which he finds a saint or a church. Now though we cannot pretend to make a better prayer than that of Ezra or Daniel, or our Lord, for the day and design for which they were prepared; yet a song, a sermon, or a prayer that expresses my wants, my duties, or my mercies, though it be composed by a human gift, is much better for me than to tie myself to any inspired words in any part of worship which do not reach my case, and consequently can never be proper to assist the exercise of my graces or raise my devotion.

Answer 3. I believe that phrases and sentences used by inspired writers are very proper to express our thoughts in prayer, preaching, or praise; and God has frequently given witness in the hearts of Christians how much he approves the language of Scripture; but it is always with a proviso that those phrases be clear and expressive of our present sense, and proper to our present purpose. Yet we are not to dress up our prayers, sermons, or songs in the language of Judaism when we design to express the doctrines of the gospel. This would but darken divine counsel by words without knowledge; it would amuse and confound the more ignorant worshippers; it would disgust the more considerate, and give neither the one nor the other light or comfort. And I think it may be as proper in our churches to read a sermon of Moses or Isaiah, instead of preaching the gospel, as to sing a

Psalm of David, whose expressions chiefly refer to David the shepherd, the king, the fugitive, the captain, the musician, and the Jew. In short, the prayers, sermons, and songs in Scripture are rather patterns by which we should frame our worship and adjust it to our present case, than forms of worship to which we should precisely and unchangeably confine ourselves.

And as sermons which are conformable to the Holy Scripture in a large sense may be called "the word of God and the word of Christ," and are usually and justly so called if they are agreeable to the Scripture and drawn from thence; so hymns of human composure according to the spirit and doctrines of the gospel may be as well termed the word of Christ, which is the proper matter for Christian psalmody (Col. iii. 16). Whereas in the strictest and most limited sense of the word nothing deserves that title but the *Hebrew* and *Greek* originals.

Object. 4. In the New Testament there are promises of divine assistance to ministers and private Christians in preaching the gospel and in prayer; but we have no promise of the Spirit of God to help us to compose psalms or hymns for our private use or for the use of the churches; and how can we practise in the worship of God what we have no promise of the Holy Spirit to encourage and assist us in?

Answer 1. There are many general promises of the presence of Christ with his ministers, and the supply of his Spirit in the discharge of all their duties for the edification of the Church. Now, there are several performances which are necessary for the Church's edification to which there is no peculiar promise made of the assistance of the Spirit in express words: such are, translating the Bible into our mother-tongue, composing our sermons, or at least the substance and scheme of them, before preaching, writing pious and useful treatises upon divine subjects, and diligent reading and study of books so written; nor is there any more express encouragement to expect the presence of the Spirit in turning the psalms of David into rhyme and metre, than in composing new spiritual songs: and yet ministers that are fitted for such performances may pray and hope for divine assistance in them all, and trust in the general promises for help in particular services.

Answer 2. There is no need of these gifts of criticism or of poesy for all Christians nor all ministers, though it seems necessary that some should be furnished with them. A few persons in an age or a nation may translate the Scriptures into the national language, and may compose a sufficient number of hymns to answer the chief designs and wants of the Church for that day for public worship. Where there happen occasions very particular, the ministers of the gospel are not, or should not be, so utterly destitute of common ingenuity as to be unable to compose, or at least to collect, a few tolerable verses proper for such a season.

Object. 5. We find no instances in Scripture of human compositions sung by the people of God; and it is not good to practise such pieces of worship without a precedent.

Answer. Whensoever there was just occasion for an hymn according to some new and special providence, we almost everywhere find a new song recorded in Scripture, and we call it inspired, nor do I know of any just reason to suspect or doubt of the inspiration; but if there had been any one which was not the effect of an extraordinary gift, but only composed by a good man, we should be ready to take it for inspired because mentioned in Scripture; as we do too many expressions of the saints in that divine history, and make everything that a good man saith heavenly and divine: however, if there can be no pretence made to such an example in Scripture, yet so much reason, argument, and encouragement as hath been already drawn from Scripture sufficiently justifies this practice, since we perform many circumstantials of worship under the influence of a general command without express and special examples.

Object. 6. We ought to sing nothing to God but what is given us for this very end that it may be sung, lest we indulge will-worship and the inventions of men.

Ans. 1. To convert the verses of David into English lines, to confine them to an exact number of syllables, and to make melody in particular tunes, may as well be called the inventions of men and will-worship. But these inventions are absolutely necessary for the performance of divine commands, and for the

assistance of a whole congregation to sing with any tolerable convenience, order, or decency, as the reverend Mr. Boyle has well proved.

Ans. 2. Those that refuse to sing forms of human composition, though the sense be never so divine, generally allow it lawful to take any parts of Scripture and alter and transpose the words into a form fit for singing; but to take a mere parable or story out of the Bible, and put some rhymes on to the end of every line of it, without giving it a new and pathetic turn, is but a dull way of making spiritual songs, and without a precedent too. David did not deal so with Genesis and Exodus, though he loved the words of the law as well as we pretend to value the words of the Gospels and Epistles. The most part of the New Testament as it stands in our Bible was never given us for psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs; but for divine instruction and materials for this and other duties, that so we might borrow the doctrines and discoveries of the New Testament, and compose sermons and songs out of them. But if we take chapters and verses promiscuously out of the New Testament, and make them jingle and rhyme, and so sing them, we are guilty of singing what God never commanded to be sung, as much as if we composed spiritual songs by human art agreeable to the sense of Scripture and the Christian faith.

If the addition of human testimony concerning the practice of churches in former or later ages might have any influence to establish the consciences of those who are doubtful in this matter, I might acquaint them that the churches of Germany and the Eastland churches, use many divine hymns which are composed on several subjects of the Christian religion, without any pretence to extraordinary gifts. The Church of England approves this practice, as appears in those spiritual songs at the end of the old translation of the psalm-book, and some churches among the Dissenters. "The Christians of the first ages were wont to meet together on a day appointed before it was light, and to speak a song to Christ as to God." Thus Pliny, the Roman, testifies in a letter to Trajan, the Emperor, in the beginning of the second century. Tertullian, who flourished about the beginning of the

third century, relating the manner of administration of the Lord's Supper, asserts, "That after they had eat and drank what was sufficient for those that must worship God by night, etc., every one was urged to sing unto God publicly, either out of the Holy Scriptures, or according to their own genius and ability" (Apol. C. 39). Origen, who flourished in the middle of the third century, speaks "of singing hymns of praise to the Father in or by Christ in good rhyme, tune, metre, and harmony." *Origen de Orat.*, Sect. 6. Eusebius, B. 7, C. 19, quotes Dionysius writing against Nepos, thus: "Although I heartily love Nepos for his faith, his study of knowledge and the Holy Scriptures, as well as for various psalms and hymns composed by him, which are used to this day by some brethren, yet," etc. In the acts of the Council of Antioch, mentioned by Eusebius, B. 7, C. 30, it was one of the accusations of Paulus Samosatenus, the heretic Bishop of Antioch, that "he abolished those psalms which were wont to be sung to the honor of the Lord Jesus Christ as novel and composed by modern authors, and that he appointed women on Easter-day in the middle of the church to sing psalms in his praise." And in the fragment of an anonymous author extant in Eusebius, we find the heresy of Artemon, who denied the divinity of Christ, confuted not only by the Scriptures and the writings of the precedent fathers, but also by the psalms and hymns of the brethren which were formerly composed by them, wherein they sung praises to the word of God, declaring Christ to be God. Such a private composed hymn was that which Clemens Alexandrinus mentions as one commonly known among the Christians in his days, beginning *χαῖρε φῶς*, or *hail light*. Spanheim, in his sixth chapter of the fourth century of his Christian History, speaks thus: "Besides hymns and songs, and private psalms, of which there was a great number in their solemn assemblies, the psalm-book of David was brought into the Western Church in this age, in the time of Damasus and Ambrose; but in the Eastern Church the singing of David's psalter by antiphonas or responses was brought in by Flavius Antiochenus. The use of psalms composed by private persons seems not to be forbidden in the Church till the Council of Laodicea in the fourth century."

CONCLUSION.—Thus have I drawn together my thoughts upon this subject at the request of several ministers and private Christians who practise psalmody in this method themselves, and sing the songs of the Lamb as well as the psalms of David in their public and private worship, and especially at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. I had designed and almost prepared a larger discourse, wherein the duty of singing and the manner of performance would have been considered.—But this essay has already swelled beyond the bulk proposed. There are many that would rejoice to see evangelic songs more universally encouraged to the honor of their Lord Jesus, and to the joy and consolation of their fellow-saints. If the Spirit of God shall make any of these arguments I have used successful to attain this glorious end, I shall take pleasure in the release of their souls from that part of Judaism which they have so long indulged. I hope the difficulties that appeared frightful and discouraging will be lost and vanish by a diligent and fair perusal of what is written; yet those that pay a sacred reverence to the inspired writings may still find it hard to yield to the conviction. Scruples and relics of an old opinion will perhaps hang about their consciences still. A fear and jealousy of admitting any forms of human composure in the worship of singing will scarce permit their lips to practise that to which their understandings have given their assent. I would entreat such to give this discourse a thoughtful review: and though they may not judge every argument conclusive, nor every objection sufficiently removed, yet if there be but one unanswerable reason, it ought to be attended to; and the whole put together may give such light and satisfaction as may encourage the practice of this duty. It is very easy to make cavils and replies to the strongest reasonings; but let us have a care lest we rob our souls and the churches of those divine comforts of evangelic psalmody by a fondness of our old and preconceived opinions. “He that believeth may eat all things,” and should not be forbidden. He may partake of flesh and drink wine; he may taste of the various pleasures of the gospel and sing the new song. Another who is weak eateth herbs and satisfies himself with ancient melody. “Let not him that eateth despise

him that eateth not, and let not him which eateth not judge him which eateth, for God hath received him" (Rom. xiv. 2).

If the hymns and spiritual songs which are here presented to the world are so unhappy as to discourage the design of this essay, I will censure and reprove them myself. If they are condemned as being unsuitable to the capacity or experience of plain Christians, I will easily confess a variety of faults in them. It was hard to restrain my verse always within the bounds of my design; it was hard to sink every line to the level of a whole congregation, and yet to keep it above contempt. However, among so great a number of songs I hope there will be some found that speak the very language, and desires, and sense of the meanest souls, and will be an assistance to their joy and worship. The blemishes of the rest may serve to awaken some more pious and judicious fancy to a more successful attempt; and whoever shall have the honor of such a performance, I promise myself a large share in the pleasure. But we must despair of hearing the new song of the Lamb in its perfection and glory, "till Babylon the great is fallen, and the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ, till the new heavens and the new earth appear, till all the former things are passed away, and all things are made new."

ARTICLE III.

THE FOREIGN EVANGELIST AGAIN, AS VIEWED
BY ONE IN THE FOREIGN FIELD.

POWERS.

The power which Christ has committed to his Church vests in the whole body, the rulers and the ruled. . . . This power, as exercised by the people, extends to the choice of those officers whom he has appointed in his Church. . . . Ecclesiastical power is twofold: the officers exercise it sometimes severally, as in preaching the gospel, administering the sacraments, . . . which is the power of order; and they exercise it sometimes jointly in church courts, after the form of judgment, which is the power of jurisdiction. . . . Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is not a several but a joint power to be exercised by presbyters in courts.

We have the fundamental principles of ecclesiastical power clearly set forth in the above extracts from our New Book.

In actu primo all power, both of order and of jurisdiction, vests in the Church—the whole body. “The Spirit and the *Bride* say, Come.” “If he neglect to hear thee, tell it to the *church*.” But how is the Church to rule or administer discipline? And how is the *Bride* to proclaim the gospel? According to Presbyterianism, the answer must be, representatively by means of chosen officers. The exercise of power by the people is limited to the election of their officers.

In actu secundo all power vests in these officers. But how? Our Book replies: severally, as to the power of order, and jointly in courts, as to the power of jurisdiction.

When a minister has been inducted into office, the power of order vests in him as an individual officer, and he may exercise it alone, whenever and wherever he may have occasion. The power of jurisdiction, however, vests not in one individual, but in a number of presbyters in common. No one officer can exercise it, therefore, on his individual responsibility and authority, but only in common with those who possess it in common with him. Not only so. It can only be exercised *in courts*. No two, nor twelve, nor twenty, officers can exercise it jointly merely because

they happen to be located in the same town or city or district. Such a principle would at once lead to anarchy. Ours is a government *by courts*, that is, regular, lawful, constitutional gatherings of officers. As Thornwell has well said: "Ours is a government not by presbyters, but by presbyteries."

Now, let these fundamental principles of Presbyterian church government be applied to the case of the evangelist. Is the power of jurisdiction which he exercises *his own individual or several power?* or is it the power of *a court?* We undertook to show that it is the power of his Presbytery. We cited the Book (Chap. IV., Sec. 2, Par. 6) in proof of our position. We combated the Episcopal theory that the power of jurisdiction inheres in his office of evangelist, as his own several or individual power, and criticised the necessarily consequent custom of calling him an "extraordinary officer" invested with an "extraordinary office."

Dr. Lefevre replies by assuring his "alarmed brother" that no one in our Church holds any such view. He assures us that "those who use these expressions hold the same views as himself (ourselves) on this point." He thinks he is in a position to speak ex-cathedrally, as it were.

"In official communications and conferences spreading over two years, with men of every shade of opinion, and among them the man who is (if we mistake not) the author of the anonymous article quoted from [from which we quoted the phrase, 'extraordinary officer'], we have never heard any other doctrine broached. All have agreed that the evangelist is simply a minister of the word to whom *is intrusted* . . . extraordinary or several power of jurisdiction."

The brother here referred to is the venerable Dr. Jno. B. Adger. Now let us hear Dr. Adger on this point in the REVIEW for July, 1884, pp. 544-5:

"Much is said about the Presbytery's 'intrusting power' to the foreign evangelist. Our venerable Secretary . . . finds no fault with the idea that he is *intrusted* by the Presbytery with power to ordain. On the contrary, he talks of authority to ordain being 'delegated to him.' . . . Now we do not hesitate to pronounce all this claim of *delegating, conferring, and empowering* to be utterly unscriptural and unpresbyterian."

This certainly is plain language, and may convince the "serene"

Chairman¹ that the divergence of views in that Committee extended to this point also.

Dr. Adger proceeds to present his own views as follows :

"The Lord creates the evangelist's office, and gives to it all its powers. The Presbytery only fills the office. . . . He does not get from the Presbytery his authority to go to Africa or China and do the Lord's work there. He gets it from the Lord, from whom alone the Presbytery gets its legitimate power of any kind. . . . But how would it sound to hear the Synod say to the Presbytery: 'We authorise and we empower you to do the Lord's work, and we delegate to you the right to do what the Lord requires of a Presbytery'? . . . The Lord requires the evangelist whom he has called to go to a heathen land, and he empowers him to do what is necessary in order to plant the Church there, and it is thus the foreign evangelist gets the right to ordain other evangelists. . . . This power is inherent in his office. . . . If the evangelist in regions beyond be not inherently possessed of the powers in question, how is he ever to acquire them?"

The impartial reader will, no doubt, concur that when the "alarmed brother" combated the inherently-several-power theory, he was not chasing an *ignis fatuus* of his own imagination. And it would seem that Dr. Adger was not alone, in that special Committee, in his views on this point; for we find them distinctly taught in the Report :

"When his field lies within the territory of the Church as already organised, his powers are circumscribed within those of the court having jurisdiction over the same," so that "these extraordinary functions of the evangelist [organising and ordaining] can be exercised only when expressly *delegated to him* as their agent."

This much, about the home evangelist, is sound Presbyterian doctrine; but it continues in regard to the foreign :

"When his field lies beyond the territory which the Church occupies, his powers are necessarily enlarged. There being *no court* to discharge the functions, the Constitution recognises as *inhering in his office* all the powers that are necessary to constitute the church." Italics ours.

The power of jurisdiction is *delegated* by the court to the home, but *inheres in the office* of the foreign, evangelist. There being *no court* in the foreign field, it is no longer a government by a court, but by an individual officer, by the exercise of a power

¹ "Well, there is *one* in the home field that feels undisturbed and serene!" (Dr. Lefevre, REVIEW, April, 1883, p. 294.)

which he does not derive from the court, but which inheres in his office.

The Chairman's *ex cathedra* utterances are, of course, entitled to due consideration, but it is evident that he was not sufficiently informed to vouch for the views of others. We combated a theory which we knew prevailed in our Church, and which took official and tangible shape in the Report of 1881.

With Dr. Lefevre's permission, and with the greatest respect and deference for the able Committee that sent up that Report, and for the venerable Dr. Adger who has so ably and energetically defended the principle there set forth, we are constrained still to hold that this theory is untenable.

In the first place, it is unconstitutional. The Report says that this power is *delegated* by the court to the home evangelist, but that the Constitution recognises the power as inhering in the office of the foreign evangelist. This has always seemed to us a very remarkable statement. Where can such a distinction be found in our Constitution? Does our Book divide evangelists into two classes? We may speak of the *home* and the *foreign* evangelists, but only to distinguish their fields of labor, not to distinguish them as officers. The division of the evangelists into two classes, as was first done, we believe, by Dr. Lefevre in the REVIEW, October, 1879, finds no countenance either in Scripture or our Constitution. The only place where the powers of the evangelist are spoken of in our Book is Chapter IV., Sec. 2, Par. 6, which reads as follows :

"When a minister is appointed to the work of an evangelist, he is commissioned to preach the word and administer the sacraments in *foreign countries*, frontier settlements, and destitute parts of the Church; and to him may be *intrusted* power to organise churches and ordain ruling elders and deacons therein."

Here the Book contemplates foreign as well as home fields, and the officer and the powers are the same for both fields; the power to organise and ordain is "intrusted" to the commissioner, whatever be his field, whether at home or abroad. There is not the shadow of authority for saying that it is delegated to the home, but inheres in the office of the foreign, evangelist. The Book is

consistent throughout: ours is a government by presbyteries, and no exception is made in the case of the evangelist.

In the second place, the theory is unpresbyterian; not only unpresbyterian, but essentially Prelatic. It is no longer a rule by courts, but by an individual, and that individual a clergyman, who rules by a power inhering in his office as his own individual or several power. We leap at once from the fundamental principle of Presbyterianism to the fundamental principle of Prelacy. The Report says that there being "no court" abroad, it becomes a rule by a power "inhering in his office." No one will have failed to notice how clearly and emphatically Dr. Adger distinguishes between the power of the court and the power of an evangelist; the power of the evangelist is just as distinct from that of the Presbytery as the power of the Presbytery is distinct from that of the Synod. Dr. Adger says that the evangelist receives his power from the Lord. Certainly; but so does every other officer in Christ's Church; along with the call and the gifts must come the power to every one who is called. If the evangelist can say, I received my power from the Lord, and can therefore exercise it "without leave or license," every other officer could say the same thing. What, then, becomes of our courts? Every officer receives his power from the Lord, but the question at once presents itself, *How does he possess it?* The answer of Scripture and our Constitution is, Severally as to the power of order, but jointly in courts as to the power of jurisdiction. If we abandon this principle in favor of any officer, we abandon Presbyterianism and make that officer a prelate. Dr. Adger says the evangelist is not a prelate, since he has no churches nor inferior officers to rule over. Even if this were true, it would be a mere accidental circumstance. He would be *essentially* a prelate as to his office, the nature of his power, and the mode of its exercise, so far as it goes. The power of jurisdiction would vest in him just as it does in a prelate. But is it true that he would have no power over churches and officers? Dr. Lefevre holds that the evangelist must have the full power of a Session to admit and discipline church members; and the full power of a Presbytery to organise churches, ordain, judge, and depose officers (deacons, elders, and

ministers), and to receive and issue appeals! Dr. Wilson also holds that he must have all this power: he "carries with him all the functions of the Presbytery." Does Dr. Adger suppose there is no danger of the Church ever granting such large powers? But did not Dr. Lefevre advocate it when he first proposed evangelistic commissions? (See REVIEW, October, 1879.) And have they not been urging that scheme upon the Church ever since, by memorials and otherwise? Let the Church adopt Dr. Adger's theory of the office and Dr. Lefevre's theory of the extent of power, and will we not have a prelate with a see?

In the third place, we object to this theory of "inherent power," because it makes the evangelist, so far as his work is concerned, entirely independent of the courts. The Chairman serenely smiles at his "alarmed brother," but we venture the opinion that his sereneness would become somewhat disturbed should his former colleague on the Committee memorialise the Assembly to adopt, not only the doctrine he holds, but the following logical consequences:

"It is thus the foreign evangelist gets the right to ordain other evangelists without leave or license from any Executive Committee or General Assembly or Presbytery. . . . But it [the court] has no more right to direct him as to where, or of what materials, he shall organise a church, or as to when or whom he shall ordain as pastor or evangelist, than the Synod has a right to come into the bounds of a Presbytery and direct its exercise of its own legitimate authority. . . . They cannot direct the missionary in his organising and ordaining work."

Admit the doctrine that the evangelist's power of jurisdiction is inherently his own several power, which he received directly from the Lord, independently of the court, and those conclusions follow irresistibly and necessarily.

In the fourth place, we object to this theory because it is unscriptural. The *evangelist* is "akin to the apostles," an "extraordinary officer," "with an extraordinary mission, and authority to wield power in an extraordinary way," "bearing in his single hand" the "extraordinary or several power" of jurisdiction, which is not delegated, but "inheres in his office." Now, it takes the wind completely out of the sails of this extraordinary spread-eagle theory when we remember that the term evangelist means

simply one who preaches the evangel, and that the idea of jurisdiction never, in a single instance, enters into the use of the word and its cognates. All commentators agree that Philip is called evangelist solely because he preached the gospel; all are agreed that when Timothy was exhorted to do the work of an evangelist, it was simply to preach the word. When Timothy and Titus exercised the power of jurisdiction, did they do so as evangelists? We answer, No; (a) Philip alone is called evangelist, but he did not exercise jurisdiction; (b) The title is not given to either Timothy or Titus; (c) Neither the noun evangel nor the verb evangelise is used in either of the pastoral Epistles; (d) The whole of the word of God, the unanimous testimony of the lexicographers and grammarians, and the overwhelming majority of ancient and modern writers, are opposed to it. In what character, then, did they govern? Only one answer can be given—that of our Book: As he is “to govern well in the house and kingdom of Christ, he is termed *presbyter or elder*.” “Ecclesiastical *jurisdiction* . . . is to be exercised by *presbyters*.” When Paul would have them go forth with him, they were ordained and *set apart* to the work “by the laying on of the hands of presbytery” (1 Tim. iv. 14); and they went forth armed by that act with the power and authority of the Church; the act constituted an implicit intrusting to them of all needed power, as the commissioners of the Church. No intimation is given anywhere that they were exceptions to the general rule that jurisdiction is joint. No other doctrine can be held by Presbyterians. If they possessed and exercised jurisdiction as their own individual or several power, and as evangelists, then they were Episcopal or Prelatic bishops, and not Presbyterian presbyters. This is just the theory of Timothy and Titus held by the Episcopal Church, and upon which many found their episcopal order. Before we can accept this theory, *our brethren must show us a scripture model for the officer they make*. Aside from the apostles, what officer can they find? And they must give their officer a scriptural title descriptive of his offices and powers. Evangelist, as we have seen, will not do. If they cannot find an officer and a title in Scripture to suit their theory, it must be pronounced unscriptural. As the

theory is Romish, it would be more becoming to borrow a name from Rome. Dr. Lefevre has asked us for a name to suit our theory. That can easily be given. Our Book combines the two scripture titles, "teacher" and "elder," in *teaching elder*. In the same way let "evangelist" be combined with "elder," and we will have *evangelising elder*. The use of this title would, perhaps, help to dissipate that false halo of extraordinary glory that has gathered about the person and mission of the *foreign evangelist*.

RELATIONS.

What are the relations that should exist between two or more ministers who may be laboring in the same field in foreign countries as to the exercise of their power of jurisdiction? Is it joint?

In deciding this question, we must adhere to the principles and practice prescribed in our Constitution. Now, we have seen that it teaches that this power "is joint and to be exercised by presbyters *in courts*." The power is joint, but not hap-hazardly so. The mere fact that two or more ministers happen to live in the same city does not make their power joint. There are many who hold that in foreign fields our power must be joint, simply because we labor in the same field. The Church would not dare to practise at home a principle so utterly anarchical. Shall that which is anarchy and so glaringly unconstitutional at home, be made the rule for our practice abroad?

One writer has told us of a Presbytery which refused to ordain a colored man, and two members, unauthorised by the court, went and ordained him; and the ordination was considered by all as valid; so, he thinks, we should act in foreign lands. We decline to carry on our work upon such high-handed revolutionary principles, that lay the axe at the root of all order and law. Ours is a rule neither by presbyters nor by *mobs*, but by *presbyteries*. There may be occasions when mob law becomes justifiable, and their acts may be well done and be approved by all; but who would desire to supersede the administration of justice by courts by the reign of mob law? However extraordinary we and our work may be considered, we are not so bad as to require such extreme measures.

Another writer has likened us to the mutineers of the *Bounty* on Pitcairn's Island. This certainly is much preferable to the mob law theory; still we have serious objections to being classed along with them. They were extraordinary in the strict sense of the term: they were separated from the *ordo*, and had to begin *ab initio*; the whole body was there; the whole Church was on that island, and what they did was done by the power of the whole Church exerting itself *ab infra*. This is far from being the case with us. We are not separated from the *ordo*. We are still an integral part of the home Church; we are commissioned by her, and her power is intrusted to us. What we do is done by the power of the home Church exerted *ab extra*. If the power of the Church is not in us, then it cannot be over us, otherwise she would be a despot. We are a part of the home Church and must do our work according to the principles and rules prescribed in the Constitution of our Church. Dr. Thornwell has been quoted to prove the validity of acts performed by *de facto* courts. We do not deny their validity. But Dr. Thornwell says they are "irregular" and "anomalous," applying these terms even to the first Presbytery of the Secession Church of Scotland, composed of such eminent men as Moncrieff, because for four years it was composed only of ministers. Will the Church do her work in an *irregular* and *anomalous* manner? Will she make irregularities and anomalies the rule in her foreign fields? There may be, and are, occasions when circumstances justify them; but such circumstances are as rare abroad as at home. We must observe abroad as at home the rule that jurisdiction is joint to be exercised *in courts*, that is, in regular, constitutional assemblies or Presbyteries. Our Book says that when a minister is set apart to the work of an evangelist he is *commissioned* to preach and administer the sacraments, and to him may be *intrusted* the power of jurisdiction. It is the power of the court intrusted to him. It is impossible, therefore, that several commissioners of this kind should unite together to form a *de facto* Presbytery abroad. There is only one way in which this delegated power becomes the joint possession of two or more ministers abroad. It is when they are delegates or commissioners

of *the same court*. When any one Presbytery sets apart and sends out two ministers to the same field, then they may wield their power jointly. Not otherwise. The commissioners of several Presbyteries cannot have jurisdiction over the same subjects—native churches and officers—at the same time.

But the Executive Committee sends commissioners of different Presbyteries to the same place, organises them into a body called *The Mission*, and gives to this body the superintendence of the whole work. As this body is composed in part of *laymen*, we maintain that it is unconstitutional and unpresbyterian. It does not, however, exercise the “higher governmental functions,” as Dr. Lefevre terms them, of admitting and expelling church members, and ordaining and deposing officers. In other words, its ecclesiastical powers are administrative, not judicial. We have contended, and shall contend, that even this much is abhorrent to our Book and the word of God.

But what about those “higher governmental powers”? Shall they be made joint? If so, how?

Dr. Lefevre was the first, we believe, to undertake the difficult task of advocating the joint-power theory. Besides the organic body called *The Mission*, composed of all the male members of a mission, clergymen and laymen, he would organise another body¹

¹We understood Dr. Lefevre in the REVIEW for October, 1879, to refer to the already existing body called *The Mission*, and simply to advocate that its powers be extended. Our criticisms were made accordingly. In his reply he says that he did not think of the *Mission* of the Manual, and that we knew he did not, *i. e.*, we deliberately and intentionally put this false construction upon his language by a “hocus pocus *modus operandi*,” applying to us personally a phrase that we had applied abstractly to the results of a theory. The charge is wholly unfounded. In answer we simply call the reader's attention to his language on page 669 of the REVIEW for October, 1879. It will be seen that he uses the word *Mission* four times, always with a capital letter. He twice puts it in quotation marks and twice without. Now, why this difference? Why use quotation marks? Did he not quote it? He says of us: “He then substitutes for *our* ‘mission’ the ‘mission of the Manual.’” Italics his. If he meant his *own* mission, why *quote* the word? We understood him to quote from the Manual, and the reader will no doubt agree that we had reason for thinking so. His language was more confirmatory of our view, since he used the word twice

to be called

“EVANGELISTIC COMMISSIONS,”¹

composed only of the ministers, in which they shall exercise jointly their judicial, or “higher governmental powers.” Seeing the impossibility of several commissioners exercising jointly the powers that have been delegated to them *by various courts*, he proposes to consider them the evangelists of the General Assembly. He is therefore compelled at the outset to divide evangelists into two classes—a division as unconstitutional as it is unscriptural. The common division into “home” and “foreign” is, of course, only conventional to indicate the field of labor. Dr. Lefevre divides them into the “particular” or “presbyterial” (the home evangelist), who shall belong to and

without quotation marks, each time in a more general sense; meaning, as we took it, the whole company of missionaries at any place. When he says: “But if this power is not to be wielded jointly in the same particular Mission, then each evangelist’s private opinion,” etc., we understood him to refer, not to the organic body of the Manual, but to the whole body of missionaries, and to say that the evangelists of such Mission were to act jointly. So, also, when he asks: “What is the relation of these evangelists of the same Mission?” But when he says: “A ‘Mission’ is usually composed of more than one general evangelist,” we understand him to quote the word and to use it in its more restricted sense of the organic body composed only of the male members; and we thought he overlooked the fact that laymen belong to the “Mission.” So, also, when he says: “*The power is joint . . . and must be administered by the ‘Mission’ as a body,*” etc., not by the evangelists as a body, but by *the “Mission”* as a body; not, one would think, by his *own* mission, but the “Mission” of some one else from whom he quotes. His own language misled us, not our own bad heart.

¹The name as it appeared in the REVIEW, October, 1879, was “evangelistic Courts,” so that in criticising the “Mission” we quoted Dr. L. to prove it is a court. He says his copyist wrote courts where he had written the abbreviated form of commissions. But did he not lay down the general principle (p. 660) that “whenever two or more parts . . . coexist . . . they must provide *by courts* for the realisation of the Church’s unity”? Did he not apply this to the evangelists, calling them “parts,” and conclude that they must realise this unity and avoid confusion? The copyist had reason to mistake com’s for courts, and in so doing made the Doctor’s application harmonise with his general principle. But *we!* Oh! *we* should not have “put a meaning into his words *which we saw* he did not intend or imply.”

receive his powers from the Presbytery; and the "general" or "Assembly's evangelist" (the foreign), who shall belong to and receive his powers from the Assembly.

This scheme has been advocated by the venerable Secretary and others, and very vigorous and persistent efforts have been made by memorials and overtures to various General Assemblies to have it embodied in our Constitution, but so far without success. The missionaries in Brazil have done what they could to prevent its being adopted by the Church. When the Secretary memorialised one General Assembly to take steps to have it adopted, an earnest protest was sent up to the next Assembly, signed by five of the six ministers laboring at that time in that country.

We have the strongest objections to this new scheme, and we believe the Church will not entertain it for a moment when she comes to understand what it involves.

In the first place, it involves the usurpation by the General Assembly of all the peculiar functions of the Presbytery. The Assembly cannot organise churches, ordain deacons, ruling elders, and ministers, nor take the immediate and original jurisdiction over churches and their officers; these are the peculiar prerogatives of the Presbytery. Evangelistic commissions involve the assumption of all these Presbyterial functions by the Assembly. Great stress is laid upon the fact that the Assembly is a presbytery, and therefore inherently possessed of all these powers. Granted. But we have a Constitution, and our Constitution has made a wise and logical distribution of power among the several courts. In order to put into practice this new scheme, a redistribution of powers must be made to give to the Assembly *all* the powers of Presbytery! Shall it be done? The Chairman is sure no one will affirm that the particular distribution made in our Book is *jure divino*. Perhaps not. But we are sure the universal voice of the Church will be, that it is logical and wise, and in its general features scriptural.

But they tell us, and the changes are rung upon this, that it is only for the foreign field that this change is contemplated; they would be as much opposed as we are to the usurpation at home of

the functions of Presbytery by the Assembly ; but the Assembly is the Universal Presbytery that represents the whole Church, and hence the proper body to have the power and do the work abroad ; and, moreover, the Presbytery's power is restricted to her territorial bounds, so that she cannot do the work abroad. All of which is as shallow and illogical as it is plausible and taking. If the *constitutional* barriers to usurpations are broken down, and the Assembly empowered to exercise presbyterial functions in one place, because it seems to be necessary, then when circumstances occur at home which may seem to call for it, it will be too late to cry "usurpation !" Its advocates will calmly point to the provision now proposed to be introduced, and the territorial limit figment will not stand the test then. We deny that ecclesiastical jurisdiction knows any territorial limits. Territorial limits are a mere circumstantial conventionality. To prevent conflict each court must have its own subjects. In assigning subjects to the various Presbyteries, it is convenient to assign to each the churches and individuals within certain boundaries ; but when this assignment has been made, the power of any Presbytery is over those subjects wherever they may go ; *the power of the court knows no such thing as territorial limits*, but follows its subjects to the utmost ends of the earth ; it even follows them within the conventional bounds of other Presbyteries and Synods. If Transylvania Presbytery wields jurisdiction over a minister in Brazil (and who will deny it ?), then the territorial limit plea breaks down at once. And if she exercises power *over* us, why not *in* us ? Is one function more able to break through territorial boundaries than another ? And how comes it that the Presbyteries have been ordaining men and setting them apart to this work, intrusting to them the power to do it, for generations past ? To-day hundreds of churches and officers exist all over the heathen world, the fruit of the power of Presbyteries ; and now we are all at once gravely informed that Presbyteries cannot exercise their power outside their territorial limits ; and the Constitution must be changed so as to give the power to the Assembly ! The very proposition is self-contradictory. "Ah ! but the Assembly is the great Presbytery that rep-

resents the whole Church." But does not the Presbytery represent the whole Church? Is not the power of the whole in that of every part? Have not the Presbyteries been representing the Church in this work until the present time? It is just as easy for a Presbytery to be recognised abroad as for the Assembly to be. The Presbytery of Transylvania has been officially recognised and her acts recorded by the Presidents of three different Provinces in Brazil, and will be by others, while the Assembly never has been. Is there not a good deal of that carnal disposition that desires to make a fair show in the flesh, manifesting itself in this argument about the great Presbytery?

In the second place, we object to "evangelistic commissions," because it would centralise power in the General Assembly and in her Executive Committee and Secretary. All the power that constitutionally belongs to our lower courts would be concentrated in the Assembly. We are to be commissioned by her, receive from her our power to organise churches and ordain officers and depose them. Instead of being a court of appeals, the Assembly is to have original jurisdiction over all churches and their officers in all our mission fields. In our judgment this would not only be unwise but dangerous. There are many who feel as we do about this, and, if we mistake not, the feeling is becoming general.

The Chairman is quite sure, however, that it would not make the Executive Committee any more powerful, for, he thinks, the Committee could not touch the evangelistic commission; and he assured the Vicksburg Assembly that the Committee does not wish to be more powerful than it is. He is woefully illogical for so acute a dialectician. He himself has claimed that according to our New Book the Executive Committee is an ecclesiastical commission of the Assembly appointed to carry on the foreign work. Why, then, can it not control the evangelistic commission? It was proclaimed on the floor of the Vicksburg Assembly that the Executive Committee is the Assembly *ad interim*, and we believe this was embodied in the Report that was adopted in answer to the Morton Memorial. And was it not said that the Assembly commits the whole work to this Committee which is the Assembly *ad interim*, and therefore had no right to go back of the Committee's action?

Besides all this, every one knows perfectly well that the Assembly cannot do the work herself. She must appoint a committee to do it for her. She must delegate the work and the power to do the work to that committee. The aged Secretary has shown that the Assembly, sitting only ten or twelve days in a year, cannot determine all the questions relating to all the work and the missionaries belonging to all our stations. To whom shall she delegate the work and the power? To whom does she at present delegate the supervision and control of the men and the work, so far as she has supervision? To the Executive Committee. The Assembly has nothing to do with the "Mission," except as it appears through the Committee. To whom will she delegate these higher powers? Dr. Lefevre says, "To the evangelistic commission." Theoretically, perhaps. But practically who will have the power? Will the Assembly, in the short space of ten days, be able to attend to all the questions relating to the home work and discipline, and be able also to decide all the questions sent up year by year by the "evangelistic commissions" in the various fields? Will she not be compelled to constitute her ecclesiastical commission in Baltimore her agent for deciding all these questions, as she already does all questions relating to administration? Nothing more certain. And why not? If the Committee already directs and decides everything relating to administration, why may she not decide all? The Church appoints her ablest and most experienced men on the Committee, and surely they have more wisdom than the young "novices" sent out "fresh from the Seminary." And then, too, the Committee is in close and immediate connexion with the Assembly—the Secretary is a member *ex officio* of all the Assemblies—whereas the "evangelistic commission" is thousands of miles away! And would it not be confusing for the Assembly to give the Committee power over *The Mission*, composed of those same evangelists, together with laymen, in the exercise of so large a part of their power, and not give it power over the evangelistic commissions? Would not confusion result from so "complex a problem"? The Committee, through the "mission" and by its *power of the purse* which it holds, is at present able to

control everything. They need not wish for more power. But to compel missionaries and native ministers to exercise their power as the Committee wish, by *threatening to withdraw their support*, is as disagreeable as it is violent. Let their scheme of evangelistic commissions be adopted, and the Committee will have *direct* jurisdiction over the whole work.

But the Secretary has also shown that even the Committee itself cannot keep abreast of the minutiae of the work, and that it is absolutely necessary to have "some *one man*" to digest and present to the Committee questions of importance. Let this scheme be adopted, and this "one man" will have absolute control over foreign missions. Or, to use the language of one of the ablest doctors in our Church: "Let their idea be carried into effect, and the Secretary will be made a veritable Pope."

Our third objection to this scheme is that we are taken entirely away from our Presbyteries and made amenable only to the Assembly; thus depriving us of that most precious right of every Presbyterian—*the right of appeal!* A writer¹ in a late number of the REVIEW shows that this would be a necessary consequence, yet advocates its adoption by the Church! The Assembly will have original and final jurisdiction over us, and only at its bar can we appear, if we dare appear at all. Few missionaries would have the hardihood to appear before so large a body as the Assembly, which is notoriously largely under the influence of a few, who would almost certainly be his accusers. The Secretary is *ex officio* member of all the Assemblies. The Chairman, or other members of the Committee, may also be appointed delegates by their Presbyteries whenever a missionary is to appeal against the Committee's treatment of him.

If we mistake not, one of the controlling motives of the authors of the minority report on the subject to the Houston Assembly was, that if the scheme advocated by the majority were adopted, it would deprive those in the foreign field of the right of being tried by their Presbyteries, by making them directly amenable to the Assembly. We are confident there are few in our Church who would advocate a scheme that involves such injustice.

¹ Rev. Abner C. Hopkins, D. D., REVIEW, January, 1885, p. 122.

We have thus far considered objections to "evangelistic commissions" that present themselves from the standpoint of the home Church. Let us now look at the scheme from the standpoint of the native churches and their ministers.

The "evangelistic commission" is to be composed of all the foreign evangelists in any given field. Dr. Lefevre tells us at length (REVIEW, October, 1879, pp. 661-665, 670) what powers it must have. 1. It must have "the power of a Session in all respects"; it must admit and discipline church members "until a Session is formed." 2. "The full power of a Presbytery." It must organise churches and ordain over them ruling elders and pastors. It must "ordain native evangelists, *who shall stand to it in the same relation that the home evangelist sustains to his Presbytery.*" It "may exercise the power of discipline over these ordained officers, and decide appeals from the Sessions, until a Presbytery is created." It "also has (c) the power of a Synod in one respect: it may organise the native churches and ministers into a regular Presbytery; ordering the Sessions to elect, in due time, ruling elders as commissioners to the proposed Presbytery; convoking, at the appointed time and place, *the ministers and elders* who are to compose the body." Now, is that Presbyterianism? There is a body of ministers, all foreigners, ruling over native churches, trying and deposing their officers, receiving and issuing appeals, and those churches denied the right of representation! It tries and deposes native ministers, and those ministers have no right to a seat in the body! Do the advocates of this *extraordinary* scheme suppose that the natives are fools, and that we missionaries are shameless? Do they ask us to teach the natives the great principles of representative government, and the parity of the ministry, as well as the parity of all presbyters in courts, and yet so grossly falsify our teaching by our relations and conduct towards them?

From whatever standpoint we look at them, we must pronounce "ecclesiastical commissions" *unscriptural, unpresbyterian, and abhorrent to every principle of justice and equity.*

And what leads them so persistently to urge upon the Church, by memorials and overtures and in other ways, to change her

Constitution so as to introduce so extraordinary a body? Why, solely

TO PREVENT CONFLICT OF JURISDICTION

among ministers laboring in the same field. "It is not possible that these applicants [for church membership] are subjects of two jurisdictions. . . . It cannot be allowed that . . . there is a power to admit and reject the same person at the same time, or to declare an accused both guilty and not guilty. . . . It cannot be that the same man at the same time and place is eligible and ineligible to ordination, or liable to be ordained by one [evangelist] at one moment and deposed by another at the next, or to be recognised by one evangelist as a Presbyterian minister and discounted by another at his side. The Church has no liberty to do her work on principles that make such *extraordinary confusion*." Certainly not. What then? Are we driven by this to invent a body odious to the fundamental principles of our polity, and unjust to native churches and officers, as well as to the evangelists? We do not believe our Church will remedy the supposed evil by any such unconstitutional, unpresbyterian methods. The Chairman tells us that we are forced to this by the "actual facts," and he has since told us that by actual facts he means "the common *policy* of sending two or more evangelists to one place *to work together*." Well, we said before, and we say again, that if this *policy* leads us to the adoption of such a "convention," "commission," or "court," then let the Church change her *policy* and send but one to a place. But we maintain, as we maintained before, that she may still send two, three, or four to the same place, and they may work together, and still not resort to so extraordinary a body. How is conflict of jurisdiction avoided at home? Not, certainly, by making the power joint. The power is not joint in the Romish Church, yet there is no conflict there. *Conflict of jurisdiction is prevented in all Churches, as well as in civil governments, by giving a distinct sphere of action to each officer or each court.* If their attributes are the same, they must each have distinct subjects. It is true, as the Chairman says, that two men cannot have several jurisdiction over the same subjects at the same time and in the same matter. What then?

Why, evidently, do not give them several jurisdiction over the same subjects. Dr. Lefevre says it is the common policy to send two or more men to the same place to work together. Yes, but the Church has never said that we must *exercise jointly our power of jurisdiction*. This is just what he is laboring to make the policy of the Church. She has not adopted it. And the missionaries have not observed it. Previous to the year 1879, the Rev. E. Lane had entire charge of the evangelistic field in South Brazil, and no one pretended to interfere, or to unite with him in the exercise of his power of jurisdiction over the outlying churches. When the present writer entered upon the evangelistic work in 1879, the Executive Committee instructed us to travel over the field alternately, or divide it between us. We mutually agreed that to visit the churches alternately would inevitably lead to misunderstanding and confusion; to travel together would be a waste of the Church's money. The only practicable way was to *divide the field between us* and leave each to exercise jurisdiction over the part of the field allotted to him; which was done, and there has been no conflict or confusion. Each man should have his own field, and gather around him his native helpers, and be allowed to develop his work "in his own peculiar way" (as the Secretary puts it), as pastors and evangelists do at home. Dr. Lefevre would resent any interference by his colleagues in Baltimore in his pastoral work. He would claim the right to impress his own individuality upon his own work.¹ Co-pastoral and co-evangelistic work is just as difficult abroad as at home. To attempt to impose such a system upon the little native churches and the work, would be ruinous to the churches and paralyse the healthy and vigorous development of the work by destroying our individuality.

This plan by no means prevents consultation and harmonious action among the men. We believe in seeking the counsel and sympathy of brethren, and of extending to them the same courtesies that are observed among brethren at home. The venerable

¹ Or, to use his own words, he would claim "the liberty to do his own sweet will" in conjunction with the Session, and under the jurisdiction of the higher courts. And this is just what we claim.

Secretary has told the readers of the REVIEW that he was not sure whether we would invite a co-laborer to take part with us in the ordination of native elders and ministers; yet a few months before saying this, he had published in *The Missionary* that one of the brethren in Campinas had taken part with us in the ordination of our native evangelist; and had published previously that another brother had united with us in the ordination of elders and deacons in the Penha church. He wishes the scheme adopted in order to secure "ecclesiastical proprieties," or courtesies. As the protest against his memorial said, "Let ecclesiastical proprieties be left to the evangelists." If not, then let the constitutional enactment made to secure it be made general, so as to oblige brethren at home to be courteous.¹

We must here be allowed to expose the misrepresentations of our views made by the Chairman and Secretary in the REVIEW for April, 1883. We are there held up before the Church as "under the influence of Independency and Prelacy," not only "eschewing all harmonious action," "despising the counsel and sympathy of our brethren," "casting behind our back those checks and restraints which are imposed by the great Head of the Church," but as wishing to have sole and undivided jurisdiction over the *native churches* and *their officers*! Dr. Wilson says our view is that we "ought to have complete and undivided control over *the churches* he may establish and *the officers* he may ordain, subject to no control whatever except that of his Presbytery. . . . Independency, so far as outward control is concerned, and *Prelacy*, so far as *churches and church officers are to be governed by one man.*" Italics ours.

Dr. Lefevre says:

"The reader is asked just here to recall the former picture of the foreign field divided into districts, in each of which *one* foreign evangelist has his residence, *his native ministers*, his lay co-workers, the sole direction of the work, and the sole ecclesiastical jurisdiction; a picture that beats that of the evangelist Paul, as drawn in the Acts of the Apostles! Now, let this

¹ That by "ecclesiastical propriety" Dr. Wilson means simply the courtesy extended by courts to corresponding members, is clear from his examples (see REVIEW, April, 1883, p. 341). Do corresponding members vote and *have joint jurisdiction* with the members of the court?

picture be filled out with a sprinkling of independent Presbyterian churches over each district, and what does it look like? *A quasi prelate over independent churches*, which have no bond of union except *that clergyman's care and government!* Let that one man . . . renounce his allegiance to the home Church, and we have a complete *Prelatical Church.*" Italics ours, with the exception, of course, of that "one" and the *quasi*.

If the reader will turn now to the REVIEW for January, 1883, beginning at page 126, he will see that we combated the views of Drs. Lefevre and Wilson as to the extent of power to be delegated to the foreign missionary. Dr. Lefevre had held that we should have all the power of a Session and of a Presbytery, and of the Synod in one respect. Dr. Wilson had held that we should have all the functions of a Presbytery. We maintained, first, that we could not have the power of Synod, and, second, that we could not have all the powers of Presbytery. On page 132 we show what are the powers of a Presbytery that we should have: "1. He may organise churches. 2. He may receive churches under his oversight, *if they are vacant* [italics in the original]; if they have pastors, they are perfect seed, and *must be let alone*. 3. He may ordain ruling elders and deacons. 4. He may examine, license, and ordain ministers of the gospel. 5. He may instal those ministers over churches, or commission them to evangelise and look after the newly formed churches. 6. He must take the oversight of *vacant* churches. (a) He must preach, rebuke, and comfort. (b) *If there are no ruling elders*, he must administer discipline. (c) If there are elders, he must *moderate the Session*. (d) If there is only one ruling elder, he must be disciplined by the commissioner of the Presbytery [missionary]."

We then showed which are the functions of Presbytery that he cannot exercise: "When a pastor is installed over a church, *the authority of the commissioner over it* CEASES. He cannot visit such churches to redress evils; he cannot review its records; he cannot oblige it to observe the Constitution; he cannot unite or divide it; he cannot concert measures to improve it; he cannot see that the injunctions of the higher courts are obeyed; and, finally, *he cannot receive and issue appeals*. Does any one say that the church is weak and needs the fostering care of the hand that brought it into existence? We reply, the objection is of the

essence of unbelief. God will foster it by his almighty grace, which is far better. The fostering care of an *extraordinary* officer, with a poor fallible heart, will surely transform itself, in the course of time, into inconvenient proportions. We may not approve of all that is done by the Session, but our disapprobation is *no justifiable ground for interference on our part*. We cannot, therefore, agree with the venerable Secretary [and the Chairman] that '*he carries with him and exercises all the functions of the Presbytery.*' "

It is surprisingly strange that, in the face of these clear and positive limitations which we made to the power of the foreign missionary, the Chairman and Secretary in the very next number of the REVIEW should represent us as wishing to have complete control and government of native churches, *Sessions, and ministers*. "But," says Dr. Lefevre, "does not the evangelist in this view look like a *prelate in his see*? Undoubtedly, to the superficial observer; for he is doing the work of a prelate. . . . And now suppose a *coup d' état* were performed just here, then the *quasi* prelate would become a real prelatical bishop with a see," but without any churches and without any officers under his jurisdiction; and without any power of jurisdiction at all, for he has cut himself off from the court whose delegated power he exercised. A very extraordinary kind of see, and an equally extraordinary kind of prelate, to be sure! We are willing to leave Dr. Lefevre to the several enjoyment of his very extraordinary discovery of what constitutes a *see* and a *prelate*. But he supposes a *coup d' état*. and judges this and our theory by the results that would logically follow. We cheerfully accept the test.

"Let that one man," on our theory, and those three or four men, on his evangelistic commission theory, "renounce their allegiance to the home Church," what then? Why, our one man must *cease to exercise any jurisdiction*. We hold that it is the power of his Presbytery delegated to him, and so soon as he renounces his allegiance to the court, that power ceases in him until he unites with a native Presbytery. But suppose he continues to work as he had been? ¹ Then he has no power whatever over

¹ Which would be a violation of the principles of our theory.

any minister or any church with a pastor; he has no power over any church with a Session—can only *moderate the Session*. He can only organise churches and ordain officers over them. He is neither a real prelate, nor an actual prelate, nor a *quasi* prelate. He is a very harmless personage, engaged in a very useful work.

Now, suppose the evangelistic commission renounces its allegiance to the General Assembly. Let us suppose, as in the case of our one man, that they continue to exercise their power as before; what then? Dr. Lefevre himself says, "Then the *quasi* court would become a real Presbyterian (?) court." Let it be remembered that the Chairman gives to this body the following powers: "It may ordain qualified and acceptable men as native pastors over the churches. . . . It may ordain native evangelists, who shall stand to it in the same relation that the Presbyterial evangelist sustains to his Presbytery; and it may exercise the power of discipline over these ordained officers, and decide appeals from the Sessions, until a Presbytery is created. . . . It may organise the native churches and ministers into a regular Presbytery, ordering the Sessions to elect, in due time, ruling elders as commissioners to the proposed Presbytery; convoking, at an appointed time and place the ministers and elders who are to compose the body." But suppose that the same "another law," which the Chairman says might lead the native churches to not unite themselves into a Presbytery, and so to remain independent Presbyterian churches on our theory, should also lead the members of the evangelistic commission not to "order" and "convoke" them into a Presbytery. Suppose it continues its work, just as we have supposed our one man to continue his, and we have a "convention" of three or four foreign clergymen wielding complete and absolute sway over churches, *elders, and ministers*, who have no right to representation in the body that tries and deposes them! Yet it is a real *Presbyterian court*!

But suppose the *coup d'état* is performed at Maranhao, Ceará, or Pernambuco, where the "actual facts" have provided only *one man*. Which would be the most pleasing spectacle for Presbyterians to contemplate, the one man cut loose on our theory or the one man cut loose on the Baltimore theory? Which contin-

gency our Church will provide for, remains to be seen by the way the Presbyteries vote on

THE PENDING OVERTURE ON THE EVANGELIST.

When doubts were raised in Brazil as to our power to ordain our native minister, Senhor Teixeira, on the ground that we had no constitutional authority to do so, but only the action of the Assembly of 1881, and the precedent of an ordination in China, which had been accepted by the Church, we sent up an overture to the Lexington Assembly to give us the power to ordain ministers, by omitting the words "ruling elders and deacons" in Par. 6, Sec. 2, Chap. IV., of our Form of Government, and substituting the words "to all the offices necessary to make them complete," a phrase taken from the Report adopted by the Staunton Assembly. This would change no principle of our polity, it simply extended our power to ordain. It did not touch the question of our mutual relations; it left the question of joint or several power just where it already was in our Book. For this very reason the venerable Secretary and others raised violent opposition to it in the Assembly. It was denounced as "Prelacy," in that it provided for a "one man power." The truth is the Book already provided for that, and the overture left it just where it had always stood in our Constitution. It was they who wanted, and still want, to *change our Constitution* so as to provide for joint power *among evangelists*. They saw and confessed the necessity of providing for the ordination of native ministers, and determined to make this necessity the horse upon which they should ride into our Constitution the whole evangelistic commission scheme. They therefore endeavored to defeat the overture and to have a special committee appointed to prepare a whole "new Chapter," to include provisions for the government of the native ministers, etc., etc.¹ The overture, however, prevailed and was sent down to the Presbyteries. The result of the vote does not seem to have been reported to the succeeding Assembly at Vicksburg. So far as we were able to calculate, however, a majority voted in favor of the overture, but many

¹ See Dr. Wilson's speech in the Assembly.

wished amendments to restrict and limit the exercise of the power by the one man. 1. Some wished a specific restriction to the foreign field, lest home evangelists should undertake to ordain ministers. 2. Others wished his power restricted to the time previous to the organisation of a native Presbytery, to prevent any conflict between his jurisdiction and that of the Presbytery. 3. Others wished a special grant of power to be made in each case of ordination of ministers. 4. Objection was made to the expression "he *has* the power."

The overture adopted by the Houston Assembly, and now before the Presbyteries, provides for all these limitations and restrictions. It leaves intact the paragraph as it stands at present in our Book, and adds a clause expressly for the foreign field, for the ordination of ministers, declaring that the power may be *intrusted*, and must be made for each specific case, and only previous to the organisation of a Presbytery in the field. It also provides for harmonious and concerted action among evangelists laboring in the same field, not by making their power joint (which would require them all to be commissioners of the Assembly, and thereby necessitate a redistribution of powers among our courts), but by forbidding any Presbytery to empower its commissioner to ordain a minister until it has the written statement of the other evangelists in the same field that the examinations of the candidate were conducted in their presence, and that they advise that he be ordained. The overture provides for the foreign evangelist remaining in connexion with and receiving his power from his Presbytery. The Presbyteries must determine whether they will retain the foreign missionaries as their commissioners, or turn them over entirely to the original and final jurisdiction of the Assembly and its Executive Committee. The overture provides for the native minister being enrolled as a member of the Presbytery whose commissioner ordains him, until a native Presbytery shall be organised. This is the only possible ecclesiastical connexion for him to have. To subject him to the authority of an ecclesiastical commission, with no rights or privileges, would be an iniquitous wrong that no native minister would submit to. If it be said that on the overture plan he will

have no privileges *practically*, we reply that he has as many as the man who ordained him: he has the right to report to the Presbytery and receive its counsel and sympathy; the right to overture any court of the Church; the right to appeal, and the right to express an authoritative opinion on any question; and he has the right to be tried by a *regular court*, composed of unprejudiced brethren, not by a body composed, say of *three men*, who may be unjustly prejudiced against him; or two of whom may be, while the third is not.

A *protest* was made against the overture, signed by nine members of the Assembly, on the following grounds:

"1. That the proposed amendment would make the Book of Church Order self-contradictory—Chap. VI., Sec. 2, Art. 1; Chap. V., Sec. 7, Art. 2."

The first of these passages simply says that ordination is by "a court." But Chap. I., Art. 6, provides for exceptions when it says that "the ordination of officers is *ordinarily* by a court." The last passage quoted by the protestants (strange inconsistency on their part,) *provides for one exception*, by providing for ordination by ecclesiastical commissions. Chap. IV., Sec. 2, Art. 6, provides for *another exception*, when it says that "to *him* (one minister) may be intrusted power to *ordain ruling elders and deacons* therein." Is the ordination of a minister any more inconsistent with the general principle than the ordination of ruling elders and deacons? The amendment will be in perfect harmony with the preceding clause, as it already stands, and with the whole Book.

"2. That it is inexpedient to introduce into the organic law of the Church a provision . . . of only temporary duration." (a) But it is not of temporary duration. The necessity will continue as long as there shall be an unevangelised tribe on earth. (b) It is necessary to make some provision for the ordination of native ministers; the only question is, shall it be in the way proposed by the overture, or by evangelistic commissions?

"3. It is in opposition to the uniform practice of all other Presbyterian Churches in the mission field." (a) All other Churches have "mixed Presbyteries;" our Church having de-

ecided against this uniform practice in 1876, at the instance of the China brethren, any other plan that we may adopt will be contrary to the practice of other Churches. (b) But what is their practice *previous to the formation of a Presbytery*? The overture only contemplates the period before a Presbytery is formed; it still leaves our Church free to continue in her opposition to, or to again fall in with, the practice of having mixed Presbyteries.

“4. It coördinates presbyterial authority with that of the other foreign evangelists who, by refusing to accede to the recommendation of our foreign evangelist, may prevent the contemplated ordination.”

We really do not see the point of this objection. The proposed amendment secures concerted, harmonious action among all our evangelists laboring in the same field, and effectually prevents any one of them—a novice, or injudicious one—from ordaining a man whom the majority of his fellow-evangelists think ought not to be ordained. This, it seems to us, should be a recommendation, and not a ground of objection and protest.

“5. The principle embodied in the action is subversive of Presbyterian polity and introduces Episcopacy.” (a) How so? By giving to one man the power to ordain? The Book, as it already stands, does that, when it gives to one man the power to ordain ruling elders and deacons. Have we been practising Episcopacy for generations without being aware of the fact? (b) The amendment provides that the power to ordain ministers is to be *intrusted* by the Presbytery, just as power is intrusted at present to ordain ruling elders. It is even more restricted than at present, in that the grant of power must be made for *each specific case*. Queer Episcopacy, this! (c) Perhaps the protestants see such a difference between a minister and a ruling elder that an essential difference is made between the ordination of the two. Are they themselves entirely free from Episcopal ideas about the clergy?

“6. It will introduce invidious distinctions among Presbyteries, some having on their rolls the names of native evangelists, and others not, while the foreign missionary work is the common heritage of the whole Church.”

Do not some Presbyteries now have on their roll the names of foreign evangelists and others not? Is the work for that reason any less the heritage of the whole Church? Do the Presbyteries that have not sent out missionaries feel that for that reason the work is not theirs?

“7. It renders presbyterial oversight of the native evangelists, especially in cases of discipline, almost impossible.” By no means; only imperfect, as it is over the foreign evangelist. But what will they do with him until there is a Presbytery in the foreign field? The only Presbytery to which he can belong is the home Presbytery. Would they leave him without any ecclesiastical connexion? The imperfect connexion with the home Presbytery is preferable to that, certainly. Would they subject him to the jurisdiction of a native Session? We shall see further on why this should not be done. Do the protestants prefer the rule of evangelistic commissions? No native minister would submit to it.

“8. It may arouse native prejudices against the mission work, as the native evangelists shall become members of our Presbyteries.” We cannot conceive of any reason for such prejudices. Senhor Teixeira was enrolled by Transylvania; the native Christians know and regard it as natural and just.

“9. While our foreign evangelist and the native evangelist ordained by him shall possess equal rights and privileges as presbyters, yet the native evangelist can only have access to the Presbytery through the foreign evangelist, thereby placing the former at a great disadvantage.” (a) He may have access through any one who can translate for him. (b) When the case comes to the court, we believe the native would receive more consideration than the foreigner. His only disadvantage would be in having to translate his defence. (c) All native ministers learn English—some speak it.

“10. What is proposed is contrary to the teachings of the New Testament Scripture on the subject of ordination.” This is a gratuitous assumption, and unfounded, as we shall see. We have seen that what is proposed is in harmony with our Constitution. Is our Constitution contrary to Scripture?

There is another plan that has been proposed and strongly advocated, that deserves serious consideration. It is to allow

NATIVE SESSIONS TO ORDAIN NATIVE MINISTERS.

This would certainly be infinitely better than evangelistic commissions. The Session already has the constitutional power to ordain ruling elders and deacons, whereas the Assembly has no power to ordain. The Session is inherently a Presbytery as well as the Assembly, and being the *germ of the native church*, has more right to assume the function of the Presbytery than has the Assembly of a Church with Presbyteries. The Session is a *court*, and not a mere "convention" like the evangelistic commission. The native ministers would be under the jurisdiction of a *court*, and the pastors would be members of the body.

Still, the plan would not be feasible or advisable:

1. The native elders are not educated men, and not qualified to judge of the candidates' fitness to teach the truth. It would be ruinous to give such men the power to ordain those who are to be the instructors of the Church and the expounders and defenders of the word of God.

2. The plan contemplates, of course, for it involves as a logical consequence, the jurisdiction of the Session over the ministers they ordain. Would this be feasible and wise? (a) If a Session should ordain a man as an *evangelist*, he must become a member of the court, and have a right to deliberate and vote with the pastor and elders; he would have equal power with the pastor over the church. If not, then he is under the jurisdiction of a body of which he is not a member! On the other hand, can one Session commission an evangelist to take charge of feeble churches, and perhaps receive and issue appeals? (b) No educated native *pastor* would be willing to be placed under the jurisdiction of his elders, generally uneducated men, and always inexperienced as to the usages and laws that govern deliberative bodies and especially church courts; and in questions, too, in which one or more of the elders would be interested—perhaps parties.

3. Such elders are incompetent to judge cases of heresy.

4. A native Presbytery being formed, the ministers would be transferred from the jurisdiction of the Sessions to that of the Presbytery; this would excite the jealousy of the elders. Better

always begin right. The jurisdiction of the home Presbytery would be sufficiently perfect for all practical purposes, and would prove to be infinitely more conducive to peace, harmony, and prosperity than would that of native Sessions.

5. The Church would not want her foreign evangelists to be under the jurisdiction of native Sessions. Are we better than native ministers? If so, in what respect?

6. The plan is unnecessary. The foreign evangelist is there for the purpose of planting, not the *germ*, nor a fully developed tree, but the seed; but the seed of the external government is not perfect without the power of order—*i. e.*, without the teaching elder. The home Presbytery can empower their commissioner to ordain native ministers in her name.

But the advocates of this plan have urged it principally upon the ground that there is *no scripture authority* for one man alone to ordain a minister. Let us examine the New Testament and see if there is.

ORDINATION BY PAUL AND BARNABAS.

In Acts xiv. 23 we learn that when Paul and Barnabas had evangelised Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, they “ordained them elders in every church.” They had been set apart to their work by the laying on of hands by *the same Presbytery* at Antioch. So when two men are now sent out to the same field by *the same Presbytery*, they should exercise their power of jurisdiction jointly. We do not mean to say that Paul’s power of jurisdiction was delegated to him. But the same court set apart both him and Barnabas, and the example left us by those two men and that court sustains our view. Whether there were teaching elders among those ordained by them, we cannot say, for there is nothing in the context to indicate this.

ORDINATION BY TIMOTHY.

Paul says to Timothy: “Lay hands suddenly on no man” (1 Tim. v. 22). He was expected, then, to ordain. In chapter iii. he tells him who he was to ordain: they were men who de-

sired the office of a bishop; and, among other qualifications, they were to be "apt to teach," a phrase constantly cited to prove that *ministers* should be educated men. Timothy was therefore commanded to ordain ministers. This is confirmed by the apostle saying: "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit *thou* (one man) to faithful men who shall be *able to teach others* also."

If it be suggested that he was to ordain in conjunction with a court, we reply: 1. Such a thing is not hinted at anywhere in either Epistle, and is therefore a gratuitous assumption. 2. This would also prove that he did not ordain ruling elders alone, and hence would prove that the present provision of our Constitution which authorises us to ordain ruling elders and deacons is without foundation in Scripture. The supposition would prove too much.

ORDINATION BY TITUS.

To Titus Paul says: "For this cause I left thee in Crete that *thou* (one man) shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and *ordain elders in every city*, as I had appointed thee." That some of these were to be teaching elders there is strong presumptive evidence in the fact that Crete was a large and populous island, having many "cities" (called by Homer the Hundred-cities Island), and we cannot conceive that those numerous churches would be left without any teaching elders! But we have most *positive proof* that there were teaching elders who "labored in word and doctrine." Among other qualifications, Paul says the bishop must be a man "holding fast the faithful word in teaching, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsaying" (ch. i. ver. 9). No hint is given that any court was to take part in these ordinations at the first establishment of the Church. The advocates of this plan for ordaining ministers by native Sessions have called loudly for scriptural authority for one man ordaining a minister. We have given it. Now let them show scriptural authority for our ordaining only ruling elders and then leaving them to ordain the teaching elders. Let them show that Timothy and Titus so acted! We do not envy them the undertaking.

The case of Titus in Crete is particularly damaging to those who lay so much stress upon the necessity of ordination being the *joint act* of two or more persons. If this be so, *why did not Paul remain in Crete until those officers, especially those native ministers, were ordained?* Why did he not wait and act jointly with Titus? Instead of doing so, just as soon as the island was evangelised, the old, prudent, experienced, inspired apostle went off to preach the gospel somewhere else, and left the young "novice fresh from the seminary," the uninspired and comparatively inexperienced disciple, to "ordain elders (including ministers) in every city"! They exercised the power of order together; when it came to the exercise of jurisdiction, the venerable apostle left, and the young disciple remained to do this alone! If the apostle had remained only a few days or weeks to do it jointly, what a noble example of prudence and wisdom he would have given! But he did not. Or if he had only dropped one single sentence in the Epistle he sent back, instructing Titus to act jointly with a court, or to wait and act jointly with Artemas or Tychicus or Apollos (ch. iii. 12, 13), he would have settled the question in favor of the joint-power-among-evangelists theory. But he did not.

And shall our Church be wise beyond that which is written?

"What is not commanded is forbidden."

"To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them" (Is. viii. 20).

JOHN BOYLE.

ARTICLE IV.

THE EXODUS OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL FROM EGYPT AND THEIR SOJOURN IN THE WILDERNESS FORTY YEARS.

This is a biblical theme. However voluminous the pages of history are, and however radiant those pages may be with interesting facts and startling incidents, this exodus and this sojourn in the wilderness will surpass them all. They are curious, unique, insulated, and dissimilar to other histories.

We have read of caravans whose starting point was Cairo and whose stopping place was Mecca; we have read of seventy thousand pilgrims, with one hundred and twenty thousand camels, crossing the great Arabian desert from Damascus south to the tomb of the prophet; we have read of caravans from China and remotest parts of Asia, traversing the entire breadth of the continent from the Chinese to the Mediterranean and Black Seas in two hundred and forty-three days; but what were they all to the exodus? It takes the precedence of antecedent, contemporaneous, and subsequent history. Possibly you may refer to the movements of Tamerlane or of Gengis Khan or to Xerxes in his march with over two millions at his heels to meet the Greeks at the straits of Thermopylæ. What were these but vain-glorious military movements, actuated by dishonorable motives? Perhaps you may refer to the old Syrian and Chaldean conquerors, under the tramp of whose armies the desert of Arabia and the mountains of Palestine trembled; but after all you have gotten no match to the Israelitish exodus and sojourn in the wilderness. You may insist that these last may be thrown into the shade by the Goths and Vandals invading and settling the south of Europe, or the Saracens taking the military occupation of Spain in the Dark Ages, or the Crusaders pouring their multitudes of a deluded population upon Palestine and contiguous countries to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the infidels; or, taking a mighty leap over numerous intermediate examples and coming down to the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon, we

may find something so startling, so brilliant, as to tempt us to overlook all these forty years, all these signs and wonders, this opening up of a passage through the Red Sea, this cloud by day, this pillar of fire by night, this water from the rock, this feeding of a multitude by manna—yes, tempted to overlook the meek, the unassuming Moses at the head of six hundred thousand who were ready to go to war, for the meteoric displays of this modern warrior, this revolutionist. Yes, tempted to close our ears upon the thunders and trumpeting of Mt. Sinai, and our eyes upon the awful illuminations there displayed for the pyrotechnics that commend themselves to human admiration.

With all of our supposed familiarity with the biblical account of Jacob and his household settling in Egypt, of their expanding into twelve great tribes, of their deliverance from the bondage into which they had so unfortunately fallen, of the passage through the Red Sea and the wilderness up to Kadesh Barnea which had been effected for them, of their sojourn forty years in the wilderness, we hesitate not to say that few of us rise to a full conception of the magnitude of the subject, there being far more in it and about it than we have been accustomed to suppose.

AS TO THEIR NUMBERS.

The passages which enable us to approximate those numbers are Exodus xii. 37: "And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children and a mixed multitude;" Numbers i. 2, etc., where the Lord spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, saying, "Take ye the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel after their families, by the house of their fathers, with the number of their names, every male by their polls, from twenty years old and upward, all that are able to go forth to war in Israel."

Here, then, we have six hundred thousand men of war. The women could not have been much less numerous. There are six hundred thousand more. What will be done with the invalids above twenty years old and the superannuated, and what with the mixed multitude? May not these run up to six hundred thou-

sand, or near it? And what with the youth below twenty? In our judgment these figures make two million and four hundred thousand. If you mistrust this calculation, we will throw in the three thousand five hundred and fifty which Moses ascertained in the second year of his residence in the wilderness to be an increase of the congregation over a previous census. We will add to that again the tribe of Levi, which, not being numbered, we can only approximate its population by comparing it with the other tribes, which run up to two hundred thousand each, or to some figure not distant from it. The items which go to make up the sum total of the congregation of the children of Israel are the men of war, the women of the congregation, the invalids, the superannuated, the mixed multitude, the tribe of Levi, and the three thousand five hundred and fifty of an excess in the men of war ascertained in the taking of a second census. Now when we announce two million four hundred thousand as the sum total of the congregation of the children of Israel as the foregoing figures and reasoning would warrant, we are sustained by the recent commentators, Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown, and the noted traveller, Dr. Edward Robinson, who takes higher figures than ourselves, namely, two million five hundred thousand, and by Dr. Thomas Scott, who stops his figures at two millions. We are further sustained by a recognised fact in the history of nations, that the men of war bear a certain proportion to the civilians, which is equivalent to saying that if the former are given, we can ascertain the latter or approximate it. That proportion is often as one to four, or nearly so, varying, it may be, in certain other instances from three up to seven.

If the men of war are given, multiply by four and you have the entire population of that community. In other instances the number three may bring to more accurate results; in others again, the figures five, six, or seven may answer. In certain conditions, such as in the United States, there are seven civilians to one man of war. In other words, tell us how many men of war are in the United States, and we will tell you what is the entire population of these States. Now we have told you, or rather Moses has told you, how many men of war were in Israel,

and that information shuts us up to the necessity of supposing that there must have been altogether of men, women, invalids, superannuated, and children, some two million four hundred thousand, more or less.

So great are these figures, and so far beyond the usual range, we imagine that a feeling of incredulity has gone over our readers, and if utterance were given to it, it would be to inquire: Can these things be so? The inquiry would come up from old and young, Are you not mistaken in your statements? Yes; they are wide of our former impressions; they are wide of the impressions of scores of Bible readers; but the question is, Whose impressions are wrong—those of our former years or those of the Church who have given way to an indefinite popular opinion without a particular examination? When the Bible speaks of the congregation of the children of Israel, it does not refer to a collection of a few thousands, as we have been accustomed to suppose, but to an assemblage, or a series of assemblages, running up into the millions. Those of us who are accustomed to sparsely settled districts, where one lives here, and another there, and a third somewhere else, where villages constitute the most populous localities, where the presence of a few thousands in one place seems to us to be nearly overwhelming—we say those of us who have this sort of an experience feel as though we were asked to contemplate the infinite when asked to comprehend millions. It is to us a big idea. Before we can do justice to the subject we must leave off our earlier impressions and let our minds out, give them scope, and allow them to enlarge as facts will justify.

If the entire population of South Carolina from Charleston round by Georgetown, Camden, Columbia, and Greenville, and from the mountains to the seaboard, from the east to the west, counting in 1880, 995,577, or one million in round numbers, were to turn out under marching orders, would you tolerate in us the assertion that they would not be equal to the congregation of the children of Israel, unless these South Carolinians were supplemented by a slice from Georgia? Or suppose New York city would put her people out into camps, a people numbering 1,206,299 in 1880; that Newark, with her 136,508, and

Brooklyn, with her 566,663, would do the same, these three sums making 1,909,470, or two millions in round numbers, we would at first imagine that these metropolitans would crush out or run over these rustic Israelites or swallow them up. No. Whatever these New Yorkers, these Newarkers, these inhabitants of Brooklyn, might be on the score of military prowess, civilisation, the arts, and wealth, they would not outnumber the children of Israel. Is our receptivity adequate to the task? Can we take in the numbers? Is there room in our heads for the reception of the idea, or will we suffer ourselves to be influenced by opinions of juvenile and less informed years which would discard these calculations and lay them aside as fabulous and incredible?

We have to do one of two things: either to accept the statement of Moses as true, or as not true. Was he giving us a true statement when he tells us that the men of war were 600,000, and inferentially that the entire population must have been four times that number, or some number approximating it; or, in giving that statement, was he indulging in hyperbole and fable, intending nothing more by it than to impose upon our credulity? If we seize upon the improbability of this numerical statement, and reject it for that reason, then we may take the same liberty with other statements of this kind in the Old Testament with the expectation of making a similar disposal of them. If we halt at big numbers in this part of the Old Testament, ascribing their insertion here to a fondness for exaggeration on the part of the historian, we will then have much to do in discriminating between the true and false in other parts of the Bible.

Take the history of the wars between Abijah of Judah and Jeroboam of Israel, as recorded in 2 Chronicles xiii., where the sacred penman tells us that the former (Abijah) set the battle in array with an army of 400,000, while Jeroboam set the battle in array with 800,000, the slain of Jeroboam's defeated army being 500,000. Look at the aggregate of the two armies, which swelled up to the prodigious number of 1,200,000! Incredible! the ignorant would say; incredible! the sceptical would say. Behind these numerical statements lies the question as to the capacity of Palestine to sustain a population of 4,800,000 on a

territory not exceeding 200 miles in length, with scarcely half of that for its breadth. To us who are in some respects accustomed to little things, and who are ready to reject whatever lies beyond the range of our modern experience and observation, these numerical statements are almost incredible.

Well, if we bring the pen of obliteration across this part of the Old Testament history, we will of course come down with slashing effect upon Rollin, Plutarch, Isocrates, Herodotus, and Xenophon for telling us that Xerxes' forces, when arrived at Thermopylæ, were 2,641,610, and that the aggregate of civilians, soldiers, and of all that followed him, as 5,283,220. If we eliminate from the biblical histories the vast, the marvellous, the extraordinary, or whatever does not come within the scope of our observation, we do most fearfully mutilate those histories and pave the way for a sweeping process of expunging all over the Bible.

What we want in this connexion is a realising sense of numbers; what we want is a conception that will take in millions. What we need is an opportunity to ride around and through some of these old Oriental armies to catch up a conception of their extent. If we wish to expand our ideas on this subject, we might be helped by visits to New York, London, Paris, Berlin, and some of the more populous provinces of China, which visits might operate as quickeners of our ideas, if not as originators. How much help would it be to us if our imagination were let out, restrained by an intelligent judgment, and conceive of Xerxes' army on a pillaging excursion through our Southern States, going east, with the rear of it back in Georgia beyond the Savannah River, with the front on the streets of Due West, or perhaps on the banks of the Saluda! If the children of Israel were coming up from the south in this direction, the rear would be more miles distant than our philosophy ever dreamed of—away down near Augusta, beyond Troy—while the front would present themselves in our vicinity. What would be thought of an army which could not find room to camp between Abbeville Court House and Due West, twelve miles distant!

Aware as we are that we are dealing in subjects out of the

ordinary range, and that we are making statements that carry an air of incredibility about them, it has occurred to us that we might introduce upon the witness stand a new witness, one whose judgment on the particular subject in question would certainly go farther than that of the commentator. In pursuance of that object, we addressed a letter to the Secretary of War at Washington, through the kindness of our Congressman, the Hon. D. Wyatt Aiken, to which the following was returned in answer :

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, March 4, 1884.

Hon. D. Wyatt Aiken, House of Representatives :

DEAR SIR: Referring to the letter from the Rev. Mr. Boyce which you referred to me requesting answers to the questions therein submitted relative to matters incident to the exodus of the children of Israel, I have the honor to submit the following answers made on a modern basis, which I hope will enable Mr. Boyce to gain by deduction such information as may be useful in completing his lecture on the subject.

First. "If the men of war in a community be given, what will the entire population be, supposing the children of Israel numbered 2,400,000?" The entire population in this country is seven times as great as its arms-bearing population. On this basis, the number of the children of Israel capable of bearing arms would have been 342,857.

Second. "How much ground would serve for camping purposes for an army of the size of the children of Israel?" To camp an army of 342,857 would have required about thirteen and one-half square miles, taking as a basis that it requires 400 by 481 paces for a regiment of infantry 1,000 strong, or about twenty-five acres. This, however, does not take into consideration the space necessary between camps of regiments.

Third. "If in marching order in one column, how many miles in length would that column be?" The length of such a column (342,857 men) marching by fours (the modern formation) would be about seventy-one miles. This, of course, would be considerably shortened by increase of front, as the formation no doubt was in those days.

Fourth. "The daily rations necessary for such an army, making the estimate on a modern basis?" To give the two principal parts of the rations will probably answer the purpose of Mr. Boyce. The amount of fresh meat and bread necessary to feed an army of 342,857 would be per day: fresh meat, 428,500 pounds; bread, 385,714 pounds.

Fifth. "If they had to depend on foraging, how much of a well-settled country would be necessary to furnish such foraging?" For an army of 342,857 men to march through a country and subsist by foraging, it would

be necessary that the force be divided into as many as eight or ten separate columns, and the country through which the march is to be made would have to be well settled and highly productive and fully one hundred miles in breadth.

Sixth. "How many wagons would be required to transport the baggage, rations, and sick of such an army?" It would require at the rate of three wagons to 1,000 men for the baggage; this would make a train of 1,028 wagons; and it would require 271 wagons to transport one day's rations of meat and bread, and 1,086 ambulances for the sick.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. C. DRUM, *Adjutant General.*

Here the Secretary reverses the order suggested by our first question. He assumes the whole number of the children of Israel to be 2,400,000, the very figures we wanted to be proved, and from that works back to ascertain the men of war, which he makes out to be 342,857, agreeably to a method of calculation which prevails in these United States. But the Bible gives the men of war, and it was from that datum we wanted the entire population worked out.

Let us see the results of the Secretary's calculation. To camp an army of 342,587 would require thirteen and one-half square miles. Then the question would follow, How many miles would suffice for 600,000, the real number of the military men of Israel? The answer would be, twenty miles, more or less. But press the matter a little farther, and ask, What would be the camping grounds of the entire Israelitish nation? The answer would be, ninety miles, or figures approximating that. But taking the Secretary of War's calculation, where would his army of 342,587, the army proper, as he supposes, of the children of Israel, run out at, or what length of line would they cover? The answer is, seventy-one miles. What if the 2,400,000 were put out in line? We hesitate to give it.

If we have cleared up the subject of numbers, we stand amazed at their

SUSTENTATION.

What would be thought if the inhabitants of South Carolina and of North Carolina were thrust out with their kneading-troughs and vessels into the Desert of Arabia, where we have no

account of depots, of boat-landings, of seaports, of commissary departments; of long lines of wagons transporting provisions to a given point; of camel trains or of ships laden with foreign goods; no account of farming countries on the line of march or at convenient distances where foraging parties could sustain themselves, but instead thereof an utter destitution of the supplies of animal life? We are perhaps prepared to appreciate the miracles that served as a benevolent substitute for that provision which nature required, and which nature, in this instance, refused to give. Instead of the articles that go to make up the staff of life, there was the MANNA. It will assist in appreciating the magnitude of this arrangement to remember that the fresh meat and bread necessary to feed an army of 342,857 (which is the estimate of the Secretary of War), namely, fresh meat, 428,500 pounds; bread, 385,714 pounds, requiring a train of 271 wagons to transport one day's rations of meat and bread, and for the baggage a train of 1,028 wagons. Think, then, of 1,299 wagons being necessary to the army proper (342,857) assumed by the Secretary of War, and 1,086 ambulances for the sick! But there were no such ambulances, no such trains of wagons, no collecting of such quantities of rations, no commissary arrangements. The manna falling down about the camps in the morning was to the Israelitish congregation everything in the provisionary line, and superseded the use of transportation of supplies. Now, if we extend the calculation to discover how many days were in these thirty-eight or forty years and multiply these days by the daily rations as already given, the figures would be astounding. With wonder we read the case of Elijah being fed with ravens at the brook Kerith, of the support he received at the house of the Zidonian widow for two years when her barrel of meal failed not nor her cruse of oil. With similar feelings we contemplate his experience in the desert, when he was fleeing to Horeb, the mount of God, being fed by an angel. With increased wonder will we think of the 5,000 whom our Saviour supplied to repletion with five loaves and two small fishes. But what shall we say when we approach the case before us, where the miracle is repeated, multiplied a thousandfold, where it takes in

a nation not for a day but months, and those months running up to forty years? What would you think if Georgia were to become a desert, and its inhabitants turned out of doors, with not a barrel of meal or cruse of oil in all their dwellings, to be fed miraculously yesterday, to-day, to-morrow, and the next day, and on for weeks and months up to forty years?

But what with respect to that other element of animal comfort and subsistence—WATER?

We of this western hemisphere know but little on this subject. If we want an intelligent vivid description of a desert, and by contrast the admirable qualities and uses of water, let us ask the caravans that cross the great desert of Sahara or Arabia, to whom the presence of a well or fountain or a river is the most delicious of all sights. No wonder that the children of Israel cried out at Rephidim when they realised the situation—Water, water—the cry coming up from a thousand lips. But the emergency was met. Water was forthcoming from the rock at Horeb, not as a rivulet across which a man could step or a child could wade, but a great gushing fountain, a copious stream, wide and deep, rushing down the mountain side, pouring over rocks, dashing through sand-beds, meandering through or round the camps, slaking the thirst of priest and Levite, old and young, the ox and the ass. No such stream ever gladdened Arabia or any other country, for it withstood the evaporating power of the sun, the absorbing sands of the desert, and had a license given it to disregard the law of gravitation, to go up or down grade, as suited the marchings of the children of Israel.

There, too, was the CLOUDY PILLAR, which served the double purpose of a guide and a protection to the Hebrew camp—furnishing an indication of the divine will in reference to their stoppages, their striking and pitching tents. What a phenomenon! It was not a dark cloud, ominous of a storm or a precursor of destruction, but a great outspreading awning of miles in extent, commensurate with the camps or columns of the children of Israel, intervening between them and the sun.

There is the passage of the RED SEA. Whether the sea was five or ten or nineteen miles wide, does not affect the miracle.

The packing up of these waters into well defined-walls of ten, twenty, or thirty feet high on each side, and their remaining in that position during the night, or it may be longer, was strictly miraculous, if there was anything of that order connected with the exodus. We have read of cities being overwhelmed with volcanic action, such as Herculaneum and Pompeii, and of the receding of the tides from the shore seaward, and of their leaving the bottom bare, and of their return again to sweep away the last vestiges of human habitations; but we have never heard of armies crossing arms of the sea dry-shod, excepting in this instance and in that of the children of Israel making their way over Jordan when entering Canaan.

What do all these things mean—this exodus and this sojourn in the wilderness forty years? Are we to regard it as a piece of tame history, or a history so wrought up with Oriental exaggerations, that one-half of it is not to be believed?

1. Some such disposal of the children of Israel, as was involved in the exodus, became necessary, for their existence required it. They could not have remained in that populous packed-up country, Egypt, with all its fertility. The Nile with all its productiveness could not have sustained the Pharaohs, the pyramid-builders, the Egyptians, and children of Israel much longer. So that these children of Israel must needs get out of that land, or otherwise Egypt would have spewed them, or some other part of its population, out of its mouth.

Away down underneath this historical fact—the Israelitish exodus—we may discover the doctrine of the necessity of a corresponding separation of God's people from the world. The children of Israel must come up out of Egypt from their task-masters; must get away from them. So the Church, although resident in the world for a time, must come out of it, or, being in it, must be separate. A much longer stay of the Hebrews in Egypt was well-nigh impracticable, in view of both their temporal and spiritual interests. They were even then on the very verge of their moral ruin. Their fathers, the patriarchs, came down into Egypt believers in one true and living God; but now they were gone wild in their theistic views. A much longer stay in that idolatrous

country would have involved them in the veriest paganism, with the last vestiges of monotheism swept away from them.

2. The exodus furnished an opportunity to inflict judgment upon the Egyptians for their oppression of the children of Israel. God's people are not oppressed with impunity. As Pharaoh demeaned himself proudly toward these Hebrews, little did he think that there was a cloud over his head surcharged with the lightnings of divine vengeance, which came down upon him in sundry forms, culminating in his overthrow in the Red Sea. The Henry the VIIIths, the bloody Marys, the Neros, Louis XIVths, Philip the Seconds of Spain, the French kings, and Popes, may oppress the Protestants, may slaughter the Huguenots and the Waldenses by thousands, may incarcerate them in the dungeons of the Inquisition, or drive them out of their homes over the cold Alps; the desperadoes of the French Revolution may make war with civilisation, with Christianity, and everything that is good; but God will be avenged on these workers of iniquity.

3. The exodus and sojourn in the wilderness were ordered with a view to a reformatory, disciplinary purpose, to school this hitherto comparatively unrestrained people into a great theocratic community, with God for their King and his will for their laws. It required something like this to break off their sins by righteousness, to strain them up to a right living and right views of things. And it took these buffetings, these well laid on stripes, these sharp hard providences, these scorchings of the Arabian sun, these flying serpents, these thirstings, these long and desolate years, to effect that object, the bringing them under discipline, to break down their former crude habits, and bend them to right customs. If to effect this object with the children of Israel, God inflicted not one superfluous stripe, not one superfluous judgment; if he detained them not one superfluous year in the desert; if it took all this to do, then we may infer that the judgments which he inflicts upon the Church as a body, or upon individual believers, to purge them that they may bring forth more fruit, are not superfluities, are not in excess of what are absolutely necessary. Underlying this dispensation is the doctrine, that where God's people are beaten with many stripes, their case requires many stripes; that

where there are buffetings, scourgings, bonds, and imprisonment and divers tribulations, such visitation is for the glory of God and the good of them who are exercised thereby.

4. This exodus and sojourn in the wilderness teach the truth that God is in communication with his Church in a sense that he is not with others, making revelations to Abraham, the patriarchs, to their seed of the house of Israel, and to his covenant people in the several ages. Was he ever known so to deal with the Egyptians, or of his sending out couriers over the Mountains of the Moon to assemble the tribes of Africa on the banks of the Congo, or on the head-waters of the Nile, to proclaim to them the law as he did to the children of Israel on Mount Sinai? Or did you ever hear of his dispatching messengers over Mount Lebanon among the northern tribes, and east among the Arabs or Chaldeans or Persians, calling upon them to assemble at some given point, that he might make to them some gracious proclamations? God's gracious dealings with a people are on the assumption of the existence of a new covenant with that people, and that again assumes the intervention of a mediator in the person of God's Son. How communicative he was to the Church in the wilderness, as the congregation of the children of Israel were called, by Moses, Aaron, prophets, and priests, and by personal manifestations on Mount Sinai—no such correspondence with outside communities having been kept up, or ever known to exist.

5. This history carries with it the intimation that the Church is made up of indestructible elements. What a pressure of physical, social, and moral evils was brought to bear upon her! How crushing, how demoralising, those influences; but withal she survived them, as the burning bush survived the fires which threatened its consumption. The Church, as embodied in the children of Israel, was exposed to consuming influences, but was not consumed. This truth holds good in the history of the Church all the way down. The fires of persecution may kindle upon her, martial forces may be marched against her, the very powers of the world may be set upon her; the great guns that demolish towers and fortifications may be fired upon her; death and hell may be in league—and down goes the Church, we would say. But, no;

there is the burning bush. We are often uneasy about the Church, and, taking things as they appear to be, we have a right to be. But then again, let us lift up our heads and take courage, for the elements of indestructibility are in it.

J. BOYCE.

ARTICLE V.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INVISIBLE CHURCH
UPON THE VISIBLE CHURCH IN THE FORMULA-
TION OF HER CREED.¹

Brethren of the Alumni Association :

The cursory reader of history, for whom it is merely a chronicle of events in their outward relations, may amuse his leisure hours as with a book of stories, finding in the recital of the deeds of heroes, and in the growth, the decline and fall of empires, an interest akin to that awakened by the novel. But the true student of history knows that the story of the past read simply as the narrative of events is not history. The problem which presents itself to him is not merely, What are the facts? but, What are the inner relations of the facts? He recognises it as his task to trace effects to their causes, and to read the character and importance of the causes in their effects. He knows that not always that which is obtrusive and on the surface, but often what is obscure and easily escapes attention, because of its apparent insignificance, is the really efficient and determining factor. On the pages of the contemporaneous chronicler he must study a picture which from the nature of the case is more or less defective in perspective. He finds there related, in minutest detail it may be, what was suited to appeal to the imagination or to the passions

¹ This lecture was delivered May 13th, 1885, by the Rev. Dr. J. F. LATIMER, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, Va., before the Alumni Association of the Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C., and is published in the SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW at its request.

of the times, while he is left, more often than otherwise, to discover in mere hints and incidental statements the true explanation of the course of events, and therefore the true history of the period which he investigates. Or if he commit himself to the guidance of those who have made a critical study of the sources, and have left on record the product of their labors, he finds them differing often in their interpretations, so that their books prove to be only imperfect and partial presentations of the subject, in the cross-lights of which he must seek to discover the truth hidden from the gaze of each and all. It is for this reason that history in all its departments presents one of the most difficult subjects of human investigation. But most difficult of all, as I conceive, is the history of the Church. For while, in secular history, there is this obscure factor often so controlling in its influence upon the movement of events, it is still a natural element, and traceable to ordinary human motives; but in the history of the Church there is another factor in addition, far more obscure and difficult to deal with, inasmuch as it is due to a life superhuman in its origin, and at the same time a life which resides not in the entire visible body, but in the bosoms of individuals known with certainty only to God, constituting the invisible or true Church of God. From the very nature of the case, the influence thus exerted cannot be studied directly, but only indirectly. We can never know, beyond all question, that any particular actions of any given individuals are the fruit of the indwelling Spirit, but we are left to detect in the cumulative results of many minor influences those tendencies and movements which can be explained only by the presence of this divine life.

In view of the inherent difficulty of the subject, it is not without hesitation that I undertake this evening the discussion of a topic connected with ecclesiastical history. I do so only because the pressure of my recent duties as teacher in this department in a sister institution has left me no alternative between the use of material accumulated in pursuance of those duties and the declination of your invitation to fill the office of lecturer on this occasion.

I ask your attention to the consideration of

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INVISIBLE UPON THE VISIBLE CHURCH
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HER CREED IN DOGMATIC FORM.

The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are in themselves complete and adequate to the end for which the revelation they contain was given. They teach us fully and finally what we are to believe concerning God. They give us all the information we need for our highest interests concerning man's origin and his first estate. They explain his condition of sin and misery, and discover in all their fulness and completeness the means and methods of his recovery, in its inception, progress, and consummation. As nothing may be taken from them, so may nothing be added to them.

But although the truth is thus revealed in the very words of God, so that all the doctrines which relate to the salvation of the soul are in the Scriptures in their entirety, and, as there given, adapted to become the basis of a living faith, yet they are not set forth in their scientific form and relations.

Now, it was inevitable that the time should come when the process must begin of giving to the teachings of the Bible systematic shape in explicit creeds. As man is, in every other sphere, a philosopher, such must he become, sooner or later, in his interpretation of the oracles of God; and as God's truth in nature is capable of being so systematised as to satisfy that ruling passion, if I may so speak, of the intellect for order and logical arrangement, so is God's truth as revealed in the word. And to the visible Church, intrusted from the beginning with the oracles themselves, was the important office committed of presiding over the formulation of the truth in scientific statements. But the Church neither as a whole nor in any of her individual members was inspired as were the holy men of old who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. What safeguard was there, then, against the final adoption of those errors which were sure to be developed, should the spirit of speculation be left to its natural tendencies in the process of dogmatic explication? We shall find that safeguard, I believe, in the witness of the invisible Church. Every member of that body, in all the ages, has been

the subject of the Holy Spirit's almighty working. The hearts of all have been renewed by his agency and their eyes opened to apprehend the truth as contained in the word of God. This truth has been so wrought into the gracious experiences of this chosen people, who in the darkest days have never entirely perished from the earth, as to make their collective influence, sooner or later, an efficient check upon those tendencies of speculation. If we turn to the history of the Church, we shall find abundant evidence of the fact that, in all the centuries, the experience of God's people has opposed its postulates to dogmatic error, and has thus been a negative guide to the Church in the formulation of her creed. Although the conflict in which they have earnestly contended for the faith once delivered to the saints presents many different aspects, and their witness is sometimes obscured and rendered uncertain by the form in which the issue is presented, yet their voice has never been hushed; and although ages may have passed before the final result has been reached, yet it has always been the same result—the triumph of the truth.

You will recall the fact that the first great problem which presented itself for solution in the early Church was that concerning the Trinity. The form in which it challenged attention was in the question: How shall the teachings of the Scriptures in respect to the unity of the Godhead and the divinity of the Son be reconciled with each other?

“Hear, O Israel. the Lord, thy God is ONE God,” is the declaration alike of him whose voice was heard above the thunders of Sinai, and of the Son who came to reveal the Father. And yet of the Son himself it is said: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God.”

Now since philosophy knew no numerical identity of essence consistent with plurality of persons, she must either be dumb in the presence of the problem she had raised, or find some explanation of the divinity of the Son which would not imply a personality distinct from that of the Father.

The first solution of the problem given was that the Son of God is not a divine *person*, but only a divine *energy* manifested in and through the man, Jesus of Nazareth.

But although such a solution might satisfy human philosophy, it could not satisfy the Christian heart, for the simple reason that the faith begotten of the Spirit in every child of God is no mere assent to a formula, but it is trust in a *divine person*. From first to last it lays hold upon that divine person as revealed in the word of God, illumined by the Holy Spirit; and more, it is the divine person who is at once the Son of God and the Son of man, he whose name was called Jesus, because he should save his people from their sins. Therefore no statement which represented the divine in Jesus as a mere impersonal energy of God could harmonise with the experience of God's people. That statement could, in consequence, find no permanent place in their creed, nor in that of the Church, which was the outward manifestation of their life. Another formula must be found which should distinctly recognise the divine personality of the Son.

Then philosophy proposed a second solution, still maintaining, however, as a fundamental postulate, that, as there is *one* God, there can be only *one divine person*. It was this: The divine person, acting in a certain capacity, and under certain circumstances, is called the *Father*; acting in another capacity, and under other circumstances, he is called the *Son*, so that the Son is only the Father manifesting himself in another character, and under another mode.

But the faith of the true Christian lays hold upon the Father no less than upon the Son, and postulates his distinct personality no less than that of the Son. In the light of the truth applied by the Spirit, it recognises him as reconciled in the Son, as accepting the believer through the Son, as adopting him as his child, and as joint-heir with Jesus Christ, who is the Son. And, therefore, no statement which denied to the Father a personality distinct from that of the Son could meet the needs of the Christian heart. It, too, must yield at length before the persistent practical protest of the people of God, and was finally rejected as not only inadequate, but false.

It is not necessary that I should pursue this line of illustration further, through all that period of controversy, until at length speculation was compelled to adjust itself to the postulates of the

experience of the faithful on every point, and the invisible Church triumphed in the adoption, on the part of the visible Church, of that doctrine of the Trinity which we profess to-day, that "in the unity of the Godhead there be three persons of one substance, power, and eternity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternally begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son."

The history of the controversy concerning the person of Christ—the relations of the divine and human in him—also reveals to us this regulative influence of the Christian consciousness upon speculation, and we find the invisible Church triumphing again, albeit after a conflict and a series of protests extending over centuries, in the incorporation in the creed of a statement harmonious with the truth in all its aspects, to wit: "That two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion, which person is very God and very man, yet one Christ, the only mediator between God and man."

As we pursue our investigation in search of the evidence of the influence of the invisible Church in preventing the final adoption of error in the formulated creed, we discover a fact no little perplexing, namely, the sudden arrest of progress when the point is reached at which we should expect the full development of the doctrines of grace.

We find, it is true, a noble beginning made by Augustine, who, in opposition to the errors of Pelagius, sets forth, in its final form, the doctrine of man's inability and the consequent absolute necessity of divine grace in order to the inception and growth of the new life in the soul—a doctrine which, from that day to this, has found its ample justification in the experience of the saints. But just here the movement ceases. There are hints, it is true, in the writings of Augustine, and in those of other fathers, which look to the explicit statement of the doctrine of justification by faith, which alone explains the method by which

the soul is brought within the sphere of the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, but there are hints and no more. Nor is this a mere temporary pause in the process of scientific formulation. For one thousand years the work stands arrested practically where Augustine left it.

This phenomenon, so strange, at first sight, loses its abnormal aspect, however, as our study of the facts reveals to us the insidious growth of error, not in formulated dogma, but error no less efficient for evil, because operative only in practice at first, and, for ages afterwards, so undefined and ambiguous in its character as to elude the full force of the protest of the true saints of God in the Church.

As we look back from our standing point we see what the real nature of that error was, and in the light of that knowledge we discover the cause of this sudden arrest of progress of the creed to its completion.

It is a familiar fact, that long before the time of Augustine the original constitution of the Church had been perverted and changed from the Presbyterian to the Prelatical form; and that, connected with the elevation of some of the bishops above their fellow bishops or presbyters, the entire body of the so-called clergy had come to be regarded as a class distinct from and superior to the people. It was no longer a *ministry*, the efflorescence of the universal priesthood of believers, but became henceforth a proper priesthood, superseding that only God-ordained priesthood upon the earth. From this time did this priesthood of man's invention arrogate to itself, more and more, the right to stand between believers and God, and to constitute the only channel through which grace could be communicated to them. The sacraments which it administered were the only means of salvation, since through them alone was grace given. Faith no longer brought the soul into direct relations with the Son of God, but it brought men to the Church, that is, to the priest, to receive the sacraments. In baptism, administered by those holy hands, the habit of grace, or spiritual life, was infused; confirmation gave increase of that life; by the eucharist it was renewed and strengthened; and by penance recruited from the effects of sin. Thus by priestly manipu-

lation was an inherent righteousness, so-called, communicated, fostered, and developed; and it was this righteousness which was supposed to secure the favor of God. Christ's righteousness was, it is true, the remote cause of the believer's justification, but only as the merits of that righteousness secured the operation of this scheme, by which the Church, through her priesthood, rendered men inherently holy, and made the fruits of the life conferred meritorious. It was the merit of this inherent righteousness which became, in each individual case, the immediate ground—the formal cause—of justification. This is the Romish scheme, in its full development, but which, in all its essential features, became operative two hundred years before the time of Augustine, and the influence of which was more or less widely felt in that early period of the Church. Need I say that it was, in effect, a method of *justification by works*? It matters not that the new life supposed to be begotten and nurtured in the soul was implanted and sustained by grace, it was still the merit of the fruits borne by that life which rendered a man acceptable in the sight of God. Christ's righteousness, and the merit of it, became, in no sense, the individual possession of the soul. What place was there, then, for the doctrine of justification by faith, which appropriates the righteousness of Christ and rests upon the merits of that alone for acceptance with God? There was none. It was excluded by the law of works.

Now, this subtle system of salvation by works, under the name of salvation by grace, being thus built into the very structure of the Church and of her worship, could not, from the nature of the case, but prevent the formulation of the doctrine of justification by faith as an article of her creed. What Augustine had taught concerning the absolute need of grace might be harmonised with the sacerdotal system of salvation; nay, might be and was regarded as demonstrating the urgent necessity of grace conferred "*ex opere operato*," and, therefore, no hindrance lay in the way of its incorporation with the creed; but far otherwise was it with justification by faith.

It naturally suggests itself to us here to inquire, Why was the doctrine of justification by works, thus shown to lie implicitly in

the theory and practice of the Church, not explicitly stated and adopted as part of her creed? It is a most significant fact that it was not, and the explanation of it recalls us to the consideration of the efficiency of the invisible Church within and upon the visible body. You will recollect that we found that this influence was felt in the Trinitarian controversy, not as a positive, but as a negative influence, as a restraint upon the final adoption of error in dogmatic form. There, error presented in distinct statements appeared, over and over again, before the tribunal of Christian consciousness, and, as such, was as often condemned; but, in every instance, the error lay largely in defect and inadequacy of conception. Always there was truth emphasised, although exaggerated in some aspect of it, so as to exclude other truths. Now, it was these elements of truth, too exclusively contemplated though they were, which in each case gave such plausibility to the conception as to secure its being entertained temporarily at least by those whose experience subsequently condemned it. Thus, these conceptions were, one after another, enunciated, though they were finally abandoned, before the protest of the people of God, as inadequate. Not so, however, with the postulates, which underlay this sacerdotal method of justification and salvation which I have described. Those postulates could not be expressed in dogmatic statement without revealing fundamental error in the whole and in every part. But the true Israel of God was still within this visible Church, still clinging to her with reverence and devotion as the Bride of the Lord, and the presence of the members of this invisible communion of saints constituted, under the providence of God, an efficient check upon the Church's final and complete apostasy in the distinct enunciation and formal adoption of the error logically involved in her practice and worship. Thus, while the energies of the invisible Church were apparently paralysed, they were really operative in the exertion of a powerful restraining influence.

But we must not suppose that this divine life in the elect people of God was without more positive manifestation of its existence and efficiency. For, although the practical perversion of the truth by the Church with which they still remained in communion re-

acted upon those who were the subjects of divine grace, and in turn hindered them from giving legitimate expression in explicit form to the great doctrine of justification by faith, yet there are abundant indications that they did not acquiesce in the error, veiled and hidden though it was.

Allow me to point you, in the first place, to the dissatisfaction manifested at so early a period, and growing greater so constantly down to the Reformation itself, with the practical results, in the lives of multitudes, of that scheme of so-called grace and salvation.

I need not pause here to prove to this audience the fact, nor to explain it, that a system of work-righteousness always does, and always must, bear the fruits of Antinomianism and ungodliness. So it was here. From the time that the Church began to dispense her sacramental grace as the basis of an inherent righteousness, did those who acquiesced in it begin to find encouragement to sin that grace might abound. It was man's method of salvation by grace which is no more grace, and it bore its appropriate fruit in legitimating sin and making men tenfold more the children of the devil than they were before.

Now, those who had really experienced the grace of God in their hearts, although they did not recognise the root of the evil, knew that these fruits were not such as they ought to be, and they lifted up the voice of protest, which was never hushed during that dreary thousand years and more—a persistent protest, which gathered volume till it forced a hearing, against the tolerance of ungodliness *in* the Church and *by* the Church. Being a protest against the fruits of a system of justification by works, it was indirectly opposition to the unannounced doctrine which legitimated it.

It is as affording evidence of this deep seated dissatisfaction on the part of God's true people within the Church, that the Montanist, the Novatian, and the Donatist schisms are of interest to us. The wild extravagances of these sectaries should not blind us to the fact, that each of the movements, in each instance, began with, and was based upon, the earnest conviction of the necessity for reform in the discipline of the Church. Nor must we suppose that those alone who ran into such fanatical excesses,

and have been branded in the records of the times with the stigma of schism, were concerned in that protest. He has read history to little purpose who has not learned that when great principles lay strong hold upon the feelings of large masses of men, there will always be those who carry those principles to extremes, and run into fanaticism and error; and that these extremists and their perversion of the movement are likely to find place in the chronicles of the period, while no record is left of the fact that thousands were involved, who yet refused to go beyond the bounds of moderation.

In these several movements, then, we have evidence that the invisible communion as a whole was deeply stirred in view of the fact that the visible Church was not an institute of holiness, but the opposite. Nor must we be misled as to the true nature of the issue involved. It might appear to superficial observation that those who made this protest against slackness of discipline were essentially legalists, while the Church was contending for the principle that persons whose lives were defective might still sustain a saving relation to Christ; that man is not the judge, but God alone. Such a view is, however, altogether misleading. What lay behind these movements and gave them vitality and vigor was the conviction on the part of true believers that such personal righteousness as gives proof that its seat is in the heart is the alone evidence that the soul is resting on Christ by faith; and that the Church was putting Christ and his righteousness in the background, thus preventing access to the true fountain of grace. It was this which sustained the cry in the centuries which followed for reform of the Church in head and members, and ever added emphasis to it. Although it seemed to be the expression of the spirit of legalism, it was really the utterance given to the witness of God's Spirit in the experience of the elect against the system of justification by works which had made legitimate a righteousness of mere outward forms and ceremonies, and had thus hushed conscience and given free rein to "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life."

In the light of this truth alone can we understand the history

of all that dark period, and of the struggle which went forward through the century of Reforming Councils down to the Reformation itself.

But, again, this practical perversion of truth on the part of the visible Church made it impossible that she should meet the deepest spiritual needs of the invisible community of saints within her. The dissatisfaction due to this fact manifested itself in a series of significant movements which again constitute so many practical protests against the fundamental error which she fostered.

You will call to mind the fact that, essentially connected with the system by which grace was supposed to be infused, and the existence of an inherent righteousness secured as the basis of acceptance with God, was the elevation of the clergy into a priesthood, and the practical denial of the priesthood of all believers. Thus were the saints cut off from direct access to the Father through the great High Priest of their profession, and communion with the Church substituted for it. But such communion could not satisfy the longing of the truly pious heart for fellowship with God. And hence the disposition which manifested itself so early, on the part of men of devout spirit, to get away from the hindering influence of the priesthood of the Church, and to find in solitary places, in caves of the earth, and in the trackless forests, opportunity for uninterrupted communion with heaven. Underneath the extravagance and fanaticism of the Stylites and other hermits lay this urgent need of the renewed soul. And here again the fanatical manifestation in the actions of a comparative few reveals what was working in the bosoms of thousands besides, too sober in spirit for such excesses. Monasticism itself, historically connected as it is, in its beginnings, with these anchorites of the desert, is a witness, in its early history, to the existence of the same desire to be free from all hindrance to direct fellowship with the Father of spirits. And although, at a later period, the Church, with the wisdom of the children of this world, adopted that institution and made it her minister and ally, we must not forget that, even after all the changes which ages had wrought, it was not without a struggle that it yielded to

this transformation, and that, in the time which followed, the monasteries were the refuge of many devout spirits who sought within their walls opportunity for meditation and nearer approach to heaven. And those who fled to these monasteries left behind them multitudes burdened with the same consciousness of needs unmet and of aspirations unsatisfied. This was all, when understood aright, a most touching and pathetic protest against the priestly incantation, the sacramental grace, and the plan of justification by works which the Church had substituted for the direct approach of the soul by faith to the fountain of Christ's blood and to a Father reconciled in him.

It was this same longing, for the satisfaction of which the Church had nothing to offer, which manifested itself in the constantly recurring tendency to mysticism in the Middle Ages. If God's own appointed way of approach to him was closed, the soul would find some other method of knowing him and drawing near into his presence. While among these mystics there were many wild and self-deceived fanatics, there were also many who could, in all sincerity, adopt the cry of the Psalmist as their own, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?" (Ps. xlii. 1, 2.) "O God, thou art my God; early will I seek thee; my soul thirsteth for thee, in a dry and thirsty land where no water is" (Ps. lxiii. 1). "I stretch forth my hands unto thee: my soul thirsteth after thee, as a thirsty land" (Ps. cxliii. 6). As we peer out into the darkness and hear these plaintive voices echoing through the gloom, we may be tempted to ask, "How long, O Lord, holy and true?" Ah, my soul, possess thyself in patience! God's good time shall come. The protest shall be heard, interpreted, and heeded.

Again, I call your attention to the significant demand, made over and over again, for the word of God in the vernacular, and the persistent efforts, in different centuries and in widely separated countries, to place the Scriptures in the hands of the people. It was only another form of the protest against the practical nullification, on the part of the Church, of the priesthood of

believers, and indirectly against her method of justification by inherent righteousness and works.

I shall not enter here upon the disputed question of the origin of the Waldenses. It matters not, for the purpose in hand, though it be admitted that the history of this devoted people cannot be traced beyond the twelfth century. It is well known that at that time, and ever afterwards, the burden of the demand they made for the Holy Scriptures in the hands of all, and in the language understood by all. What did it mean but that the Church's method of salvation had been tried and found wanting? What did it mean but that, when God's children asked for bread, she gave them a stone? It signified the presence of a determination, which even blood could not drown, to reassume the functions of the priesthood of the saints, and, rejecting Rome's mediation, to find Christ the object of their faith in the Scriptures which testified of him. It was for this that they contended in the face of untold cruelties. For this did they die, those "slaughtered saints of God, . . . whose bones lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold." I need only mention Wiclif and his efforts to give the word of God to the people in the fourteenth century, and the self-denying labors of his followers, the slandered Lollards, to the same end, up to the Reformation period in England; nor need I do more than call the names of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, who, in the fifteenth century, sealed at the stake their devotion to the same cause. These all were, in effect, giving voice to the one cry, "The Church's system of grace is no grace. She hides from us Christ, the only Saviour of sinners. Give us Christ in his word, that our faith may take hold of his righteousness. In that alone can we find peace and reconciliation with God." And by the Waldenses, and these Reformers before the Reformation, was united with that which has just been described the other form of protest also which had been gathering force and weight, as the centuries came and went, against the fruits of ungodliness fostered by the Church's scheme of sacramental grace and work-righteousness.

It may be thought that all these protests of the invisible Church against error had been ineffectual in the past, but they

were not. It is the old story of half-hidden forces working obscurely and with tendencies misunderstood. At length the day of their manifestation was approaching. Rome felt that it was coming, and that she could no longer be indifferent. And now she, who had so long since surrendered the sword of the Spirit, moved by the instinct of self-preservation, seized the axe of persecution and sought to drown these protests in blood. It was her only resource. In that process by which she had gradually been transformed from the Church of God into the mystic Babylon, she had built into her very structure justification by works. It had become her life, and it was at this life that these reformers were really striking. She knew that she must be rid of them or perish from the earth.

But now, at last, the day was come when that protest, in all its forms, was to be interpreted so that all could understand its true character and significance; and then the victory which had been hanging in the balance for ages was won. The energies of the invisible Church, apparently paralysed in the grasp of the Leviathan, awoke to new vigor, and the long arrested development of the creed was resumed.

I need not recount to you the story of the protracted struggle of the monk in his cell at Erfurt; nor how, at last, there dawned upon him the true meaning of that scripture, "The just shall live by faith," and he found peace and joy in the consciousness that the righteousness of Christ was his. Joy was it indeed to that burdened heart, and joy—to the world! Nor need I tell you, for you know it well, how, out of a glad experience, he began to publish that truth, so old, and yet so new to him, so new to others; nor need I dwell upon the circumstances which led to his bold denunciation of the barter of indulgences for money, and the startling discovery that that Church, which till then he had revered and loved, was fatally wedded to another gospel which was no gospel.

As we survey the wonderful results of the movement instituted by this single man, they may well appear to be effects without an adequate cause, until we recognise the fact that Luther simply interpreted the consciousness of God's people to them-

selves. He gave distinct and intelligible enunciation to that truth which, present implicitly in their experience, had inspired all those protests in the past. He showed them what the true nature of that error was against which they had so long been contending, and the invisible Church arose in the might which a clear comprehension of the truth had given her, and gave voice to her witness for that truth in tones of thunder which shook Christendom from centre to circumference.

And now was revealed clearly the fact that Rome was past reformation; that she had no place for those who counted all other righteousness as filthy rags, but "the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ;" and the great body of the faithful came out of her to constitute a new visible communion, a fitting outward manifestation of the communion of saints. If any true believers remained within her borders—and doubtless some unenlightened in the fulness of the gospel did remain—they were in her, as they were in the world, but not of her; though called by her name, they were not her children. They were a remnant—the captive Israel of God—sitting mournfully by the rivers of Babylon, with harps hanged upon the willows, who might well have answered those who mocked them with idle mummery and required of them a song, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" (Ps. cxxxvii.)

If we turn now to the various branches of the true Church, we witness an unexampled activity in the development of the creed in respect to the doctrines of grace, so long obscured by the sacramental system dispensed by Rome. As that so-called Church, rid at last of the restraining influence of the invisible Church, had, in the decrees of the Council of Trent, given explicit statement to her errors, thus making complete and final her apostasy from the truth, so was that truth enunciated in counter-statements by God's people, henceforth a witness against the error. The invisible Church once more exerts her efficiency, and the creed proceeds to its completion as an adequate statement of the doctrines revealed in Scripture.

I know that there are facts which show that all the people of God do not even yet see eye to eye, after the lapse of the centu-

ries which have passed since the Reformation period. There are still differences which need to be adjusted, and more than one branch of the true Church of God (which show that they are such by the fruits of the Spirit borne by those who devoutly adhere to them) still acquiesces in formulæ, which, properly understood, imply semi-pelagian error.

But although Calvinist and Arminian have not yet attained to absolute agreement in the statement of all the doctrines of grace, that fact only proves that there are difficult speculative problems involved in those doctrines which both have not solved with equal success. The Arminian has not yet risen to that point of vision whence he may see that the Calvinist's statement of the doctrine of inability does not exclude free agency, and thus make insincere and meaningless the gospel call which comes to every man alike. He makes a protest against what he conceives to be the obscuration of one of the most precious of the truths revealed in the word of God.

Once the doctrine of inability in all its relations rightly apprehended, semi-pelagianism shall be banished in word, as absent ever in fact, from the true Church of God, in all her members. And with that exclusion must come the recognition of the truth of the doctrine of God's electing grace logically involved in it.

But already is it true, as implied in what has just been said, that the difference is rather in word than in reality. Need I cite the familiar fact that Arminians and Calvinists are at one upon their knees? They offer petitions perfectly harmonious at the throne of grace. They sing the same songs. The great distinctive doctrines which we preach find as hearty acceptance in Arminian pulpits as in our own, when stripped of that terminology which has been misunderstood. No! there is no Pelagianism in any genuine Christian experience. There is no Pelagianism in the invisible Church; and, blessed be God, the invisible Church is not known by the name of John Calvin or of Martin Luther or of John Wesley, but by that name which is above every name, the name of Jesus Christ. And because his Spirit is in that Church, we shall all at length see eye to eye, and speak the same things, and join at last, with perfectly harmoni-

ous voices in that glad acclaim: "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake" (Ps. cxv. 1).

ARTICLE VI.

HARBINGERS OF THE REFORMATION.

We meet in the twelfth century and thereafter with a variety of sects passing under the general name of the Cathari, some of Eastern origin, as the Bogomiles and Euchites; and others of Eastern origin, but dwelling in the West, as the Paulicians and the Pasagii (or *passengers*, that is, *pilgrims*); still others of Western origin, as well as residence, as the *Apostolicals* of Cologne and of Perigueux in France, the Petrobrussians, the Henricians, the followers of Arnold of Brescia, and of Peter Waldo. All these differing in many respects from one another, are to be viewed as the offspring of a reaction in the Church against what Neander calls the *churchly theocratic system* (Neander, IV., p. 605). Some of them, as the Petrobrussians, Henricians, and Apostolicals, show a remarkable affinity of spirit and of principles. Yet we are not, says Neander, to ascribe to them a common external descent. They were rather the offspring of certain ideas and tendencies, diffusing themselves abroad as through an atmosphere and breaking forth to view in one point and another without being traceable to any single point. They were all harbingers of the Reformation, which was steadily becoming a necessity for the Church. The Church had been secularised; Jewish and Christian elements had been confused together in its forms and doctrines. And the Christian consciousness must be expected to rouse up against this foreign matter (Vol. IV., p. 592) to repel it. At the head of this movement of reform the Popes had set themselves, ever since 1049, when Leo IX. became Pope. Gregory VII. had stirred up the people against the corrupt clergy.

Such a movement on the part of the Popes was a dangerous one, for it might lead further than they intended. It actually did so. It gave rise to separatist tendencies. It led the people to wish to have nothing to do with the corrupt clergy, as being unfit to perform any sacramental act, and from this beginning to go still farther and declare the sacraments of a corrupt Church to be null and void. The important controversy about *Investitures* followed after these reformatory movements of Hildebrand and his party, and this called the attention of the people still more closely to the boundaries between Church and State and to the respective rights of each. Pope Paschal declared the *regalia* a foreign possession, dangerous to the Church, drawing aside her officers from their appropriate spiritual duties, and also betraying them into a dependence on the secular power. Was it not to be expected that a party should arise demanding that Bishops and Abbots, in order to be excused from taking the oaths of the princes, should restore their *regalia* to the temporal power, and so separate things spiritual from things secular?

Arnold of Brescia, a young clergyman, gave the first impulse to this new reaction against the secularisation of the Church and the power of the Popes in temporal things. He was one of the pupils of the famous Abelard, and with many other youth assembled in the lonely region of Noyes around that great teacher, he cheerfully submitted to the meagre fare and many other deprivations necessary to be undergone in order to have their souls fired by his enthusiasm. Amongst other things attractive in the lectures of Abelard were the sharp rebukes he gave to the ecclesiastics and monks. These things found a fruitful soil in the warm and earnest heart of young Arnold, and he returned from Noyes to his native city, Brescia, inflamed with a holy ardor for reform.

The change in him was evident to all, and he made no concealment of it. His doctrine, zealously preached, was that the clergy should return to the apostolical simplicity in their whole lives, and his example corresponded to his preaching. His preaching found ready response in the hearts of the laity. Much of it was exactly suited to inflame the tinder in their hearts which

had been already prepared there by the collision of the spirit of political freedom with the power of the higher clergy. A prodigious effect was produced all over Italy. Pope Innocent II., at the Lateran Council in 1139, declared against him, and commanded him to quit Italy. He did go to France and was thence expelled and went to Switzerland, whither St. Bernard's denunciations followed him. But the effects of his movement remained in Italy. The Romans cared less for his religious spirit than for the political aspirations he had excited in them. These political excitements continued through the reign of several Popes. Under Adrian IV., in 1155, Arnold was hanged, and then his body burned and the ashes thrown into the Tiber, lest they should be preserved by the people as relics of a martyr. The Emperor Frederic I. had aided Adrian in thus disposing of Arnold. But the idea of the martyr of reform survived him. And even Frederic afterwards attached himself to it, and with him began the one hundred years controversy with the Popes by the Hohenstaufen family—a contest not with one prince, but with three in succession, pursuing with steady energy and craft one constant plan.

Peter Bruys was likewise a priest of the south of France. He is charged with denying the authority of any scripture except Christ's words, and also with rejecting the Lord's Supper and the atoning merits of Christ's death. He also denied infant baptism, and, it is said, defended this on the ground that infants cannot be saved. He is nearly the first person we meet with in the whole course of church history who denied infant baptism—for Tertullian, about two hundred years after Christ, who is the only predecessor of any note that Peter Bruys had on this point—Tertullian only opposed infant baptism out of the superstitious idea he had adopted, that baptism is always accompanied with remission, and that sins after baptism are particularly dangerous, for remission of sins was by baptism and baptism could be administered only once; so that sin after baptism must be very dangerous, and therefore baptism ought to be postponed to the latest moment. We are aware that Neander takes a different view of this matter, and holds that baptism was at first only to adults,

and that Irenæus in the latter part of the second century was "the first church teacher who makes any allusion to infant baptism" (Vol. I., 311); and that Tertullian's opposition to it shows it had not yet got established fully in the Church. But Justin Martyr, who preceded Irenæus by some twenty-five years, alludes to infant baptism in a passage where he says of certain Christians of his time, that "οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ"; how could they have been made disciples of Christ—except by baptism? "Go make disciples, baptizing," said Christ; that is, *μαθητεύσατε βαπτίζοντες*. And as to Neander's *authority* on this subject, we prefer that of Augustine, who lived only three hundred years from the apostles; Neander six times three hundred. Neander says it arose in the second century. Augustine says what Origen said also near two hundred years before him, that it is an "apostolical institution," "established by no council of the Church, but practised always, and from the beginning, by the Church." The same is confirmed by Pelagius, who declares that he had "never heard of any, even the most impious heretic, who denied baptism to infants." ¹

To return to Peter Bruys: he and his followers rejected the name of Anabaptists, because denying infant baptism, he of course could not acknowledge any person baptized in infancy to be baptized at all, and so he maintained that he was only bestowing a first baptism on those who joined his party. In his zeal against the corruptions of the times he was led to burn all the crosses he could get hold of, and counselled the pulling down of all the churches, maintaining that God "can be worshipped as well in the shop or market as in a church." He also rejected all prayers for the dead, insisting that we cannot affect the state of the departed. He preached zealously for twenty years; and was at last seized by a mob in Languedoc and burnt at the stake.

Henry of Cluny was also a monk and a deacon. He had read the New Testament, and this fired his soul. He began to preach in Lausanne and afterwards in France. Unlike Peter, he held up *the cross* as the banner of his cause. He must have been a great and eloquent preacher. He was also of strict morals. It

¹ See SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, April, 1858.

is said a heart of stone must have melted under his preaching of repentance. He chained the people everywhere to himself, and filled them with hatred and contempt for the higher clergy. He acquired wide and unbounded influence, and exercised it for reforming the lives and morals of the people for many years. He was at last condemned to imprisonment for life, with a meagre diet, in the city of Rheims, where he died. He, also, was against infant baptism.

As to the Waldenses, Neander holds that there is a foundation for their claim to the highest antiquity for their sect; that is, that from the time of the first secularisation of the Church by Constantine's gift to Roman Bishop Silvester, such an opposition as finally broke forth in them had all along been existing. He repudiates the idea of the Waldenses owing their origin to the times and events of the history of Claudius of Turin. Yet he makes Peter Waldo the father of their sect, as it appears in more modern days.

He was a rich citizen of Lyons. In an assembly once of respectable citizens, where he was present, one suddenly died. This incident (as in Luther's case with his young friend) led Peter to consecrate himself to a religious life. He employed two ecclesiastics, one a man of some learning and the other a practised writer, for a certain sum of money, to prepare for him a translation of the Gospels and other portions of the Bible into the Romance language, which the one was to dictate and the other to write down. He also procured a collection of pious sayings of the church fathers. Reading all these with great diligence, he is confirmed in his religious views. He distributes all his property amongst the poor, and filled with the desire to follow the apostles in evangelical poverty, he seeks to establish a society of apostolicals for the spread of religious truth. He therefore procures multiplied copies of his Romance version of the Scriptures, which by degrees was extended to the whole Bible. Waldo and his brethren had at first no thought of separation from the Church, but simply of establishing a spiritual society, like many others in her service. He entered into no conscious opposition to her doctrines, and practical religion was what he aimed at through the

dissemination of scripture truth. Yet the Archbishop of Lyons forbade Waldo and his companions to expound the Scriptures, and sought to suppress their society. They appealed to Pope Alexander III., but he confirmed the Archbishop's decision, and so they were forced to a decision whether to obey or stand forth in opposition to the Church.

As the origin of the Waldenses is to be traced to the reading of the Bible, to this direction (says Neander) they always remained true, and a great knowledge of the Bible distinguished both men and women amongst them. Raynerus Sachonus, who was at first a partisan, but afterwards became an opposer, of these sects, lived himself for seventeen years among the Cathari, and was a leader among them. (Mosheim, Vol. II., p. 266, note 7.) He tells us (writing in the thirteenth century) that "some traced the beginning of the Waldenses to the time of Pope Silvester, but others up to the time of the apostles." And he writes of an illiterate peasant amongst these people who had learned by heart the book of Job, and several others who had committed to memory the whole New Testament. Here are some of Rainer's statements respecting these former associates of his: "They are orderly and modest in their manners; their dress is neither expensive nor mean; they eschew oaths, falsehood, and fraud; they engage in no sort of traffic. They live on what they earn by the labor of their hands from day to day. Even shoe makers are teachers among them. They amass no wealth, and are contented with the bare necessaries of life. They are also chaste. They are never found hanging about wine-shops. They attend no balls nor other vanities. They govern their passions. They are always at work." What a beautiful tribute, and that from an enemy to the pure Christian morality of the Waldenses!

Though, in general, they supported themselves by manual labor rather than by trade, and scattered themselves more among the people than the nobles, yet a number of them dealt in jewels and ornaments of dress as a means of access to the families of the great. When they had disposed of rings and trinkets, and were asked if they had nothing more to sell, they would answer: "Yes, we have jewels still more precious than any you have seen; we

would be glad to shew you these also if you will promise not to betray us to the clergy." On being assured that they should be safe, they would say: "We have a stone so brilliant that by its light a man may see God; another which radiates such a fire as to enkindle the love of God in the heart of its possessor." The precious stones they meant (says Neander) were passages of the Holy Scriptures in their various applications.

The Waldenses went on the principle that the Scriptures are the only source of the knowledge of the Christian faith, and that whatever could not be derived from them is to be rejected. This is precisely our doctrine: that the Bible is the sole and sufficient rule of faith and practice; that the whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for his glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture; and that whatever in religion is not commanded is forbidden.

It has been said they denied infant baptism, but undoubtedly this is not true.

But it was not only the sects that cried out against the secularisation of the Church, and held up reformation as necessary. The conviction (says Neander) continually gained force on the minds of men generally that the superfluity of earthly goods was working ruin to the Church itself. They saw her arrived at the summit of power, and that through her secularising spirit she was becoming estranged from her true calling. The Hohenstaufen Emperors and that large party which attached itself to them as complainants against the Church, and the national bards of Germany were loud in their declarations that the degeneracy of the Church proceeded from the riches lavished upon her. Then in addition to all these, there arose prophets, in this age, to oppose and denounce the corruptions of the Church. Neander well remarks (Vol. IV., pp. 215, 216), that a certain faculty of prophecy seems to be implanted in the spirit of humanity, that undefined presentiments often hasten to anticipate the future, and that the kingdom of God forms in the course of its development from beginning to end one connected whole, and strives towards its own completion according to sure and certain laws. The germ

of the unknown future is already contained in the past. Accordingly (he says) out of the consciousness of the corruption of the Church sprang the presentiment of a future regeneration, and so he finds yet other premonitions of the Reformation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries besides those harbingers of it which the sects constituted. (Vol. IV., 216.)

The Abbot Joachim is one of the representatives of this prophetic spirit. He presided over the monastery of Corace in Calabria, and he died about the year 1202. He was an enthusiastic friend of monasticism and the contemplative life, and looked for the regeneration of the Church from thence. The reigning corruption he judged to proceed from secularisation, and also from a fondness for dry and meagre conceptions of the understanding.

His times were near the close of the twelfth century, when Papacy was emerging victorious out of contest with Frederic I., but new storms were to be expected from the side of the powerful house of Frederic. Joachim detested Germany. The German imperial power is the one he was inclined to believe which would be appointed to execute judgment on the Church. His writings found great acceptance. He was looked on as inspired. The Franciscans thought they found a prophecy of their order in his books. And the writings themselves being put loosely together, interpretations of them were easy, and doubtless also were practised.

In his commentary on Jeremiah, Joachim complains of the exactions of the Roman Church, calls her also the house of the courtesan where all practise Simony, and the door is thrown open to any who will knock—decries the indulgences—denounces the legates and the fleshly-living cardinals and Popes. He even accuses and condemns the Popes for their seeking after temporal power, and contending with princes. He complains of the confidence in external things which drew men away from true penitence. And he announces terrible judgments that would come on the Church by means of the secular power combining with the heretical sects. In this description of the judgments that were to come by the secular power, the house of Hohenstaufen held a prominent place.

Joachim was, of course, an opponent of the prevailing dialectic tendency in religion. The latter days of the Church were to be days of all-satisfying contemplation. There were three periods of Revelation and of history, answering to the three Persons of the Trinity. The times of the Old Testament belong especially to God the Father, who then especially revealed himself as the Almighty by signs and wonders. The times of the New Testament to the Word of God then revealed, where predominates the striving after a comprehensible *knowledge* of mysteries. The last times belong to the Holy Spirit, when the fire of love in contemplation will predominate. Of these three periods the three Apostles, Peter, Paul, and John, are representatives. Peter represents the power of faith, which works miracles. Paul that of knowledge. John the contemplative faculty and tendency. And as John outlived the other two, so the Johannean contemplative period of the Church would be the last, and corresponds to the age of the Holy Spirit. Then will be the Jubilee—when all mysteries shall be laid open—earth be full of knowledge of the Lord, and there be not a race to be found who will deny that Christ is Son of God. The Spirit will then stand forth free from the veil of the letter. The gospel of the Spirit then is *the everlasting gospel*, for the gospel of the letter is but temporary.

It is easy to see that this doctrine of Joachim might be applied in different ways. It might suggest not only the coming of a time of purifying for the Church, when the spirit of secularisation and of externalisation should give way to the development of the real and pure inner life of Christianity, but it might also develop a tendency to a false inwardness and subjectivity—a tendency aiming at and predicting the dissolution of everything positive in religion, and consequently of Christianity itself. And in fact it did receive application in both these ways. It did give rise on the one side to many honest efforts, both *within* and *without* the Church, after reformation of Christianity, and it did also come at a later period to be so applied by a rationalistic, pantheistic party as to make Christianity itself only a transient form of religious development, which should give way to a purely inward religion of the Spirit, consisting of an intuition of God that stood in need of no intermediate organ.

Neander observes that the reaction of this prophetic spirit against the secularisation of the Church, proceeded from monasticism, Joachim being as was said the head of the monastery of Corace in Calabria. In fact, he says (Vol. IV., p. 232) that many another appearance of the same kind down to the time of Luther proceeded from the same spirit. Nor was this (says he) an accidental thing, but connected with the essential character of monasticism itself. For we may regard monasticism itself in general as a reaction, though one-sided, of the Christian spirit against the secularisation of the Church and of the Christian life. True, monasticism itself was seized and borne along by the current of secularisation, but even then it ever gave birth to new *reactions of reform* against the encroaching tide of corruption. Accordingly this form of the manifestation of the Christian life is one of the most influential and significant facts of this period.

In the third place, then, we mention monks as they appear now upon the stage of Church History along with sects and prophets as harbingers of the Reformation. But it is not *monks in general*, but the *mendicant* monks in particular, whom we would thus signalise. It was early in the thirteenth century that, notwithstanding the decree of the Lateran Council of 1215, against any new foundations of monks, two mendicant orders arose that were destined to exert the widest and mightiest influence. In these two orders, especially in that of St. Francis, we see the renascent power of that idea of following Christ and the apostles in evangelical poverty, and the absolute renunciation of all earthly goods, which from the times of the twelfth century made themselves manifest in the doctrine of Arnold of Brescia and the leaders of the sects generally, and likewise in the prophecies of Joachim, and which pointed so plainly to the coming Reformation.

Dominic, born in Castile in 1170, was distinguished while yet a student of the University of Palencia, in Spain, for his self-sacrificing Christian love. In a time of great famine he sold his books and furniture to get the means of providing for the wants of the poor. The bishop of his native diocese of Osma was Didacus, a man of severe character who sought to reform his

canons. Similarity of disposition united Dominic to him. He became one of his canons, journeyed with him on some public mission into the south of France, where the sects were very prevalent and attracted their special notice and consideration. In 1208 they came a second time into these regions and met there twelve Cistercian abbots, sent by Innocent III., to put down the sects. *They* travelled in state. Dominic and his bishop pointed out to them their error and advised them to imitate the poverty of the persons extolled and followed by these sects. Didacus and Dominic being listened to by them joined the company, and on that new principle they travelled about and battled for three years with the sects. Dominic subsequently succeeded to the work. Afterwards the crusade against the heretics was commenced, and Dominic approved of the cruelties employed. In 1215 he went to Rome to obtain from Innocent III. his sanction for the institution of a new order of men devoted to the office of preaching. Thus began the order of St. Dominic. It was called *Ordo Predicatorum*. It was to hold neither property in funds nor income.

Francis, born at Assisi in 1182, was son of a Spanish merchant. His mind was, perhaps, weakened by a severe illness—at least, he became after it much drawn away from all worldly affairs, and seems to have been under the influence of a kind of insane fanaticism. He constantly saw visions and heard voices.

When he first appeared in 1210 before Innocent III. walking in his palace plunged in thought, the Pope motioned him away with contempt. But it is said he had himself that night a vision which changed his impressions of Francis. At least it was not long before Innocent conceived a high respect for Francis' idea—the idea of a society of spiritual paupers placed alongside a Church doing homage to worldly power and glory—an idea which might serve to take away the advantage which poverty gave to many of the new sects hostile to the Church.

St. Francis was a preacher of great power. Once when about to preach before the Roman court, the Pope and the cardinals, a discourse he had carefully written and memorised, of a sudden it all left him, and he had not a word to say. He openly avowed

what had occurred, and invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, and then found utterance for words full of power, producing a wonderful effect on all present. Bonaventura says of him: "His words penetrated like glowing fire to the innermost depths of the heart." What was there in this fanatic that should attract to him or impress such a man as Bonaventura, one of the acutest men of the age, and who afterwards became general of the order of Franciscans? There was in him, with all his fanaticism, a spirit which showed itself in such sayings as these: "A man is just so much and no more as he is in the sight of God." "No one should value himself on that which a sinner can do as well as he. The sinner can fast, pray, weep, and chastise his body. But one thing he cannot do—he cannot be faithful to his Lord. This alone, then, is our true glory, when we give to the Lord his glory, serving him faithfully and ascribing all to him which he bestows on us." He questioned whether he ought to give himself most to prayer or to preaching. Prayer deals with God, preaching with men. But the Son of God let himself down to men, and so ought he to quit *rest* and go about and preach. That preacher, however, is to be pitied who seeks his own glory in preaching. He commends to his monks meekness and peaceableness. He admonishes them not to judge those who lived in better style and went better dressed. "*Our* God is also their master, and is able also to justify them." He even warns his monks against excessive asceticism. God would have mercy and not sacrifice, and each person should consider his own constitution and avoid both extremes.

The greatest possible zeal and self-denial was exhibited by the monks of these orders, and the greatest degree of power and influence accordingly was acquired by them. So much the more certain, however, was it that their influence would be pernicious when abused. The causes which had introduced corruption into the other orders were active also amongst these. The special *protégés* of Popes, they became Popes' instruments for exacting money and for other bad purposes. They became obtrusive and selfish in aggrandising their own order at the expense of all others. In a word, their enormous influence threatened to over-

turn the whole previous constitution of the Church and to do away with all other links between the Pope and the Church.

Especially were the minds of the youth carried away—as that of Thomas Aquinas. The universities fell under their peculiar sway and influence, and by fair means or foul they established their authority in the families of noblemen and princes.

The University of Paris set itself against them, and according to its custom when they wished to impress the public mind against what they hated, shut up their lecture rooms and went thus into a retirement which the youth of the age and the city where they congregated for instruction could not endure. Innocent III., moved by the complaints thus urged against the Mendicants, undertook by his Bull in 1254 to curb their power. But his successor, Alexander IV., took the side of the Mendicants. William of St. Amour defended the University. Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura, the two former Dominicans, and the latter a Franciscan, defended the orders. They finally conquered.

The attacks of the University were, however, grounded on faults and vices creeping in amongst these monks which could not be denied. And from these very corruptions, even before Francis' death, was formed the germ of a schism amongst his order—between the spirituals or strict Franciscans and the Cesarians or lax ones, which led to important consequences. The Popes favored the milder party, and accordingly interpreted the rule of Francis always in the mild sense. The spirituals, hence, were led into an attitude of opposition to the dominant Church itself. And these more zealous Franciscans were the very party that most delighted in the writings of the Abbot Joachim. There was accordingly engendered amongst them a spiritual pride of mysticism, ready to exalt itself above everything positive and objective in religion. And thus were these ideas of Joachim, alluded to above, appropriated by many fanatical tendencies and diffused by various kinds of Beghards, who were found among the Tertiarii of the general order of St. Francis.

Thus it was that the idea of evangelical poverty was first introduced into the hierarchy by means of the order of the Franciscans.

And thus it was, *again*, that the Popes, by their participation in the disputes of this order, and then siding with the milder party, became involved in a contest with the spirituals. And thus it was, *thirdly*, that this idea of evangelical poverty was set up against the worldliness of a Church, corrupted by superfluity of worldly goods and carnal delights, and that, *fourthly*, out of this antagonism there arose other antagonisms, other and various spiritual tendencies, appropriating after different ways the ideas they had seized on, which Arnold and Joachim and Francis had presented, and only agreeing together in their opposition to the existing Church form. Some of these tendencies, conscious that Christianity is itself the absolute religion, strove after a freer and more perfect development of the same, whereby it was to break through all human ordinances and to become independent of all outward means and appointments. Others, as Amalric of Bena, and David of Dimanto, and their followers, representing Christianity as being only a subordinate form of religion, which the mind, when arrived at manhood, should slough off, sought to introduce a mystical pantheism, and to exchange the Christian theism and the dependence of the soul on a Saviour of the world, for the self-deification of their own minds.

Mosheim refers to the Everlasting Gospel as really a book published by the Abbot Joachim. Neander, however, says there was no such book at all, but men vaguely referred to what he had foretold in his writings about the last time *as being the everlasting gospel*. The expression "*Everlasting Gospel*" Joachim himself had borrowed from Rev. xiv. 6 to express the idea of a new spiritual apprehension of Christianity, opposed to the sensuous catholic point of view, and answering to the age of the Holy Spirit. Occasionally also this "*everlasting gospel*," so ascribed to Joachim, was confounded with the book actually produced by Gerhard and called "*Introductorius in Evangelium Eternum*."

So, also, in regard to this Introduction, Neander doubts whether it contained any such doctrine about the destruction of Christianity as was put forth by its enemies. He says all the citations from it fail to make out any such doctrine.

After the condemnation of the Introductory there arose among

the spiritual Franciscans an extraordinary man named John Peter de Oliva, who gave fresh impulse to these ideas of Joachim. He was a fanatic, yet he possessed a profoundly speculative intellect. Many enemies were created by him through the zeal with which he inveighed against all departures among the Franciscans from the strict rule of their founder, and against the clergy for their luxury and pomp. Yet before his death he laid down a confession recanting everything he might have ever said against the Church, still reserving, however, to himself the liberty of refusing to follow any authority that contradicted the Sacred Scriptures or the essence of the Catholic faith. For all his antagonists he was more than a match in dialectics.

As a specimen of the Joachian ideas of this remarkable man, take the following:

“As it was the striving of the fathers in the first age of the world before Christ to proclaim the great works of the Lord from the creation of the world; and as the children of God in the second age of the world from Christ onwards, labored to explore the hidden wisdom, so nothing else remains for the third age but that we should sing God’s praise, while we magnify his great power and his manifold wisdom and goodness which are clearly revealed in his works and in the word of the Sacred Scriptures. For while in the first age of the world God the Father manifested himself as the terrible God, a being to be feared; and in the second age the Son manifested himself as a teacher and revealer—the Word of divine wisdom; he will, in the third age of the Holy Ghost, reveal himself as the flame of divine love and the fulness of all spiritual joy, so that all the wisdom of the incarnate Word and all the power of the Father will not merely be known, but also felt and experienced.”

Thus we get an idea of the tendency of his views. Complete estrangement from the world as opposed to the hitherto prevailing absorption in the world; the religion of intuition and feeling as opposed to the hitherto conceptual theology; pure passivity in the surrendering of one’s self up to the God-like as opposed to the hitherto prevalent self-activity of the intellect in the dialectic theology: this, according to Oliva and his spirituals, would form the glory of the latter days. The precursor of this new period of Christ’s glory was St. Francis; like Christ in being poor, and like him also in bearing even the print of the five wounds of our Saviour. The Church of Rome he calls “Babylon” and “the

great whore"; the good in her are like grains of gold in a vast sand heap; and the special seat of her corruption is in the fleshly clergy who hold her high places. Thus the spirituals under Oliva were as much harbingers of the Reformation as either sects or Joachimite prophets.

We recur again to the Apostolicals mentioned already as not very unlike the Petrobrussians and Henricians (Neander, IV., p. 604), to remark that in like manner their ideas bear a strong resemblance to those of Joachim, and assimilate them to him as well as to those sects. Indeed, Neander in so many words describes them (IV., 626) as the direct fruit of the ideas of Arnold and of Joachim. Their founder, Segarelli, was a weak man, and the real head of them soon became Dolcino, who was put to death with his "*Sister Margaretta.*"

The Apostolicals differed from the spiritual Franciscans in having no monasteries and never hoarding up what was given to them, and also in taking on them no vows outwardly, nor were they bound by any outward rule of obedience to any particular class of superiors, but all the members were held together by the free spirit of love. No other bond existed between them but the inner one of the Holy Spirit. Thus did Dolcino set up against the legal spirit and ideas of the spirituals that of gospel liberty. But on the other hand, these Apostolicals stood forth against the Papacy and the dominant Church as worldly and corrupt, and hesitated not to describe it as the Babylon of the Apocalypse. And many of them died at the stake as martyrs for this truth. In fact, all these various tendencies, embodying themselves all in one common assault against the Church, she was, of course, driven to suppress them by fair means or by foul. Augustine (says Neander) had laid the foundation of those principles of ecclesiastical law on which all violent measures against heretics could be justified. Others after him had shaped them out in full length and proportions. The systematic theologians of the thirteenth century had but to build further on the same foundations. The monks (not the Popes, busy with other concerns) were the Church's instruments in this warfare with heresy. In 1198 Innocent III. sends his first *inquisitors* to search out and convince and con-

vert the heretics. But sermons and argument availed nothing; and then commenced the celebrated crusade against the Albigenes, which continued in all its horrors and bloodshed for thirty years.

JNO. B. ADGER.

ARTICLE VII.

HANSEN'S "REFORMED CHURCH IN THE NETHERLANDS."

The Reformed Church in the Netherlands, Traced from A. D. 1340 to 1840 in Short Historical Sketches. By Rev. MAURICE G. HANSEN, A. M. New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America.

This is the title of a work covering, in brief space, a long period in the history of the Reformed Church. A time of five hundred years is comprised within the compass of a duodecimo of three hundred and thirty pages, and the treatment of the subject is necessarily condensed. While much that might be of interest has to be omitted, something is also gained by a rapid and accurate survey of so long a period of time. History repeats itself, is a maxim which is never more true than when applied to the history of human thought. The same variations, the same errors, the same novelties, tend to reappear from century to century, modified by the spirit of the age, and slightly disguised. But the keen search of historical criticism detects the identity of principles, and drags the masquerading theory into the clear light of truth.

Nor can there be a better discipline for the student of theology and the minister actively engaged in church work, than such a review of some great epoch; or a sketch of some one branch of the Church of Christ. As our author well says in closing his book: "One of the most beautiful illustrations of the exquisite neatness of execution which characterises all the works of the

Creator, is furnished by the vegetable kingdom. The angles which are made in the leaves of a particular tree, by the veins which spread out laterally from that which bisects them longitudinally, are similar to those made by the limbs which branch out from the trunk. The peculiarities of the greater are reproduced in the minor. There are certain lessons which are taught by the history of the world, but which are taught also by that of an insignificant portion of it. This must be admitted by every one who studies history, not upon a graduated chronological scale, but, philosophically, upon a principle in which the question of duration of time does not enter. From the history of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands we gather instruction concerning the divine character, the nature of man, the providence of God, his faithfulness to his people, the evil of forsaking him, the wisdom of union, and the disaster of strife, and kindred topics, just as clearly as from that of the Church universal." No Church has a more thrilling and instructive history than that which had its birth amid the throes of anguish and horror in the age of persecution directed by Philip II. of Spain against his Flemish subjects. Outwardly and inwardly, the history of the Church in the Netherlands is full of instruction, of warning, and of comfort. Our author divides the history into four periods: the *formative*, the *defensive*, the period of *danger*, and the period of *transition*. The *first* period extends from about 1340 to 1581. This is also subdivided into three periods: the Reformed Church *prepared for* (1340-1562); *consolidating* (1562-1568); and *organised and established* (1568-1581). The first sub-period centres in interest around a group of prominent men, who were the instruments in God's hand for stirring up the hearts of the people, and preparing for the Reformation. Among the first of these influences at work in the Netherlands was the establishment of the order of the "Brothers of the Common Life."

Gerhard Groote, whom Ullman places among the "Reformers before the Reformation," was a Carthusian monk, having abandoned the honors and wealth of the world for the convent. His earnestness and success as a preacher attracted crowds of people, and he struck at the root of many errors of the age, teaching that

the mass availed not for those who were in mortal sin, and that the intercession of the Virgin and all the saints could not avail him who perished in his sins. Eternal life without purgatory can be promised to him who obeys. But such outspoken teaching brought him in conflict with the authorities of the Church, and permission to preach was withdrawn. Denied this privilege, he gathered around him a band of young men whom he instructed in private, and who made their living by transcribing the sacred books. Out of this little band grew up the "Brotherhood of the Common Life." "The great design of Groote was to join education to religion, or rather to make education prepare the way for religion." He applied himself to the restoration of the schools which had been established under the influence of Charlemagne and his son, the Emperor Lewis, but which, through the ignorance or carelessness of the monks, had fallen into decay. The people of the Netherlands took a strong interest in these schools, and opened their own homes for the accommodation of the young students. "From the tree thus planted in the Netherlands was gathered such fruit as Thomas à Kempis, the author of the inimitable 'Imitation of Christ'; Zerbolt, who argued so nobly for the translation of the Bible and devotional books into the vernacular; Wessel Gansvort, and Erasmus."

The mention of Erasmus leads us to consider the second influence preparatory to the Reformation: the diffusion of learning. Holland lays claim to the invention of the art of printing by John Laurens Koster as early as 1423, and authorities are divided as to the justness of this claim. He was certainly one who early knew the secret of movable type. The great scholar and wit who "laid the egg which Luther hatched," Gerard Gerardz, better known as Erasmus, was born in Rotterdam October 28, 1467, sixteen years before the birth of Luther. His wonderful mental activity and scholarship soon made him a great and growing reputation. Whatever may be thought of Erasmus' attitude toward the Reformation, his editions of the Greek New Testament and his "Praise of Folly" were among the potent influences which led to that great event. But the spirit of martyrdom lacking in Erasmus was found in Pistorius. The young priest was early

thought to be departing from the faith of the Church, and he was summoned to Utrecht. He went instead to Wittenberg, and remained three months, and on his return laid aside his priestly robes, married, and entered his old trade as a baker. But the arrival in his native place, Woerden, of a seller of indulgences roused him to an earnest protest, and he once more entered the pulpit and the confessional. Such boldness could have but one issue, and he was soon led to the stake. Pistorius attempted to reply to the priest who preached at the stake, and who made him out a great criminal. Pistorius was silenced, stripped of his priest's garments, and then a yellow tunic was put on his person and a fool's cap on his head. "It is well," said he; "in this array I share in the mockery that was heaped upon Christ." Another victim of persecution at this period was Merula, founder of the orphan house of Briel, who died of hardships endured in prison just as he was being led out to execution.

During this period the Baptists and Anabaptists came into prominence. They were heard of first about 1527 in the Netherlands. Menno Simons, once a Romish priest, joined the Baptists, and had great influence in preventing fanatical outbreaks and excesses like those committed at Münster. Menno himself was by no means sound in all his theological doctrines, and held a fantastic opinion concerning the incarnation of Christ. He died in 1561. Thus by all these varied influences the people were prepared for the preaching of the gospel, for a final break with Rome, and for a union of those who held the same views of revealed truth. Mr. Hansen says: "The history of the formative period of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands is so closely interwoven with that of the formative period of the Dutch Republic, that in reviewing the former it is not possible altogether to ignore the latter. In this case politics and religion so thoroughly blend that they cannot be kept apart."

"The confederation of the nobles and the adoption of a confession of faith effected, in the manner peculiar to them, the same result which was brought about by the commission of the Duke of Alva and the scattering of the Protestants, operating in a manner appropriate to these instrumentalities." All the long struggle

of the people with the tyranny of the Spanish "Council of Blood" and the cruelty of the Inquisition, had its share in alienating men for ever from Rome and causing them to cling more tenaciously to the principles of the Protestant party.

The Reformed Churches scattered throughout the Netherlands were now united more closely under the guidance of Guido de Bres, author of the "Belgic Confession" and martyr; Petrus Dathenus, translator of the Heidelberg Catechism into Dutch; and Franciscus Junius, afterwards professor of theology at Leyden. Junius met with a number of nobles in Brussels on October 2, 1565, and after preaching a sermon to them and leading them in prayer, the nobles—some twenty in number—entered into an earnest consultation as to how they should protect themselves from the Inquisition. A league was formed, known as "The Compromise," by which they pledged themselves to resist in every way consistent with the honor of God and allegiance to the king the introduction of the terrible Inquisition. In April, 1566, a party of between three and four hundred nobles presented to the Regent Margaret a petition, in which the removal of the pressure brought to bear upon the cause of Protestantism was requested. This occasion gave rise to the famous name of "Beggars," applied to these noblemen, and caught up afterwards as the name of the Protestant party. Encouraged by the attitude of the nobles, the churches began to draw their forces more closely together. In 1566, at the Synod of Antwerp, the Belgic Confession, changed somewhat in phraseology, transcribed by Junius, signed by the nobles present, was adopted, together with the Heidelberg Catechism, as a form of accord in the faith. Space does not permit the tracing further of the deeply thrilling history of the churches during these dark days of trial. Under the lurid light of persecution, the "churches under the cross" were called on to love not their lives unto death, but often to suffer cruelties which might well have crushed anything but the grace of God. The image-breaking in the churches of the Netherlands by the excited mob, and the open-air preaching of the Reformers excited the bitterest wrath of Philip, and he sent the Duke of Alva to put an end to these outrages. Under the

"Council of Blood," summoned by Alva, the *whole people* were condemned to death. "The churches, it was said, had been desecrated by the mob; the mob had been urged on by the heretics; the heretics had been protected by the nobles; the nobles had been sustained by the gentry, who were their relatives. All were guilty, and all were subject to the death penalty. Thenceforth there was no end to the hanging, strangling, burning alive, burying alive, burning at the stake, and drowning. The secret torture chambers resounded with the groans of the hapless victims. The fruit of the trees by the road-side was decaying human corpses. The gibbet, with its horrible freight, cast a shadow over many a flowery path. The prisons were filled to overflowing. Families were scattered like dust before the wind. No lives or property were safe. A heavy gloom of death lay over the land and a great cry of distress ascended to heaven."

Many fled from their native land in despair, and churches were founded by these refugees in London and in Germany. Unlike the churches of Scotland at a later date, the Reformed Church adopted a liturgy which has remained in use down to this day, with some modifications. The consolidation of the churches during this period was furthered by various Synods held from time to time, some local and some general. By these Synods various questions were settled as to the forms of worship, the manner of preaching the word, the method of catechetical instruction, and of pastoral work. With the Synod of Middleburg in 1581 the formative period came to an end. This year was memorable also as the time of the final rupture of the Provinces of King Philip II. and the assertion of the independence of the Netherlands. The war between Spain and the Provinces was of long duration, but resulted finally in the independence of the Provinces. It was during this period, with its intervals of quiet produced by temporary armistices, that the great controversy arose within the Reformed Church on the "five points" of Calvinism, which led to the assembling of the Synod of Dort. The author styles this the "defensive period." It extends from 1581 to 1619, when the Synod adjourned, and the work of defending the faith of the Church was completed. Various causes were at work tending to

a laxer view of the doctrines of the Church than that which was formulated in her recognised symbols. The very liberty of conscience, for which the "churches under the cross" had contended so nobly against the tyranny of Rome, was liable to be perverted into license. The connexion between State and Church was sure to lead to a semi-political opinion concerning the right of the State to control the teaching of the Church to a certain extent. Cornheert, of Amsterdam, was one man who battled for an extreme view of liberty of conscience. He was in Spain when a young man, attending to business, and was present at an execution of heretics. He was awakened to the conviction "that no Church has a right to shackle the consciences of any one who differs from its standards." He became an excellent classical scholar and made his living by engraving and etching. In 1567 he was imprisoned at the Hague, and his wife, despairing of his liberation, mingled freely with persons affected with contagious diseases, hoping to contract them and thus die with her husband. It is no wonder that a man of Cornheert's views should be even more deeply impressed by them under such circumstances. He was exiled by the Council of Blood, and supported himself during his wanderings by his art. In 1572 he was made secretary by the States of Holland. In 1576 he settled in Haarlem as notary public. Down to the time of his death he contended earnestly for the widest liberty of conscience, and actually composed a petition for the Roman Catholics of Haarlem, asking liberty to worship in the convents and in one of the principal churches of the city. Being cited for this before the magistrates, he declared that he had no attachment for the Romish religion, but that he thought the Roman Catholics suffered great injustice since bonds were laid upon their consciences.

The question of the relation between Church and State was brought to an issue mainly by Casper Coolhaas. He was brought up a Romanist, but upon his conversion to Protestantism joined the school which held to the teachings of Bucer and Melancthon. He was called to the pastorate of the church at Leyden, but the siege of that city had begun before he was able to enter its walls. Upon the foundation of the University of Leyden in 1575, Cool-

haas was appointed the first professor of theology. The election of certain elders and deacons in Leyden led to a controversy that shook the whole Church to its foundations. Peter Cornelisson, one of the pastors in Leyden, took the ground that the officers should be nominated by those whose term was about to expire, and the names be submitted to the congregation for election without consulting the magistrates. Coolhaas agreed to the nomination, but demanded that the names should be submitted to the magistrates for their approval before they were proposed to the people for election. The Synod of Middleburg, which was held in 1581, condemned the opinions of Coolhaas and required him to confess his guilt. He refused to do this, and being supported by the magistrates of Leyden, who had deposed Cornelisson from his office, was excommunicated by the Synod of Haarlem in 1582.

These discussions were preliminary to the controversy with the remonstrants. Arminius, professor of theology in Leyden, began to teach views differing seriously from the standards of the Church. This involved him in controversy with Gomarus, his colleague, in the theological department. After much discussion between the two men, further debate was interrupted by the sickness and death of Arminius in the forty-ninth year of his age. In 1610 the followers of Arminius presented the States of Holland with a treatise, in which they advanced their peculiar views with great artfulness, and the States were persuaded to accept these views as in accordance with all the Reformed Churches in Europe. The classes of the Church took alarm at this and requested that a provincial Synod should be called for the purpose of refuting the views of the "remonstrants." The discussions growing out of this led to a growing demand for a national Synod, the remonstrants hoping to revise the standards, and the Reformed intending to defend them. The States General resolved in November, 1617, that a Synod should be held. Great preparations were made for the meeting, foreign delegates were invited, large sums of money were voted for defraying the expenses, and Dordrecht was selected as the place of meeting.

Great was the formality with which the distinguished delegates

and visitors from foreign lands were welcomed, and intense was the interest which was felt by all classes in the Synod. Bogerman, minister of Leeuwarden, was elected President of the Council. "He was a very remarkable man physically and mentally. He had a fine presence—was tall, straight, and well proportioned. His forehead was high, his features were expressive and his eyes sparkling and piercing. A magnificent beard of a light color, like his hair, descended to his waist. He had a full voice, and his gestures, when he was excited (which was not seldom, for he was a man of strong passions), were very impressive. With intense convictions he was impulsive and imperious in his manner of uttering them." The theological propositions to be discussed were comprehended in the famous "Five Points," which need not be detailed here. It was first proposed that the remonstrants should be recognised as delegates to the Synod. This was rejected. It was resolved that thirteen remonstrants, of whom Episcopius, professor of theology at Leyden and successor of Gomarus, was one, should be *cited to appear* before the Synod. The remonstrants were welcomed as "reverend, famous, and excellent brethren in Christ," and had places assigned them at the long table in the centre of the hall. Episcopius declared that he and his associates were ready to begin the "conference." Exception was taken to this by Polyander, the colleague of Episcopius at Leyden, and he received a general support. "The Synod is not a party, but a judge" was taken as the principle of action. The next day Episcopius delivered a long and eloquent address. He declared that he and his associates desired peace, and sought to present a milder view of the doctrines of predestination, and to advocate the subordination of the Church to the State. Nine sessions were occupied with the discussion of the question as to the relation in which the remonstrants stood to the Synod, they claiming to be delegates, while the majority claimed the right to try their views and to judge them. The discussions went on until January 16, when the remonstrants were summarily *expelled* from the Synod. Bogerman, the President, "was in a state of violent agitation. His whole frame trembled with emotion. His eyes shot forth sparks of fire. 'You boast,' he cried in a voice which

rolled like thunder through the hall, 'that many foreign divines did not refuse to grant your request. Their moderation arose from a misunderstanding. They now declare that they were deceived by you. They say that you are no longer worthy of being heard by the Synod. * * * You have been treated with all gentleness, friendliness, toleration, patience, and simplicity. Go as you came! You began with lies and you end with them. You are full of fraud and double-dealing. You are not worthy that the Synod should treat with you farther.' Then extending his arms and turning the palms of his hands outward, he exclaimed: '*Dimittimini! exite! mendacio incepistis, mendacio finivistis! ite!*' The remonstrants arose. 'According to the example of my Saviour,' said Episcopus, 'I shall not reply. God will judge between me and the Synod in regard to the lies with which we are charged.' "

The examination of the tenets of the remonstrants took place after their expulsion, and a solemn sentence of condemnation was uttered against these tenets. It was made public in a great assembly in the church of Dordrecht. The remonstrants were condemned as having scandalised religion and dismembered and offended the churches. The persons who had been cited before the Synod were suspended from their offices and declared unworthy of any professorial position until they had satisfied the Church of their conversion. The others were remanded to their provincial synods, classes, and consistories, and the churches were to search out and depose those who were obstinate, seeking with all gentleness to reclaim those who had gone astray. Two hundred ministers were deposed and were enjoined to lead a quiet unofficial life, the States undertaking to provide for their support. Seventy signed the act of deposition, while eighty, who rebelled, were transported across the frontiers. The remonstrants who remained were positively forbidden to hold any meetings. These things were carried out some two months after the adjournment of the Synod. The Synod formally dismissed the foreign theologians, presenting each one with a gold medal and chain. A great banquet, given by the city of Dordrecht, closed the evening. And a remonstrant historian charges the reverend fathers with

having washed from their consciences the deposition of so many ministers with Rhine wine. "Several foreign delegates indulged so freely that their gait was unsteady as they walked homeward." On the 9th of May the foreign delegates were thanked and invited to visit the Hague. Those who went four days later beheld the execution of Olden Barneveldt, and as his head rolled on the scaffold one spectator remarked: "The canons of Dordrecht have shot it off." The permanent result of the Synod's deliberation remained in the well-known "decrees of the Synod of Dort." With the adjournment of the Synod the *defensive* period of the Reformed Church came to an end.

The period of danger extended from 1620 to 1720. The danger arose from the spread of sceptical forms of philosophy, the influence of Rationalism, and the interference of the State. Mr. Hansen enumerates among the evil causes at work the doubting spirit of philosophy, the prevalence of strife and contention within the Church, and the influence of wealth and soul-destroying luxury.

Descartes was the philosopher who brought in the new system which laid down *doubt* as a fundamental principle. "*Cogito, ergo sum,*" remained as the basis on which to erect the new system. The government and the Church both attempted to check the spread of the progress of this philosophy, Synods and Classes voting against it; but in spite of this it made a great impression. Cocceius, professor of theology in Leyden, had a large share in creating the excitement of the day in reference to biblical interpretation and theology. His views were novel and ingenious, and his lecture-room was soon crowded with students. His method of interpretation was strictly grammatico-historical, and he sought avowedly to place the dogmas of the Church on a purely biblical basis, divested of the coverings they had received from the schools. The "covenant" theology was the basis of the system of Cocceius, and he made much use of typology. His views led to controversies, his principal opponent being Voetius, professor of theology at Utrecht. Unfortunately, the adherents of these celebrated divines divided the Church into two antagonistic factions, who took pains to emphasise every point disputed between the two schools. "The Voetians wore their hair short; the Cocceians

wore it long. The Voetians called Sunday 'the Day of Rest'; the Cocceians called it the 'Lord's Day.' The Voetians dressed plainly and lived moderately; the Cocceians dressed fashionably and lived luxuriously. The common people followed the former; the aristocracy the latter. Both parties showed too much pride, obstinacy, and uncharitableness." Out of this strife sprang a tendency to mysticism, which was developed under the leadership of John De Labadie, first a pupil in a Jesuit convent, then a Jansenist of Port Royal, and finally pastor of the Reformed church at Middelburg. De Labadie addressed himself rather to the emotions than to the intellect, and swayed great multitudes by his eloquence. His fellow ministers turned against him, although they could not allege anything doctrinally against him except that he refused to accept the statement that "Christ suffered on the altar of the cross" as not scriptural; and that he believed in the literal thousand years reign of Christ. Finally he was deposed by the Walloon Synod of Dordrecht; and as he continued to exercise his ministerial office, he was compelled by the magistrates to leave the city.

Spinoza was another philosopher who exerted a great influence on the thought of his own age, as, indeed, he continues to exercise it in our own day. His system was thought to lead to a pantheistic fatalism, and, being a Hebrew, he was formally excommunicated from the synagogue at Amsterdam. One name of this period deserves to be held in honor—that of Balthasar Bekker, a minister who wrote against the popular superstition of the day in regarding comets as the infallible harbingers of evil. Voetius himself had written a book establishing the "generally received opinion of the Church" on this subject, and as the sceptical Bayle held the same views with Bekker, the latter was not regarded with favor by the orthodox. The greatest excitement was caused, however, when, in 1691, Bekker published at Amsterdam his book entitled "The World Bewitched." In this he opposed the popular doctrine concerning witchcraft, and did much to break up the dreadful evil of witch-hunting and witch-killing. Bekker relied mainly on the Cartesian argument, that mind cannot act directly upon matter unless these substances are united as

in man's body. God alone can work miracles; the deeds of witchcraft are, however, miraculous, and hence impossible. This bold protest against the "generally received opinion of the Church" met with the usual fate. The Church immediately took action against Bekker; he was suspended from the ministry, finally deposed, and debarred from all the privileges of the communion. In 1699 he died without having been reconciled to the Church; but the magistrates of the city paid him his salary until his death, and prevented the consistory from electing any one pastor in his place. Such was the fate of a man who dared attack a cruel superstition, which was protected by all the official authority of the Church as an essential article of the faith!

No wonder that with such champions of orthodoxy Rationalism began to creep into the Church. The leader of this movement was Herman Alexander Roell, who contended for a free interpretation of Scripture. The sentiments which he held were expressed in a Latin sentence: "My friend, I do not adhere either to the old or to the new; whether it be the old or the new, if it be truth, I love it." He became professor of theology in Utrecht where he taught fourteen years, his principal opponent being the celebrated Campegius Vitringa. The States of Friesland at length adopted a decree commanding all professors and ministers to refrain from discussing Roell's opinions, and he was enjoined to strict silence concerning them. All this formulating of doctrines and splitting of hairs in discussion, accompanied by too much bitterness, led to a reaction against religion. The forms were maintained strictly, but the spirit was fast departing. Some contended that a spirit of universal philanthropy was better than any religious opinions, and liberty and enlightenment were to be the guides to a glorious age. The State and the Church were to be renewed, and a higher religion would be evolved from this change. Amid such varied tendencies of thought and such a declining power of religion, the period of danger came to a close.

The last of the periods treated of is the period of transition—extending from 1740 to 1840. The transition is that from a State Church with absolute authority, to a Church less directly connected with the State, and placed on an equality with all other

religious denominations. The period immediately preceding the French Revolution was one of discussion and dissension in the Reformed Church. Questions were sprung which involved the fundamental principles of religion, and these were opposed in a spirit of harshness and asperity. The people took sides in these controversies in a partisan spirit, and all these dissensions served only to weaken the Church. Meantime the state authorities were pushing their claims to control church affairs, and often they succeeded in carrying out their plans. In 1795 the French entered the Netherlands and were welcomed as deliverers of the country. The Prince Stadtholder departed for England and the States were dissolved. The principles of "liberalism" became triumphant. It was declared by the provisional representatives of the people that every one has the right to worship God in accordance with his own wishes, and that any man is eligible to office without any qualifications except morality and capacity. The privileges of the Old National Reformed Church were destroyed, no ruling Church was allowed, and the wearing of any distinctive ecclesiastical dress was forbidden. The edicts in regard to the observance of the Sabbath were repealed. The Church was thrown entirely on her own resources. But the religion of the Church was also in a deplorable state. A spirit of unbelief was prevalent, and many scorned all religion and treated ministers with disrespect. In 1801 a constitution was framed, and it was provided that a fund should be created from which the salaries of ministers should be paid. In 1802 the government determined to resume the payment of salaries of ministers of the Reformed Church. There were signs of a return to a better way of thinking. The desire for better observance of the Sabbath was expressed, and it was enjoined that this should be enforced. With the fall of Napoleon in 1813, there was effected another change. The Prince of Orange returned to the Netherlands, all parties were united under him, and efforts were made to provide for the wants of the Reformed Church.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century a reactionary movement took place within the Church. There was an effort made to break away from the lifeless rationalism with which

the Church was infected, and some of the leading minds of the age led the way in this struggle. Some withdrew from the Established Church and formed other churches, which took the old name of "The Churches under the Cross." The secessionists were at first not permitted to hold services, but afterwards, upon submitting to the government the code of statutes for their churches, they were approved, and the bodies allowed to hold religious worship. They have now grown into the "Christian Reformed Church" or "Seceded" Church, which is a strong and influential body. In 1877 it contained 362 churches, 270 ministers, and 133,155 souls.

This brings down the history to a period near our own time. In compressing such a long history into so small a space there is of course need of brevity. The book is no mere skeleton of dry facts, names, and dates; but a fresh, crisp, sparkling narrative, full of interest and instruction. The author has shown much skill in bringing salient points clearly into light and giving vividness to his pictures of prominent men and important events. The vast amount of instruction to be gained by a thoughtful study of such a varied history is only hinted at by him in the conclusion; but many a lesson suggests itself while reading his pages. The style of the author is clear, simple, direct, full of movement, and rising at times to eloquence. His personal opinions are not obtruded, nor does he seek to screen or excuse any harshness or bitterness on the part of the leaders of the Church, while there is a glow of sympathy pervading the whole narrative with the great principles of truth which were brought out even by the dissension and conflict of the times. We lay down Mr. Hansen's book—not satiated, indeed, but with a keener interest in the history of the noble Church of the Netherlands, and with an earnest desire for a profounder study of the periods of which he has written so attractively.

W. S. BEAN.

ARTICLE VIII.

OUR CHURCH AND HER WORK AMONGST THE NEGROES.

Within the last year or two there has been a great deal of discussion on the negro problem, spoken of by some as the greatest social problem of modern times. It is interesting to note the field of this discussion—the pages of such representative periodicals as *The Century*, *The Popular Science Monthly*, and *The North American Review*—as well as the character of the disputants—Congressmen, statisticians, editors, authors, and bishops. While it is a discussion carried on for the most part calmly and dispassionately, there are nevertheless widely divergent views and not a little clashing of opinions. It is impossible that it should be otherwise in discussing momentous social and political issues.

Happily for the Church, her interest in this great question is widely different, the aspects in which she is to view it of a less vexing character. It may be true that the political casts its baneful shadow over the religious aspects of this problem; and it must be confessed that the social question has thus far very much beclouded our vision of the religious. But, in the good providence of God, the political shadow has well-nigh vanished, and the heavier, more confusing outlines of the social are lifting, so that as a Church we are better able to-day than we have hitherto been to take a calm, dispassionate view of the field; and just in proportion as we obtain a clearer view of it, are we prepared seriously to consider our duty and endeavor to perform it.

Remotely and incidentally the Church is an immense factor in dealing with the social and political features of this "tremendous problem," as one writer terms it; for the higher and purer a man's type of Christianity, the better fitted is he for the duties of social life and citizenship. Even indirectly, therefore, the influence of the Church of Jesus Christ in improving the temporal condition and character of this inferior race far transcends that of all legislative and educational institutions.

But the direct and distinctive work of the Church amongst this people is spiritual, having as its grand aim not improved citizenship; but the salvation of their souls. It is very true that in the execution of this work we must carefully consider methods; and in doing this, we must have due regard to all the environments of the case, social and otherwise.

But the Southern Presbyterian Church has passed safely through these perplexing, initiatory stages of the work; some years ago, after much anxious thought and discussion, she sketched the outlines of her present plan of labor. It is an outline satisfactory to both races, avoiding those questions calculated to kindle animosities or arouse such prejudices as in the providence of God only time can remove. That plan contemplates as its end *The African Presbyterian Church*, and as its intermediate steps the colored evangelistic work and the Institute at Tuscaloosa for training a colored ministry.

But what have we done in filling up that outline map? Not a great deal, it must be confessed. We have fallen much short of our duty. Our labors have been far from commensurate with our opportunities. And yet are we to take the pessimistic view presented in these pages last January?¹ By no means. Many of the difficulties given as reasons, in the article referred to, why our progress has been slow, and why we should henceforth abandon all direct personal effort, belong to an earlier period, in considerable measure antedating even the beginnings of our endeavor. It is very true, as has been stated, that at the close of the war, and for ten years afterwards, there was everything to discourage such effort. The great social and political changes violently introduced into our midst at the close of the war naturally unfitted us for the work of negro evangelisation then, even if we had been possessed of the means. The political party that had prosecuted the war, and whose armies had laid waste large portions of our land, thrust upon us, when we were overpowered, such State governments as never disgraced the civilised world before, arrayed the negroes against the whites, and in the minds of the masses of

¹“*The Southern Presbyterian Church and the Freedmen.*”—SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1885, pp. 83-108.

Our people aroused prejudices that naturally rose as barriers in our pathway. With the flower of our youth in untimely graves, our hopes crushed, and fortune gone, and with corrupt adventurers ruling despotically over us by means of the negro vote, it was but natural that our people, even our *Christian* people, should feel little inclined to engage in a work such as lay at our doors. This is evidenced by the fact that beyond the adoption of the plan of an African Presbyterian Church by our Assembly in 1869, we did virtually nothing as a Church until 1876, when the Assembly established the Institute for Training Colored Ministers at Tuscaloosa. Hence no really active measures were taken by us to reach the blacks in a practical way until nine years ago. It will at once be seen, therefore, that it is wholly a mistake to speak of our Church as having been engaged in this work, in some sort of fashion, for the last twenty years.

Finding the beginnings of this work, therefore, nine, and not twenty years ago, let us see if it was properly represented in the view referred to as presented in these pages last January.

The colored evangelistic work first claims our attention, which, as had been expected, first began to assume definite shape contemporaneously with the Tuscaloosa Institute, and naturally, because it was believed that this seminary would furnish evangelists. The laboring force in this department has been chiefly our colored ministry. The Minutes of the General Assembly show that only three such ministers were laboring within our bounds in 1876, five in 1877, seven in 1879, ten in 1883. We must bear in mind the fact that these humble men, of limited mental capacity, were in a great measure untrained, some having been at Tuscaloosa only a few months and some not at all. Of the five reported in 1877, one has for several years been unable to do regular work because of age and infirmities, and another, finding his preparation for preaching entirely inadequate, has since spent two or three years at Tuscaloosa.

A little work has been done during the past nine or ten years by white ministers; but it has not been organised, systematic effort, the only kind ordinarily productive of encouraging results; and in some instances Presbyteries failed, as they often do in

white fields, to secure the proper man. One Presbytery, for instance, employed a white brother for some time; but finding him unsuited for the work, applied to Tuscaloosa for a student to take his place.

Surely, then, in a work conducted on so small a scale, with such heavy discounts, we are not warranted in looking for any decided increase in the number of churches or ingathering of members. If this little force simply held its ground amid untold difficulties and temptations to defection from our ranks, it did well. Even such a work is not to be disparaged or despised. It is matter for encouragement that this handful of humble shepherds and their flocks have been enabled to hold their own until now they see the dawning of a better day.

Let us next glance at our contributions to this cause. It is true we have had for several years a *Colored Evangelistic Fund*. It is likewise true that the contributions to it have been pitifully meagre. But are our churches wholly to blame? It must be confessed that very little prominence has been given to this fund—not enough to test the liberality of our people. No special day has been set apart for contributions to it as for other causes, no special and earnest appeals in its behalf. The gifts of the Church, therefore, cannot be correctly said to be the measure of her interest in this fund.

Meagre as these gifts have been, however, it is still more incorrect to regard the Secretary's tabular reports as indicating their total amount. In the SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW for January, 1885, p. 85, these words occur: "There is one other indication of the amount of interest felt by our Church in work for the freedmen. For years we have had, or tried to have, what is called a *Colored Evangelistic Fund*. How many churches contributed to this fund last year? Exactly *two*; and the amount contributed was exactly \$27.24." This is the sum found in the tabular report for 1884. In the same table for 1883 the amount given was \$467.24; but the Secretary stated in another portion of his report that *seven* Presbyteries, acting independently of the Central Committee in Baltimore, had contributed besides \$2,010.79, and adds: "The sum total for the Church, so far as has been ascertained, (is) \$3,458.29."

Again, in 1885, the tabular report shows only \$45.81, with three churches contributing; but the Secretary elsewhere mentions the fact that "recent reports from the Presbyteries state definitely also that \$1,837, besides the above" (the tabular amount), "were contributed by our people to aid this work in different localities. Much more than this, no doubt, was given, but was not reported."

Nothing is stated respecting these independent collections of non-coöperating Presbyteries in 1884; but as they were accustomed to contributing thus previously, and have been contributing since, the only natural inference is that there was a failure to report such collections in 1884.

Now, small as these total collections are, it is manifestly an injustice to contributing churches and Presbyteries to publish to the world simply the items from the tabular reports as the measure of our interest in this work; that our churches, for instance, gave only \$467, instead of \$3,458 (their real gift), in 1883; or \$45, instead of \$1,882 (probably over \$2,000), in 1885.

Turning now to the TUSKALOOSA INSTITUTE, are its history and work the disgraceful failure they are reported to be in the REVIEW article already alluded to? The language of depreciation and ridicule therein used could scarcely be stronger. If the picture of that humble school of the prophets, as drawn in these pages last January, is correct, our Institute is not only a failure, but a shameful imposition upon our Church, and the Assembly cannot too quickly blot it out of existence. But is that picture correct? Let us simply apply the scriptural test, "By their fruits ye shall know them." With one single exception all the students who have been sent forth regularly from the Institute have been *useful* men; and not only so, all of them have given their Presbyteries satisfactory evidence that they are *intelligent* men. They have acquired a fair knowledge of theology and kindred studies, have become notably ready in the Scriptures, and have invariably acquitted themselves so well in the pulpit as to awaken pleasant surprise in the minds of all white friends who have had the pleasure of hearing them. Of nearly a dozen of these students who have now been licensed, the examinations of

all before their Presbyteries have been respectable, and in some instances remarkable, reflecting a high degree of credit on the institution in which they were trained. One of these cases occurred at the recent meeting of a Presbytery in Mississippi. A colored candidate, trained solely at Tuscaloosa, came before that body, and during a careful examination, extending through the greater part of a day, the candidate evinced such a knowledge of the English branches, moral science, church history and government, and systematic theology, as was highly gratifying to the court, and at the conclusion of the examination it was remarked by the oldest member of the Presbytery that it was a better examination than a certain young white brother had passed recently, and he, by no means a man of mean parts, was a graduate of Union Seminary, Virginia. It should be remarked, furthermore, that the sermon and popular lecture, both neatly written, were of a superior order, and were heard by the congregation with pleasure and profit.

Were it needful, similar accounts of examinations of Tuscaloosa students before Presbyteries in other parts of Mississippi, Tennessee, and Alabama could be given—these students in one instance being called on to preach their trial sermons in one of our largest, most intelligent city churches, and delivering their God-given message so impressively as to awaken a deep interest in their future. The examination of one of these men on Hodge's *Outlines of Theology* was considered peculiarly gratifying by brethren who hold high position in the Church. Yet these men knew not a line of theology on repairing to Tuscaloosa some three or four years before, some of them having at that time only the rudiments of an English education.

Still another was making a similar record in one of the largest cities of Alabama, when a few months ago he was suddenly cut down by death, quickly following to his reward the noble and lamented pastor of the neighboring white church, who had been his sincere and helpful friend, and for whom the poor student's attachment possessed a singularly beautiful and pathetic interest.

The work that is now being done by these men is further evidence of the worth of their training and the sterling character

and practical value of the course of instruction at Tuscaloosa. In every instance they are reported by their white brethren as rendering effective service. Much of it is (because of their brief ministry) only preparatory, only seed-sowing; but it is promising.

Now, can an institution that trains *such* men to do *such* work be worthy of the opprobrium heaped upon it? No; far, far from it. Let us rather be thankful that God put it into the hearts of wise and thoughtful men in our Church to overture the Assembly to open this fountain of blessing to a needy and perishing race.¹

But this is not the only vindication due our colored seminary. It is greatly misrepresented in the article referred to in the matter of expenses, in a comparison instituted between it and Biddle University, under the care of the Northern Church. Nothing can be more erroneous than that comparison. It is affirmed that it costs \$230 *per annum* to keep a student at Tuscaloosa, and only \$90 at Biddle. The simple fact is, that against the \$90 at Biddle, only \$72 are needful at Tuscaloosa for the same length of time. There is surely quite a difference between \$72 and \$230! The only conceivably way in which this mistake was made is that its author divided the total contributions for the Institute by the total number of students. But with these contributions grounds have been purchased, buildings erected, and professors' salaries paid. The same methods of calculation applied to Biddle would make theological education amazingly expensive there, exceeding some \$1,600 *per student*!

The relation to us of the colored churches and ministers next

¹ What has just been said respecting the character and attainments of these students applies, of course, only to those who, whether they have completed the full course or not, have gone forth with the confidence and recommendation of the faculty. Thus far they have had to dismiss only one student, a candidate under the care of Roanoke Presbytery, who was guilty of falsehood and insubordination, and perhaps worse crimes. As was to be expected, the writer heard bad accounts of him last fall from a brother in North Carolina, who had heard the expelled student's attempts at preaching. His case was much to be regretted, as he was the first student sent from Virginia.

claims notice. By these intermediate steps—the evangelistic work and the theological school—the end which the Assembly contemplates is an *African Presbyterian Church*. As soon as is possible it is intended that Presbyteries and Synods, and eventually a General Assembly, shall be formed, just as there are among the Methodists African local and general Conferences. To such a goal the negroes themselves instinctively look. They prefer to be separate ecclesiastically as well as socially.¹

Meanwhile we enrol their churches, ministers, and candidates with our own.

There are expressions in the REVIEW article in question respecting our attitude towards these few colored brethren and their churches which it is painful to read, expressions such as these: “We are holding ourselves in readiness to shake them off just as soon as it is possible to do so without destroying their organic existence.” “We are not only careful to hold him (the negro) at arm’s length, but our attitude shows him that as soon as he gets *strong enough to stand the shock* (italics ours), we intend to push him a little further away. We have shown him that *the knife is in readiness* to sever the cord that now binds him to us just as soon as he has vitality enough *to stand the operation.*”

These expressions are harsh and painful, and there are thousands of our people and hundreds of our ministers and elders who have no sympathy with them, and would earnestly protest against their being reckoned as the voice and sentiment of our Church. It is true we do contemplate organising these separate colored Presbyteries and Synods; but only for our mutual good and for the welfare and upbuilding of Christ’s kingdom. A few in our Church may be animated by the spirit of fear that is attributed to the whole body—the fear that we shall be swallowed up by negro majorities in Church as we once were in State—

¹ Whilst our progress is slow, the day is not far distant when we shall see the Assembly’s plan realised. One of these independent colored Presbyteries already exists in South Carolina. Five licensed Tuscaloosa students are now laboring in the bounds of the Synod of Memphis, and will doubtless ere long constitute a separate Presbytery. It will not be long until similar Presbyteries can be formed in Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas.

that a negro influence would soon dominate in our beloved Zion. But certainly the great majority of our people are more rational than to be frightened by such phantoms.

No, our attitude towards the negro is not one of childish, shuddering timidity, prompting us to the harsh, painful utterances quoted above. Calmly, dispassionately, and with unselfish love for and interest in our colored brethren, our Assembly has outlined the map she is attempting to fill up—slowly, it may be—by the two agencies already dwelt upon. The fact confronts us everywhere, that the negroes prefer their own organisations in all the denominations; they prefer their own houses of worship, their own preachers, their own ecclesiastical bodies. Why, then, shall we be charged with selfish, sinful timidity, if we propose, when they shall have been properly trained, to set them apart as a distinct body? Instead of our purpose being cruelly selfish (as it is intimated it is), it is Christian and benevolent. We recognise *their* race instinct as well as our own. We have carefully noted their tendency towards separate organisation. But we know they are not yet fitted for this. Hence we would keep them with us for a time for their good, have their ministers and elders attend our church courts, and, if ordained, be members thereof, and in due time, when they shall have become familiar with Presbyterian usage, and the requisite numbers are found, organise them into a separate body, *in accordance with their own preferences*. Surely this is anything but selfish, sinful timidity. And in the face of such a spirit actuating our Church, it is cruelly unjust to say she merely “*tacked on her colored members to her skirts as a fringe,*” and that we have been at “*pains to tack them on very loosely, so that we can easily rip them off.*” Such language, if it voiced the mind of our Church, would betray a timid, selfish spirit, utterly unworthy of any body professing to be a Church of Jesus Christ.

The author of “The Southern Presbyterian Church and the Freedmen,” in view of various difficulties set forth, concludes his article with a frank proposition, that we turn over the *management* of this whole work (including, of course, all personal direct effort) to the Northern Church, our own Church meanwhile abolishing the Tuscaloosa Institute, and forwarding her contributions

to the Freedmen's Board in Pittsburgh, Pa. Five reasons are assigned as recommending such a course, viz.: (1) The superiority of Northern schools; (2) Economy; (3) The violation of our Constitution in licensing Tuscaloosa men; (4) The stronger sympathy of the negro with Northern influence; (5) The better promotion of fraternal feeling.

(1) As to the first of these reasons, viz., superiority of Northern methods of education, it is doubtful, in view of the facts presented, whether, in its practical aspects, Northern training *is* better. Moreover, as will be shown hereafter, our own school at Tuscaloosa is annually raising its standard, whilst still retaining its distinctively practical features, and contemplates a regular academic department, separate from and introductory to the theological. It is also a mistake to say (as has been said) that "the superior advantages afforded by their" (the Northern) "schools, and the more sympathetic relations which they sustain to the students has reached the inmates of Tuscaloosa Institute and become a disturbing element" (SO. PRES. REVIEW, Jan., 1885, p. 105-6). To only one student at Tuscaloosa have Northern schools been a disturbing element, and his moral character was such that it became imperatively needful to dismiss him. It is not too much to say that no other school, North or South, would have borne as long and as patiently with him. Prayers, counsel, oft-repeated admonition, and long-continued forbearance proved all in vain. It is much to be feared that want of the grace of God in his heart, and not "the superior advantages" and "sympathetic relations" of Northern schools, was the disturbing element in his sad case.

(2) The reasoning from the standpoint of economy has already been shown to be wholly erroneous.

(3) The licensing of men trained at Tuscaloosa is no more unconstitutional than that of many able and useful ministers in our white fold. Both classes are licensed under that provision of our Book of Church Order which provides for extraordinary cases. If the licensing of the negro who has never studied Hebrew and Greek, is unconstitutional, so is that of the white brother. Moreover, there is a wide-spread desire throughout our Church to allow in our white seminaries just what is in use in the colored,

viz., an English theological course. Why, then, look with such distrust upon that in Tuscaloosa, which so many are trying to introduce at Union and Columbia?

(4) Doubtless hitherto the North has had a larger measure of the sympathy of this people than we have been able to claim. But this state of things is changing. As we recede from the exciting scenes of the war, the jealousies and animosities of reconstruction days, a better feeling is springing up between the two races. The change in the Federal Government has well-nigh banished the political factor as a disturbing element, and, more than all else, as with the return of more cordial relations our own people have begun to show a more active sympathy for the negro's educational and spiritual welfare, it cannot be said, as it once could, that the North has exclusive access to the sympathies of this dependent race. The old barriers are breaking down, and year by year they show a growing readiness to meet our advances, and to look to us for guidance and instruction. If we do not *now* win largely upon their sympathies, we shall surely not be blameless.

(5) It may be most seriously questioned whether transferring this work to our Northern brethren would be promotive of harmony and fraternal feeling. Even as it is, the manner in which this work is done by our Northern friends does not always meet the approbation of our people; no, not by a great deal. One of our leading church papers recently stated that since Dr. Mattoon's resignation of the presidency of Biddle University, fully developed social equality has been introduced there. Our people would not contribute of their means to an institution so conducted. Thus difficulties, rather than peace and harmony, would greet us on the very threshold of the new scheme.

We can show "a more excellent way" of promoting fraternity over our colored brother as "the bridge across the chasm." The Northern Church is far richer than ours; let them send the money to *us* to do this work. This would, indeed, draw us nearer together; it would be fraternity indeed; for when the pocket is touched it is usually likewise with the heart. We have little to give, they have much. We are on the ground, they are not.

They have the mighty West to care for, we have only our native South. Born and brought up with our colored brother, we know him thoroughly; they do not. To a candid mind, there is every reason why we are of all people in the world the best fitted for this work. Our one great need is the money to carry it on. Then, as a manifestation of fraternal feeling far more eloquent and moving than greetings of delegates, let our Northern brethren send us of their tens of thousands to equip not simply one school but many, and to employ evangelists, white and colored, laboring under the control of the Presbyteries in whose bounds their fields shall lie, and a work shall be accomplished that shall gladden all our hearts and enable us to see eye to eye. Let one illustration suffice. With the theological school inaugurated at Clarksville, we shall not now need Danville Seminary as we once did. Let the Northern Church transfer to us their moneyed interest therein, and with that we could at once purchase a property in the suburbs of Tuscaloosa—an abandoned Roman Catholic convent and school—almost equal to that of Biddle University. It has again and again been offered to us at very low rates; but we have not the funds to purchase with. It has spacious buildings, a number of acres of ground for a truck farm, orchards, out-buildings, and every convenience that we could wish. The buildings are such that we could at once open a distinct academic and normal department, and could accommodate a large number of students, while the ample grounds would furnish opportunity for self-help by means of manual labor. In this manner the expenses of the students could be made even less than they are; their health would not be jeopardised by constant study, and they would be taught habits of self-reliance. If our Northern brethren could only fraternise with us in this practical way, could only trust us to do this blessed work, and help us do it in our poverty, how soon would bitterness and recriminations be things of the past!

In the REVIEW article already frequently alluded to, several reasons are presented why it seems useless for us longer to attempt anything directly in behalf of the negro—viz., because social, political, ecclesiastical, and Northern influences are all insuperable obstacles in the way. But, taking these objections up in

order, that urged from the social standpoint loses all its force when carefully examined, because it is based on a false assumption. It is assumed that active effort on our behalf for the negro necessarily involves social equality. Such expressions as these occur in the argument: "Social equality we cannot, will not, consent to. But we see at a glance how this must interfere with our work among the negroes. We have one hand on their heads, holding them down socially; how much can we lift them up religiously with the other? . . . If to lift them up religiously it should be necessary to remove the social pressure, will we do it? If to hold them under socially it should be necessary to withdraw the religious uplifting, will we do it? . . . The white people of the South deem it a matter of *first* importance to maintain their present social ascendancy, and they cannot take an active interest even in religious work, if that work threatens to disturb this ascendancy" (SO. PRES. REVIEW, January, 1885, p. 93).

This is bringing in an entirely needless question—one with which the matter of our duty should never be burdened. It is wholly irrelevant, needlessly appealing to passions and prejudices that, when once called up, inevitably obscure the truth we ought to endeavor to see clearly.

Experience has shown that we *can* labor successfully among the negroes, while moving in a separate social sphere. *Our* best people do not think of social equality; neither do *theirs*. The race instinct is God-given and strong, and is a natural barrier keeping us apart; and if on the one side there were not imprudent attempts to force social equality and on the other equally imprudent and needless utterances about our determination "to keep the negro down," and to keep him "in the barnyard and kitchen," we would see and hear very little to disturb us on this question from the negroes themselves. Social equality is certainly not taught or practised at Tuscaloosa, and yet it would be hard to find in any institution or community more cordial and sympathetic relations than exist between the two races there—not simply between students and teachers, but also between the white and colored Presbyterian churches.

From the tone and spirit of Col. J. T. L. Preston's article in

the April number of this REVIEW, it is to be inferred that like pleasant relations exist at Lexington. And it will be thus wherever our white people, in the spirit of their Lord and Master, enter upon this work earnestly. Every year the demonstration from experience grows stronger that the social alarm is a needless one, and that it is time for us to awake from its delusion.

The second objection, that urged on political grounds, is practically out of date. The change in the Federal administration has brought about a marked change amongst the negroes. The recent independent political convention of negroes in Virginia is very significant. In all the current discussions on the negro question, it is admitted on all sides that throughout the South as a whole the negro has ceased to consider the realm of politics a terrestrial paradise, and in many States he now takes little or no interest in political questions. But granting that he is arrayed against us politically from January to January (which is now far from being wholly true), is that a just reason for withholding our Christian efforts from him? Did the Apostles reason thus? They were Jews, and many of the Gentiles, notably the Romans, were their oppressors and political enemies. It doubtless required much grace to toil for the spiritual good of oppressive Roman tax-gatherers and soldiers, but they did it gladly. For several years there have been many pastors in Virginia who have had "Readjusters" in their congregations, and the feeling between "Readjusters" and "Funders" has been strong, even bitter. But has any pastor felt that differences in politics absolved him from faithful pastoral duty to all alike? By no means.

The objections from an ecclesiastical standpoint have already been sufficiently considered. It need only be added, the tone and spirit in which these objections are urged do great injustice to our Church.

With reference to the last objection, Northern influence, it is hard to see the consistency of presenting this as an evil in one place, marring our relations with the negro, and in another place deliberately proposing that our Church introduce this evil throughout all our bounds, giving it her official sanction, and asking our people to give it annually their moneyed endorsement!

We all frankly admit that there are difficulties, many and serious, in the way of our working successfully amongst the negroes. But a solemn sense of duty, rising above all obstacles, presses upon the heart and conscience of our Church. Delegating this work to others will never satisfy this sense of duty or admonition of conscience. The North might do it ever so well in our stead; but this would not remove the burden from our own hearts. There is an instinctive feeling—and it is a Christian birthright—that we have a *personal* duty to our neighbor, the black as well as the white. The sending away of our funds to others (even if that could be reckoned on, *as it certainly could not*), and inviting them to come to our very doors and with our gifts do this work for us, will not banish this instinctive feeling. It is a conviction planted of God, and in his providence he has intended that we should give it sacred regard. Alas! may the day never come when we shall deliberately stifle it! If we listen to those whose counsel is virtually to abandon religious effort for this needy race (such would surely be the outcome of the new measure proposed), we may well expect the chastening hand of Providence and the withholding of his favor. In vain shall we look for his blessing on our white work at home or our mission work abroad, if we deliberately turn as a Church from these perishing millions in our midst, who prepare our food, build our homes, plough our fields, and nurse our children, and whose fathers served ours long and faithfully, in prosperity and adversity, and were bound to them by the strongest yet tenderest ties. If we turn from them, the blood of souls shall be to no small extent upon our skirts.

Instead of turning over this work to others, let us address ourselves to it with new vigor. Let us follow up the more vigorous steps taken by the Secretary of Home Missions in his September circular in behalf of the *Colored Evangelistic Work*. The action of the last Assembly touching this matter, which was itself an index of awakened interest, should be carefully noted. Many of our people *wish* to give to this effort, and only wait for the opportunity to be offered. Let not our pastors be afraid to present this cause, so warmly advocated by the Secretary, and urge

it upon the attention of their people. But beyond and in addition to this, why should not a larger *per cent.* of the Sustentation fund be devoted to this work? At present five *per cent.* is the limit fixed; let it be increased to ten, thus doubling the amount.

Moreover, let Presbyteries and Synods take a more active interest in this field of labor. The Synod of Virginia acted wisely last fall in employing a colored evangelist at her own expense. Let others do likewise. Many of our Presbyteries now have safe, intelligent colored ministers laboring under their care. They are men they have licensed; they can trust them. Let these men be sent forth with their presbyterial and synodical credentials to do evangelistic work, and let our white pastors coöperate with them cordially, endeavoring to awaken interest in them and in their mission, helping them in the opening up of fields, and assisting them in securing temporary or permanent places in which to conduct divine service.

A preparation for this work in many many of our communities can be made in Sabbath-schools for colored youth—a work in which more of our consecrated laymen might well imitate the example that has so long been as a shining light in Tuscaloosa and Lexington.

Let our Church likewise take a more wide-spread interest in the *Tuscaloosa Institute*. Year by year it has grown upon the confidence of our people. They now no longer look upon it as an experiment. Its students favorably impress all with whom they come in contact. In view of these facts no pastor need hesitate to present its claims cordially, and appeal earnestly for a larger measure of support in its behalf. Many of our churches fail to take up collections for it through neglect. To obviate this, let the claims of the Institute be fully set forth at the meetings of all our Synods, either by the Secretary in person, or some one commissioned to represent him, and let the Assembly's Executive Committee in Tuscaloosa annually address all our churches, both vacant and supplied, previous to the first Sabbath in December, such a circular letter as our other committees do relative to the other causes and collections, thus directly impressing upon them the importance of this work.

For several years the need of a distinct academic department has been felt; but the Executive Committee lacked the means with which to equip it. Their last annual report indicates that this long cherished plan is beginning to attract attention, and it may reasonably be hoped that at an early day such a department will be established, thus furnishing an academic course preparatory to and separate from the theological. In an humble way its plan will be somewhat analogous to that of the Southwestern Presbyterian University at Clarksville. With a cordial, full presentation of our Institute and its claims from all our pulpits, there is little reason to doubt that our people would give such a response as would enable our Committee in Tuscaloosa to take steps at once in developing these plans.

In conclusion, instead of abandoning this work, or, what amounts to the same, delegating it to others, let us take it nearer our hearts, let it oftener find a place in our prayers, let us increase our gifts to it, and, above all, let us devote consecrated, personal endeavor to this work, which has for earnest, consecrated laborers its joys as well as its trials.

D. C. RANKIN.

ADDITION TO NOTE P. 749.—Since the above was written the writer has received a letter from an esteemed brother in Texas, in which this statement occurs: "Our work (amongst the colored people) in this Presbytery has grown . . . from nothing to this: we have now three ordained colored ministers and one licentiate and six organised churches with five comfortable church buildings. Our colored ministers maintain a good character, and I think are slowly gaining in influence among their people. We could have two more intelligent men—educated men of the Island of Jamaica—put into the work of preaching at once if we had the means to support them."

ARTICLE IX.

THE EDUCATION OF THE JUDGMENT.

A LECTURE BY THE LATE PROFESSOR FARADAY.

I take courage, sir [Prince Albert occupied the chair], from your presence here this day, to speak boldly that which is upon my mind. I feared that it might be unpleasant to some of my audience, but as I know that your Royal Highness is a champion for and desires the truth, I will believe that all here are united in the same cause, and therefore will give utterance, without hesitation, to what I have to say regarding the present condition of mental education.

If the term education may be understood in so large a sense as to include all that belongs to the improvement of the mind either by the acquisition of the knowledge of others, or by increase of it through its own exertions, then I may hope to be justified for bringing forward a few desultory observations respecting the exercise of the mental powers in a particular direction, which otherwise might seem out of place. The points I have in view are general, but they are manifest in a striking manner, among the physical matters which have occupied my life; and as the latter afford a field for exercise in which cogitations and conclusions can be subjected to the rigid tests of fact and experiment—as all classes employ themselves more or less in the consideration of physical matters, and may do so with great advantage, if inclined in the least degree to profit by educational practices—so I hope that what I may say will find its application in every condition of life.

THE GOSPEL BEYOND THE REACH OF SCIENCE.

Before entering upon the subject, I must make one distinction which, however it may appear to others, is to me of the utmost importance. High as man is placed above the creatures around him, there is a higher and far more exalted position within his view; and the ways are infinite in which he occupies his thoughts

about the fears, or hopes, or expectations of a future life. I believe that the truth of that future cannot be brought to his knowledge by any exertion of his mental powers, however exalted they may be; that it is made known to him by other teaching than his own, and is received through simple belief of the testimony given. Let no one suppose for a moment that the self-education I am about to commend in respect of the things of this life, extends to any considerations of the hope set before us, as if man by reasoning could find out God. It would be improper here to enter upon this subject further than to claim an absolute distinction between religious and ordinary belief. I shall be reproached with the weakness of refusing to apply those mental operations which I think good in respect of high things to the very highest. I am content to bear the reproach. Yet, even in earthly matters, I believe that 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; and I have never seen anything incompatible between those things of man which can be known by the spirit of man which is within him, and those higher things concerning his future which he cannot know by that spirit.

Claiming, then, the use of the ordinary faculties of the mind in ordinary things, let me next endeavor to point out what appears to me to be a great deficiency in the exercise of the mental powers in every direction; three words will express this great want: *deficiency of judgment*. I do not wish to make any startling assertion, but I know that in physical matters multitudes are ready to draw conclusions who have little or no power of judgment in the cases; that the same is true of other departments of knowledge; and that, generally, mankind is willing to leave the faculties which relate to judgment almost entirely uneducated, and their decisions at the mercy of ignorance, prepossessions, the passions, or even accident.

Do not suppose, because I stand here and speak thus, making no exceptions, that I except myself. I have learned to know that I fall infinitely short of that efficacious exercise of the judgment which may be attained. There are exceptions to my gen-

eral conclusion, numerous and high; but if we desire to know how far education is required, we do not consider the few who need it not, but the many who have it not; and in respect of judgment, the number of the latter is almost infinite. I am moreover persuaded that the clear and powerful minds which have realised in some degree the intellectual preparation I am about to refer to, will admit its importance, and, indeed, its necessity; and that they will not except themselves, nor think that I have made my statement too extensive.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ERRORS OF JUDGMENT.

As I believe that a very large proportion of the errors we make in judgment is a simple and direct result of our perfectly unconscious state, and think that a demonstration of the liabilities we are subject to would aid greatly in providing a remedy, I will proceed first to a few illustrations of a physical nature. Nothing can better supply them than the intimations we derive from our senses; to them we trust directly; by them we become acquainted with external things, and gain the power of increasing and varying facts upon which we entirely depend. Our sense perceptions are wonderful. Even in the observant, but unreflective, infant, they soon produce a result which looks like intuition, because of its perfection. Coming to the mind as so many data, they are stored up, and, without being conscious of it, are ever after used in like circumstances in forming our judgment; and it is not wonderful that man is accustomed to trust them without examination. Nevertheless, the result is the effect of education: the mind has to be instructed with regard to the senses and their intimations through every step of life; and where the instruction is imperfect, it is astonishing how soon and how much their evidence fails us. Yet, in the latter years of life, we do not consider this matter, but having obtained the ordinary teaching sufficient for ordinary purposes, we venture to judge of things which are extraordinary for the time, and almost always with the more assurance as our powers of observation are less educated. Consider the following case of a physical impression, derived from the sense of touch, which can be examined and verified at pleas-

ure: If the hands be brought toward each other so that the tips of the corresponding fingers touch, the end of any finger may be considered as an object to be felt by the opposed finger: thus, the two middle fingers may for the present be so viewed. If the attention be directed to them, no difficulty will be experienced in moving each lightly in a circle round the tip of the other, so that they shall each feel the opposite, and the motion may be either in one direction or the other—looking at the fingers, or with eyes employed elsewhere—or with the remaining fingers touching quiescently, or moving in a like direction; all is easy, because each finger is employed in the ordinary or educated manner while obeying the will, and while communicating through the sentient organ with the brain. But turn the hands half way round, so that their backs shall be toward each other, and then, crossing them at the wrists, again bring the like fingers into contact at the tips. If it be now desired to move the extremities of the middle fingers around each other, or to follow the contour of one finger by the tip of the opposed one, all sorts of confusion in the motion will ensue; and as the finger of one hand tries, under the instruction of the will, to move in one course, the touched finger will convey an intimation that it is moving in another. If all the fingers move at once, all will be in confusion; the ease and simplicity of the first case have entirely disappeared. If, after some considerable trial, familiarity with the new circumstances have removed part of the uncertainty, then crossing the hands at the opposite sides of the wrists will renew it. These contrary results are dependent, not on any change in the nature of the sentient indication, or of the surfaces or substances which the sense has to deal with, but upon the trifling circumstance of a little variation from the direction in which the sentient organs of these parts are usually exerted, and they show to what an extraordinary extent our interpretations of the sense impressions depend upon the experience, that is, the education which they have previously received, and their great inability to aid us at once in circumstances which are entirely new.

At other times they fail us because we cannot keep a true remembrance of former impressions. Thus, on the evening of

March 11th last, I and many others were persuaded that at one period the moon had a real green color, and though I knew that the prevailing red tints of the general sky were competent to produce an effect of such a kind, yet there was so little of that in the neighborhood of the planet, that I was doubtful whether the green tint was not produced on the moon by some aerial medium spread before it, until, by holding up white cards in a proper position, and comparing them with our satellite, I had determined experimentally that the effect was only one of contrast. In the midst of the surrounding tints my memory could not recall the true sentient impression which the white of the moon most surely had before made upon the eye.

At other times the failure is because one impression is overpowered by another; for as the morning star disappears when the sun is risen, though still above the horizon and shining brightly as ever, so do stronger phenomena obscure weaker, even when both are of the same kind, till an uninstructed person is apt to pass the weaker unobserved, and even deny their existence.

So error results occasionally from believing our senses; it ought to be considered, rather, as an *error of the judgment* than of the sense, for the latter has performed its duty. The indication is always correct, and in harmony with the great truth of nature. Where, then, is the mistake? Almost entirely with our judgment. We have not had that sufficient instruction by the senses which would justify our making a conclusion; we have to contrive extra and special means, by which their first impressions shall be corrected, or rather enlarged; and it is because our procedure was hasty, our data too few, and our judgment untaught, that we fell into mistake; not because the data were wrong. How frequently may each one of us perceive, in our neighbors, at least, that a result like this derived from the observation of physical things, happens in the ordinary affairs of common life.

When I become convicted of such haste, which is not unfrequently the case, I look back upon the error as one of "presumptuous judgment." Under that form it is easily presentable

to the mind, and has a useful corrective action. I do not think the expression too strong ; for if we are led, either by simplicity or vanity, to give an opinion upon matters respecting which we are not instructed, either by the knowledge of others, or our own intimate observation ; if we are induced to ascribe an effect to one force, or deny its relation to another, knowing little or nothing of the laws of the forces, or the necessary conditions of the effect to be considered ; surely our judgment must be qualified as "presumptuous."

There are multitudes who think themselves competent to decide, after the most cursory observation, upon the cause of this or that event (and they may be really very acute and correct in things familiar to them)—a not unusual phrase with them is, that "it stands to reason," that the effect they expect should result from the cause they assign to it, and yet it is *very difficult*, in numerous cases that appear plain, to show this reason, or to deduce the true and only rational relation of cause and effect. In matters connected with natural philosophy, we have wonderful aid in the progress and assurance in the character of our final judgment afforded us by the facts which supply our data, and the experience which multiplies their number and varies their testimony. A fundamental fact, like an elementary principle, never fails us ; its evidence is always true ; but, on the other hand, we frequently have to ask, what is the fact?—often fail in distinguishing it—often fail in the very statement of it—and mostly overpass or come short of its true recognition.

If we are subject to mistake in the interpretation of our mere sense impressions, we are much more liable to error when we proceed to deduce from these impressions (as supplied to us by our ordinary experience) the relation of cause and effect ; and the accuracy of our judgment, consequently, is more endangered. Then our dependence should be upon carefully-observed facts and the laws of nature ; and I shall proceed to a further illustration of the mental deficiency I speak of by a brief reference to one of these.

THE LAWS OF NATURE.

The *laws of nature*, as we understand them, are the foundation of our knowledge in natural things. So much as we know of them has been developed by the successive energies of the highest intellects, exerted through many ages. After a most rigid and scrutinising examination upon principle and trial, a definite expression has been given to them; they have become, as it were, our belief or trust. From day to day we still examine and test our expressions of them. We have no interest in their retention if erroneous; on the contrary, the greatest discovery a man could make would be to prove that one of these accepted laws was erroneous, and his greatest honor would be the discovery. Neither would there be any desire to retain the former expression; for we know that the new or the amended law would be far more productive in results, would greatly increase our intellectual acquisitions, and would prove an abundant source of fresh delight to the mind.

These laws are numerous, and are more or less comprehensive. They are also precise; for a law may present an apparent exception, and yet not be less a law to us, when the exception is included in the expression. Thus, that elevation of temperature expands all bodies is a well-defined law, though there be an exception in water for a limited temperature; because we are careful, while stating the law, to state the exception and its limits. Pre-eminent among these laws, because of its simplicity, its universality, and its undeviating truth, stands that enunciated by Newton (commonly called the *law of gravitation*), that matter attracts matter with a force inversely as the square of the distance. Newton showed that, by this law, the general condition of things on the surface of the earth is governed; and the globe itself, with all upon it, kept together as a whole. He demonstrated that the motions of the planets round the sun, and of the satellites about the planets, were subject to it. During and since his time, certain variations in the movements of the planets, which were called irregularities, and might for aught that was then known, be due to some cause other than the attraction of gravitation, were found to be its necessary consequences. By the

close and scrutinising attention of minds the most persevering and careful, it was ascertained that even the distant stars were subject to this law; and, at last, to place as it were the seal of assurance to its never-failing truth, it became, in the minds of Leverrier and Adams (1845), the foreteller and the discoverer of an orb rolling in the depths of space, so large as to equal nearly sixty earths, yet so far away as to be invisible to the unassisted eye. What truth, beneath that of revelation, can have an assurance stronger than this?

Yet this law is often cast aside as of no value or authority, because of the unconscious ignorance amid which we dwell. You hear at the present day, that some persons can place their fingers on a table, and then elevating their hands, the table will rise up and follow them; that the piece of furniture, though heavy, will ascend, and that their hands bear no weight, or are not drawn down to the wood; you do not hear of this as a conjuring manœuvre, to be shown for your amusement, but are expected seriously to believe it; and are told that it is an important fact, a great discovery among the truths of nature. Your neighbor, a well-meaning, conscientious person, believes it; and the assertion finds acceptance in every rank of society, and among classes which are esteemed to be educated. Now, what can this imply but that society, speaking generally, is not only ignorant as respects education of the judgment, but is also ignorant of its ignorance? The parties who are thus persuaded, and those who are inclined to think and to hope that they are right, throw up Newton's law at once, and *that* in a case which of all others is fitted to be tested by it; or if the law be erroneous, to test the law. I will not say they oppose the law, though I *have* heard the supposed fact quoted triumphantly against it; but as far as my observation has gone, they will not apply it. The law affords the simplest means of testing the fact; and if there be, indeed, anything in the latter new to our knowledge (and who shall say that new matter is not presented to us daily, passing away unrecognised), it also affords the means of placing *that* before us separately in its simplicity and truth. Then why not consent to apply the knowledge we have to that which is under development? Shall

we educate ourselves in what is known, and then, casting away all we have acquired, turn to our ignorance for aid, to guide us among the unknown? If so, instruct a man to write, but employ one who is unacquainted with letters to read that which is written; the end will be just as unsatisfactory, though not so injurious, for the book of nature, which we have to read, is written by the finger of God. Why should not one who can thus lift a table, proceed to verify and simplify his fact, and bring it into relation with the law of Newton? Why should he not take the top of his table (it may be a small one), and placing it in a balance, or on a lever, proceed to ascertain how much weight he can raise by the draught of his fingers upward; and of this weight so ascertained, how much is unrepresented by any pull upon the fingers downward? He will then be able to investigate the further question, whether electricity, or any new force of matter, is made manifest in his operations; or whether action and reaction being unequal, he has at his command the source of a perpetual motion. Such a man, furnished with a nicely constructed carriage on a railway, ought to travel by the mere draught of his own fingers. A far less prize than this would gain him the attention of the whole scientific and commercial world; and he may rest assured, that if he can make the most delicate balance incline or decline by attraction, though it be only with the force of an ounce, or even a grain, he will not fail to gain universal respect and most honorable reward.

When we think of the laws of nature (which by continued observation have become known to us) as the proper tests to which any new fact, or our theoretical representation of it, should, in the first place, be subjected, let us contemplate their assured and large character. Let us go out into the field and look at the heavens with their solar, starry, and planetary glories; the sky with its clouds; the waters descending from above, or wandering at our feet; the animals, the trees, the plants, and consider the permanency of their actions and conditions under the government of these laws. The most delicate flower, the tenderest insect, continues in its species through countless years, always varying, yet ever the same. When we think we have discovered a depart-

ure, as in the *Aphides*, *Medusæ*, *Distomæ*, etc.; the law concerned is itself the best means of instituting an investigation, and hitherto we have always found the witness to return to its original testimony! These frail things are never ceasing, never changing evidence of the law's immutability. It would be well for a man who has an anomalous case before him to contemplate a blade of grass, and when he has considered the numerous ceaseless, yet certain, actions there located, and his inability to change the character of the least among them, to recur to his new subject; and, in place of accepting unwatched and unchecked results, to search for a like certainty and recurrence in the appearances and actions which belong to it.

Perhaps it may be said, the delusion of table-moving is past, and need not be recalled before an audience like the present. Even granting this, let us endeavor to make the subject leave one useful result: let it serve for an example, not to pass into forgetfulness. It is so recent, and was received by the public in a manner so strange, as to justify a reference to it, in proof of the uneducated condition of the general mind. I do not object to table-moving for *itself*, for being once stated it becomes a fit, though a very unpromising, subject for experiment; but I am opposed to the unwillingness of its advocates to investigate; their boldness to assert; the credulity of the lookers on; their desire that the reserved and cautious objector should be in error; and I wish, by calling attention to these things, to make the general want of mental discipline and education manifest.

Having endeavored to point out this great deficiency in the exercise of the intellect, I will offer a few remarks upon the means of subjecting it to the improving processes of instruction. Perhaps many who watch over the interests of the community, and are anxious for its welfare, will conclude that the development of the judgment cannot properly be included in the general idea of education; that as the education proposed must, to a very large degree, be of *self*, it is so far incommunicable; that the master and the scholar merge into one, and both disappear; that the instructor is no wiser than the one to be instructed, and thus the usual relations of the two lose their power. Still I believe that

the judgment may be educated to a very large extent, and might refer to the fine arts as giving proof in the affirmative; and though, as respects the community and its improvement in relation to common things, any useful education must be of *self*, I think that society, as a body, must act powerfully in the cause. Or it may still be objected that my experience is imperfect, is chiefly derived from exercise of the mind within the precincts of natural philosophy, and has not that generality of application which can make it of any value to society at large. I can only repeat my conviction that society occupies itself now-a-days about physical matters, and judges them as common things. Failing in relation to them, it is equally liable to carry such failures into other matters of life. The proof of deficient judgment in one department shows the habit of mind, and the general want, in relation to others. I am persuaded that all persons may find in natural things an admirable school for self-instruction, and a field for the necessary mental exercise; that they may easily apply their habits of thought, thus formed, to a social use; and that they ought to do this as a duty to themselves and their generation.

Let me first try to illustrate the former part of the case, and at the same time state what I think a man may and ought to do for himself.

The *self-education* to which he should be stimulated by the desire to improve his judgment requires no blind dependence upon the dogmas of others, but is commended to him by the suggestions and dictates of his own common sense. The first part of it is founded in mental discipline: happily, it requires no unpleasant avowals; appearances are preserved, and vanity remains unhurt; but it is necessary that a man *examine himself*, and *that* not carelessly. On the contrary, as he advances he should become more and more strict, till he ultimately prove a sharper critic to himself than any one else can be, and he ought to intend this; for, so far as he consciously falls short of it, he acknowledges that others may have reason on their side when they criticise him. A first result of this habit of mind will be an internal conviction of *ignorance in many things respecting which his neighbors are*

taught, and that his opinions and conclusions on such matters ought to be advanced with reservation. A mind so disciplined will be *open to correction, upon good grounds, in all things*, even in those it is best acquainted with, and should familiarise itself with the idea of such being the case; for though it sees no reason to suppose itself in error, yet the possibility exists. The mind is not enfeebled by this internal admission, but strengthened; for if it cannot distinguish proportionately between the probable right and wrong of things known imperfectly, it will tend either to be rash or to hesitate; while that which admits the due amount of probability is likely to be justified in the end. It is right that we should stand by and act on our principles, but not right to hold them in obstinate blindness, or retain them when proved to be erroneous. I remember the time when I believed a spark was produced between voltaic metals as they approached to contact (and the reason why it might be possible yet remains), but others doubted the fact and denied the proofs, and on re-examination I found reason to admit their corrections were well founded. Years ago I believed that electrolytes could conduct electricity by a conduction proper: that has also been denied by many through long time; though I believed myself right, yet circumstances have induced me to pay such respect to criticism as to reinvestigate the subject, and I have the pleasure of thinking that nature confirms my original conclusions. So, though evidence may appear to preponderate extremely in favor of a certain decision, it is wise and proper to hear a counter statement. You can have no idea how often and how much, under such an impression, I have desired that the marvellous descriptions which have reached me might prove, in some points, correct, and how frequently I have submitted myself to hot fires, to friction with magnets, to the passes of hands, etc., lest I should be shutting out discovery; encouraging the strong desire that something might be true, and that I might aid in the development of a new force of nature.

HOW EASY IS SELF DECEPTION.

Among those points of self-education which take up the form of *mental discipline*, there is one of great importance, and, more-

over difficult to deal with, because it involves an internal conflict, and equally touches our vanity and our ease. It consists in the *tendency to deceive ourselves* regarding all we wish for, and the necessity of *resistance to these desires*. It is impossible for any one who has not been constrained, by the course of his occupation and thoughts, to a habit of continual self correction, to be aware of the amount of error in relation to judgment arising from this tendency. The force of the temptation which urges us to seek for such evidence and appearances as are in favor of our desires, and to disregard those which oppose them, is wonderfully great. In this respect we are all, more or less, active promoters of error. In place of practising wholesome self-abnegation, we ever make the wish the father to the thought; we receive as friendly that which agrees with, we resist with dislike that which opposes, us; whereas the very reverse is required by every dictate of common sense. Let me illustrate my meaning by a case where the proof being easy, the rejection of it under the temptation is the more striking. In old times a ring or button would be tied by a boy to one end of a long piece of thread, which he would then hold at the other end, letting the button hang within a glass, or even a piece of slate-pencil, or sealing-wax, or a nail; he would wait and observe whether the button swung, and whether in swinging it tapped the glass as many times as the clock struck last, or moved along or across the slate-pencil, or in a circle or oval. In late times parties in all ranks of life have renewed and repeated the boy's experiment. They have sought to ascertain a very simple fact, namely, whether the effect was as reported; but how many were unable to do this? They were sure they could keep their hands immovable—were sure they could do so while watching the result—were sure that accordance of swing with an expected direction was not the result of their desires or involuntary motions. How easily all these points could be put to the proof by *not looking at the objects*, yet how difficult for the experimenter to deny himself that privilege. I have rarely found one who would freely permit the substance experimented with to be screened from his sight, and then its position changed.

TABLE-TIPPING TESTED BY SCIENCE.

When engaged in the investigation of table-turning I constructed a very simple apparatus, serving as an index, to show the unconscious motions of the hands upon the table. The results were either that the index moved before the table, or that neither index nor table moved; and in numerous cases all moving power was annihilated. A universal objection was made to it by the table-turners. It was said to paralyse the powers of the mind; but the experimenters need not see the index. They may leave their friends to watch that, and their minds may revel in any power that their expectation or their imagination can confer. So restrained, a *dislike* to the trial arises; but what is that, except a proof that while they trust themselves they doubt themselves, and are not willing to proceed to the decision, lest the trust which they like should fail them, and the doubt which they dislike rise to the authority of truth?

Again, in respect of the action of magnets on the body, it is almost impossible for an uninstructed person to enter profitably upon such an inquiry. He may observe *any* symptom which his expectation has been accidentally directed to, yet be unconscious of any, if unaware of his subjection to the magnetic force, or the conditions and manner of its application.

As a proof of the extent of this influence, even on the minds of those well aware of its force, and desirous under every circumstance to escape from it, I will mention the practice of the chemist, who, dealing with the balance, that impartial decider which never fails in its indication, but offers its evidence with all simplicity, durability, and truth, still remembers he should doubt himself; and with the desire of rendering himself inaccessible to temptation, takes a counterpoised but unknown quantity of the substance for analysis, that he may remain ignorant of the proportions which he ought to obtain, and only at last compares the sum of his products with his counterpoise.

The *inclination* we exhibit in respect of any report or opinion that harmonises with our preconceived notions, can only be compared in degree with the *incredulity* we entertain toward everything that opposes them, and these opposite and apparently

incompatible, or at least inconsistent, conditions are accepted simultaneously in the most extraordinary manner. At one moment a departure from the laws of nature is admitted without pretence of a careful examination of the proof; and at the next, the whole force of these laws acting undeviatingly through all time is denied, because the testimony they give is disliked.

It is my firm persuasion that no man can examine himself in the most common things having any reference to him personally, or to any person, thought, or matter related to him, without being soon made aware of *the temptation*, and the difficulty of opposing it. I could give you many illustrations personal to myself about atmospheric magnetism, lines of force, attraction, repulsion, unity of power, nature of matter, etc., or in things more general to our common nature about likes and dislikes, wishes, hopes, and fears; but it would be unsuitable, and also unnecessary, for each must be conscious of a large field sadly uncultivated in this respect. *I will simply express my strong belief that that point of self-education which consists in teaching the mind to resist its desires and inclinations, until they are proved to be right, is the most important of all, not only in things of natural philosophy but in every department of daily life.*

There are numerous precepts, resulting more or less from the principles of mental discipline already insisted on as essential, which are very useful in forming a judgment about matters of fact, whether among natural things or between man and man. Such a precept, and one that should recur to the mind early in every new case, is to *know the conditions* of the matter respecting which we are called upon to make a judgment. To suppose that any would judge before they professed to know the conditions would seem to be absurd; on the other hand, to assume that the community *does wait* to know the conditions before it judges, is an assumption so large that I cannot accept it. Very few search out the conditions; most are anxious to sink those which oppose their preconceptions; yet none can be left out if a right judgment is to be formed. It is true that many conditions must ever remain unknown to us, even in regard to the simplest things in nature; thus, as to the wonderful action of gravity, whose law

never fails us, we cannot say whether the bodies are acting truly at a distance or by a physical line of force as a connecting link between them. The great majority think the former is the case; Newton's judgment is for the latter. But of the conditions which are within our reach we should search out all; for in relation to those which remain unknown or unsuspected, we are in that very ignorance (regarding judgment) which it is our present object first to make manifest and then to remove.

One exercise of the mind, which largely influences the power and character of the judgment, is the habit of forming *clear and precise ideas*. If, after considering a subject in our ordinary manner, we return upon it with the special purpose of noticing the condition of our thoughts, we shall be astonished to find how little precise they remain. On recalling the phenomena relating to a matter of fact, the circumstances modifying them, the kind and amount of action presented, the real or probable result, we shall find that the first impressions are scarcely fit for the foundation of a judgment, and that the second thoughts will be best. For the acquirement of a good condition of mind in this respect, the thoughts should be trained to a habit of clear and precise formation, so that vivid and distinct impressions of the matter in hand, its circumstances and consequences, may remain.

Before we proceed to consider any questions involving physical principles, we should set out with *clear ideas* of the naturally possible and impossible. There are many subjects uniting more or less of the most sure and valuable investigations of science with the most imaginary and unprofitable speculation, that are continually passing through their various phases of intellectual, experimental, or commercial development; some to be established, some to disappear, and some to recur again and again, like ill weeds that cannot be extirpated, yet can be cultivated to no result as wholesome food for the mind. Such, for instance, in different degrees, are the caloric engine, the electric light, the Pasilalinic sympathetic compass,¹ mesmerism, homœopathy, odyllism, the magneto-electric engine, the perpetual motion, etc. All hear and talk of these things; all use their judgment more or less upon

¹See *Chamber's Journal*, 1851, February 15th, p. 105.

them, and all might do that effectively, if they were to instruct themselves to the extent which is within their reach. I am persuaded that natural things offer an admirable school for self-instruction, a most varied field for the necessary mental practice, and that those who exercise themselves therein may easily apply the habits of thought thus formed to a social use. As a first step in such practice, clear ideas should be obtained of what is possible and what is impossible. Thus, it is impossible to *create* force. We may employ it; we may evoke it in one form by its consumption in another; we may hide it for a period; but we can neither *create* nor *destroy* it. We may cast it away; but where we dismiss it, there it will do its work. If, therefore, we desire to consider a proposition respecting the employment or evolution of power, let us carry our judgment, educated on this point, with us. If the proposal include the double use of a force with only one excitement, it implies a creation of power, and that *cannot be*. If we could by the fingers draw a heavy piece of wood or stone upward without effort, and then, letting it sink, could produce by its gravity an effort equal to its weight, that would be a creation of power, and *cannot be*.

So, again, we cannot *annihilate* matter, nor can we *create* it. But if we are satisfied to rest upon that dogma, what are we to think of table-lifting? If we could make the table to cease from acting by gravity upon the earth beneath it, or by reaction upon the hand supposed to draw it upward, we *should annihilate it*, in respect of that very property which characterises it as matter.

Considerations of this nature are very important aids to the judgment; and when a statement is made claiming our assent, we should endeavor to reduce it to some consequence which can be immediately compared with, and tried by, these or like compact and never-failing truths. If incompatibility appears, then we have reason to suspend our conclusion, however attractive to the imagination the proposition may be, and pursue the inquiry further, until accordance is obtained; it must be a most uneducated and presumptuous mind that can at once consent to cast off the tried truth and accept in its place the mere loud assertion. We should endeavor to separate the points before us, and concentrate each,

so as to evolve a clear type-idea of the ruling fact and its consequences; looking at the matter on every side, with the great purpose of distinguishing the constituent reality, and recognising it under every variety of aspect.

In like manner we should accustom ourselves to clear and definite language, especially in physical matters giving to a word its true and full, but measured meaning, that we may be able to convey our ideas clearly to the minds of others. Two persons cannot mutually impart their knowledge or compare and rectify their conclusions unless both attend to the true intent and force of language. If by such words as attraction, electricity, polarity, or atom, they imply different things, they may discuss facts, deny results, and doubt consequences for an indefinite time without any advantageous progress. I hold it as a great point in self-education, that the student should be continually engaged in forming exact ideas and in expressing them clearly by language. Such practice insensibly opposes any tendency to exaggeration or mistake and increases the sense and love of truth in every part of life.

I should be sorry, however, if what I have said were understood as meaning that education for the improvement and strengthening of the judgment is to be altogether repressive of the imagination, or confine the exercise of the mind to processes of a mathematical or mechanical character. I believe that, in the pursuit of physical science, the imagination should be taught to present the subject investigated in all possible, and even in impossible views; to search for analogies of likeness and (if I may say so) of opposition—inverse or contrasted analogies; to present the fundamental idea in every form, proportion, and condition; to clothe it with suppositions and probabilities, that all cases may pass in review, and be touched, if needful, by the Ithuriel spear of experiment. But all this must be *under government*, and the result must not be given to society until the judgment, educated by the process itself, has been exercised upon it. Let us construct our hypotheses for an hour, or a day, or for years; they are of the utmost value in the elimination of truth, "which is evolved more freely from error than from confusion"; but, above all

things, let us not cease to be aware of the temptation they offer, or because they gradually become familiar to us, accept them as established. We could not reason about electricity without thinking of it as a fluid, or a vibration, or some other existent state or form. We should give up half our advantage in the consideration of heat if we refused to consider it as a principle or a state of motion. We could scarcely touch such subjects by experiment, and we should make no progress in their practical application without hypotheses; still it is absolutely necessary that we should learn to doubt the conditions we assume, and acknowledge we are uncertain, whether heat and electricity are vibrations or substances, or either.

When the different data required are in our possession, and we have succeeded in forming a clear idea of each, the mind should be instructed to *balance them* one against another, and not suffered carelessly to hasten to a conclusion. This reserve is most essential; and it is especially needful that the reasons which are adverse to our expectations or our desires should be carefully attended to. We often receive truth from unpleasant sources; we often have reason to accept unpalatable truths. We are never freely willing to admit information having this unpleasant character, and it requires much self-control in this respect, to preserve us, even in a moderate degree, from errors. I suppose there is scarcely one investigator in original research who has not felt the temptation to disregard the reasons and results which are against his views. I acknowledge that I have experienced it very often, and will not pretend to say that I have yet learned on all occasions to avoid the error. When a bar of bismuth or phosphorus is placed between the poles of a powerful magnet, it is drawn into a position across the line joining the poles; when only one pole is near the bar, the latter recedes; this and the former effect is due to repulsion, and is strikingly in contrast with the attraction shown by iron. To account for it, I at one time suggested the idea that a polarity was induced in the phosphorus or bismuth, the reverse of the polarity induced in iron, and that opinion is still sustained by eminent philosophers. But observe a necessary result of such a supposition, which appears to follow when the

phenomena are referred to elementary principles. *Time* is shown, by every result bearing on this subject, to be concerned in the coming on and passing away of the inductive condition produced by magnetic force; and the consequence, as Thomson pointed out, is, that if a ball of bismuth could be suspended between the poles of a magnet, so as to encounter no resistance from the surrounding medium, or from friction or torsion, and were once put in motion round a vertical axis, it would, because of the assumed polar state, go on forever revolving, the parts which are at any moment axial moving like the bar, so as to become the next moment equatorial. Now, as we believe the mechanical forces of nature tend to bring things into a stable, and not into an unstable condition; as we believe that a perpetual motion is impossible; so, because both these points are involved in the notion of the reverse polarity, which itself is not supposed to be dependent on any consumption of power, I feel bound to hold the judgment balanced, and therefore hesitate to accept a conclusion founded on such a notion of the physical action; the more especially as the peculiar test facts¹ which prove the polarity of iron are not reproduced in the case of diamagnetic bodies.

As a result of this wholesome mental condition we should be able to form a *proportionate judgment*. The mind naturally desires to settle upon one thing or another; to rest upon an affirmative or a negative; and that with a degree of absolutism which is irrational and improper. In drawing a conclusion, it is very difficult, but not the less necessary, to make it *proportionate* to the evidence; except where certainty exists (a case of rare occurrence) we should consider our decisions as probable only. The probability may appear very great, so that in affairs of the world we often accept such as certainty, and trust our welfare or our lives upon it. Still, only an uneducated mind will confound probability with certainty, especially when it encounters a contrary conclusion drawn by another from like data. This suspension in degree of judgment will not make a man less active in life, or his conclusions less certain as truths; on the contrary, I believe him to be the more ready for the right amount and direction of

¹ "Experimental Researches in Electricity," paragraphs 2,657-2,681.

action on any emergency; and am sure his conclusions and statements will carry more weight in the world than those of the incautious man.

When I was young, I received from one well able to aid a learner in his endeavors toward self-improvement, a curious lesson in the mode of estimating the amount of belief one might be induced to attach to our conclusions. The person was Dr. Wollaston, who, upon a given point, was induced to offer me a wager of two to one on the affirmative. I rather impertinently quoted Butler's well-known lines¹ about the kind of persons who use wagers for argument, and he gently explained to me that he considered such a wager not as a thoughtless thing, but as an expression of the amount of belief in the mind of the person offering it; combining this curious application of the wager, as a *meter*, with the necessity that ever existed of drawing conclusions, not absolute, but proportionate to the evidence.

RESERVING JUDGMENT.

Occasionally and frequently the exercise of the judgment ought to end in *absolute reservation*. It may be very distasteful, and great fatigue, to suspend a conclusion; but as we are not infallible, so we ought to be cautious; we shall eventually find our advantage, for the man who rests in his position is not so far from right as he who, proceeding in a wrong direction, is ever increasing his distance. In the year 1824, Arago discovered that copper and other bodies placed in the vicinity of a magnet, and having no direct action of attraction or repulsion upon it, did affect it when moved, and were affected by it. A copper plate revolving near a magnet carried the magnet with it; or if the magnet revolved, and not the copper, it carried the copper with it. A magnetic needle vibrating freely over a disc of glass or wood, was exceedingly retarded in its motion when these were replaced by a disc of copper. Arago stated most clearly all the conditions, and resolved the forces into three directions, but not perceiving the physical cause of the action, exercised a most wise and instructive

¹ Quoth she, "I've heard old cunning stagers
Say fools for arguments use wagers."

reservation as to his conclusion. Others, as Haldat, considered it as the proof of the universality of a magnetism of the ordinary kind, and held to that notion, though it was contradicted by the further facts; and it was only at a future period that the true physical cause, namely, magneto-electric currents induced in the copper, became known to us. What an education Arago's mind must have received in relation to philosophical reservation; what an antithesis he forms with the mass of table-turners; and what a fine example he has left us of that condition of judgment to which we should strive to attain!

If I may give another illustration of the needful reservation of judgment, I will quote the case of oxygen and hydrogen gases which, being mixed, will remain together uncombined for years in contact with glass, but in contact with spongy platinum combine at once. We have the same fact in many forms, and many suggestions have been made as to the mode of action, but as yet we do not know *clearly* how the result comes to pass. We cannot tell whether electricity acts or not. Then we should suspend our conclusions. Our knowledge of the fact itself, and the many varieties of it, is not the less abundant or sure; and when the truth shall hereafter emerge from the mist, we ought to have no opposing prejudice, but be prepared to receive it.

The education which I advocate will require *patience* and *labor of thought* in every exercise tending to improve the judgment. It matters not on what subject a person's mind is occupied; he should engage in it with the conviction that it will require mental labor. A powerful mind will be able to draw a conclusion more readily and more correctly than one of moderate character, but both will surpass themselves if they make an earnest, careful investigation, instead of a careless or prejudiced one; an education for this purpose is the more necessary for the latter, because the man of less ability may, through it, raise his rank and amend his position. I earnestly urge this point of self-education; for I believe it to be more or less in the power of every man greatly to improve his judgment. I do not think that one has the complete capacity for judgment which another is naturally without. I am of opinion that all may judge, and that we only need to declare

on every side the conviction that mental education is wanting, and lead men to see that through it they hold, in a large degree, their welfare and their character in their own hands to cause in future years an abundant development of right judgment in every class.

This education has for its first and its last step *humility*. It can commence only because of a conviction of deficiency; and if we are not disheartened under the growing revelations which it will make, that conviction will become stronger unto the end. But the humility will be founded, not on comparison of ourselves with the imperfect standards around us, but on the increase of that internal knowledge which alone can make us aware of our internal wants. The first step in correction is to learn our deficiencies, and, having learned them, the next step is almost complete; for no man who has discovered that his judgment is hasty or illogical or imperfect would go on with the same degree of haste or irrationality or presumption as before. I do not mean that all would at once be cured of bad mental habits, but I think better of human nature than to believe that a man, in any rank of life, who has arrived at the consciousness of such a condition would deny his common sense and still judge and act as before. And though such self-schooling must continue to the end of life to supply an experience of deficiency rather than of attainment, still there is abundant stimulus to excite any man to perseverance. What he has lost are things imaginary, not real; what he gains are riches before unknown to him, yet invaluable; and though he may think more humbly of his own character, he will find himself at every step of his progress more sought for than before, more trusted with responsibility and held in preëminence by his equals, and more highly valued by those whom he himself will esteem worthy of approbation.

And now a few words upon the mutual relation of two classes, namely, *those* who decline to educate their judgments in regard to the matters on which they decide, and those who, by self-education, have endeavored to improve themselves; and upon the remarkable and somewhat unreasonable manner in which the latter are called upon and occasionally taunted by the former. A man

who makes assertions or draws conclusions regarding any given case ought to be competent to investigate it. He has no right to throw the *onus* on others, declaring it their duty to prove him right or wrong. His duty is to demonstrate the truth of that which he asserts, or to cease from asserting. The men he calls upon to consider and judge have enough to do with themselves in the examination, correction, or verification of their own views. The world little knows how many of the thoughts and theories which have passed through the mind of a scientific investigator have been crushed in silence and secrecy by his own severe criticism and adverse examination; that in the most successful instances not a tenth of the suggestions, the hopes, the wishes, the preliminary conclusions have been realised. And is a man so occupied to be taken from his search after truth in the path he hopes may lead to its attainment and occupied in vain upon nothing but a broad assertion?

Neither has the assertor of any new thing a right to claim an answer in the form of *Yes* or *No*; or think, because none is forthcoming, that he is to be considered as having established his assertion. So much is unknown to the wisest man, that he may often be without an answer, as frequently he is so, because the subject is in the region of hypothesis, and not of facts. In either case he has the right to refuse to speak. I cannot tell whether there are two fluids of electricity or any fluid at all. I am not bound to explain how a table tilts any more than to indicate how, under the conjurer's hands, a pudding appears in a hat. The means are not known to me. I am persuaded that the results, however strange they may appear, are in accordance with that which is truly known, and if carefully investigated, would justify the well-tryed laws of nature; but, as life is limited, I am not disposed to occupy the time it is made of in the investigation of matters which, in what is known to me of them, offer no reasonable prospect of any useful progress, or anything but negative results. We deny the right of those who call upon us to answer their speculations "*if we can,*" while we have so many of our own to develop and correct; and claim the right for ourselves of withholding either our conclusions or the reasons for them, with-

out in the least degree admitting that their affirmations are unanswerable. We are not even called upon to give an answer to the best of our belief, nor bound to admit a bold assertion because we do not *know* to the contrary. No one is justified in claiming our assent to the spontaneous generation of insects, because we cannot circumstantially explain how a mite or the egg of a mite has entered into a particular bottle. Let those who affirm the exception to the general law of nature, or those others who, upon the affirmation accept the result, work out the experimental proof. It has been done in this case by Schulze, and is in the negative; but how few among the many who make, or repeat, the assertion, would have the requisite self-abnegation, the subjected judgment, the perseverance, and the precision which has been displayed in that research?

When men, more or less marked by their advance, are led by circumstances to give an opinion adverse to any popular notion, or to the assertions of any sanguine inventor, nothing is more usual than the attempt to neutralise the force of such an opinion by reference to the mistakes which like educated men have made; and their occasional misjudgments and erroneous conclusions are quoted, as if they were less competent than others to give an opinion, being even disabled from judging like matters to those which are included in their pursuits by the very exercise of their minds upon them. How frequently has the reported judgment of Davy, upon the impossibility of gas-lighting on a large scale, been quoted by speculators engaged in tempting moneyed men into companies, or in the pages of journals occupied with the popular fancies of the day, as if an argument were derivable from that in favor of some special object to be commended. Why should not men taught in the matter of judgment far beyond their neighbors be expected to err sometimes, since the very education in which they are advanced can only terminate with their lives? What is there about them, derived from *this education*, which sets up the shadow of a pretence to perfection? Such men cannot learn all things, and may often be ignorant. The very progress which science makes among them as a body is a continual correction of ignorance—that is, of a state which is

ignorance in relation to the future, though wisdom and knowledge in relation to the past. In 1823 Wollaston discovered that beautiful substance which he called Titanium, believing it to be a simple metal; and it was so accepted by all philosophers. Yet this was a mistake, for Wöhler, in 1850, showed the substance was a very compound body. This is no reproach to Wollaston or to those who trusted in him; he made a step in metallurgy which advanced knowledge, and perhaps we may hereafter, through it, learn to know that metals are compound bodies. Who, then, has a right to quote his mistake as a reproach against him? Who could correct him but men intellectually educated as he himself was? Who does not feel that the investigation remains a bright gem in the circlet that memory offers to his honor?

If we are to estimate the utility of an educated judgment, do not let us hear merely of the errors of scientific men, which have been corrected by others taught in the same careful school; but let us see what, as a body, they have produced, compared with that supplied by their reproachers. . . .

[From "*Modern Culture.*"]

ARTICLE X.

CALVIN'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

We propose to state definitely the exact doctrine of Calvin on the Lord's Supper. He begins by referring to our Lord's saying, in John vi. 51, "I am the living bread." Of the invisible food we get from the body and blood of Christ, the bread and wine are signs. The secret union with Christ of the believer being an incomprehensible mystery, the signs chosen to set it forth are simple and familiar, because such are adapted to our capacity. The object of this sacrament, then, is to assure us of the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood to be our spiritual food, and God renews the promise every time the cup is offered us.

The force of the sacrament is in the words, "*Take, eat, this is my body and blood broken and shed for you.*" We are to *take*, because it is ours; to *eat*, for it is one substance with us; and it was not *for himself*, but *for us*, he took flesh and then sacrificed it.

The sacrament, then, is not a mere sign of these things, but a seal to confirm the promise in John vi. Christ took not the appellation "Bread of Life" from the sacrament; but as such he was given to us from eternity by the Father; and as such he took our nature and makes us partake of his; as such he bore our curse, was made our sacrifice, and raised our corruptible flesh to glory and incorruption. In other words, John vi. preceded, not followed, the sacrament which sealed and confirmed the promise it sets forth.

All these benefits we get by the gospel, and still *more clearly* by the sacrament, which assures us of what Christ said: "The bread which I will give is my flesh—for the life of the world."

Here, say some, the eating is *just believing*. It is indeed *by faith*, but faith is not the whole of it. It is rather a *consequence* of faith. Just as "the dwelling of Christ in our heart by faith" is not simple believing, but a *consequence* of it. Augustine indeed well says that we *eat by believing*, but all he meant was that the eating is not by *the mouth*, but *of faith*. Only Christ, it should

be added, is not far off; but we are united to him as members to the head.

Others say we do have some kind of communion with Christ, but it is spiritual, and not of his flesh and blood, whereas he says, "My flesh is meat indeed," and that we have no life unless we eat that flesh and drink that blood.

Here now is a mystery spoken by Christ, to be felt rather than understood, of which Calvin says that he always feels that he falls below the dignity of it whenever he does his utmost to set it forth. He can only break forth in admiration of what the mind cannot comprehend nor the tongue express. What, then, exactly is this sublime mystery of which he proceeds now to give a brief *summary*?

First, says he, the Sacred Scriptures teach that Christ is the eternal fountain of life. "He was the Word, and in him was life." Next, this life was manifested in human form, for as man had lost life by the fall, there remained no hope of life for him except as he might be restored to it through communion with the Word. It could avail us nothing for life to be in the distant Word, but if he comes nigh and takes our flesh and makes it vivifying for us—that is, joins Himself to our flesh and joins us to him by his Spirit—we may then hope. "I am the living bread which came down from heaven, and the bread I will give for the life of the world is my flesh." Life now is in our flesh, and we can reach it by the easiest access by just throwing open our hearts and embracing it by faith—that is, by faith we can become one with him both in flesh and spirit and enjoy all he is and all he has. Now, this flesh of Christ naturally was mortal, just like ours, and not life-giving, but he pervades it with life in order to transmit it to us. So he declares, "As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself"—meaning, of course, to the Son as he has become *flesh*. Thus the flesh of Christ is become a reservoir of the water of life, constantly drawn from by believers through faith, and constantly replenished from the spring-head of his Godhead. It is for this reason we must be in communion with his flesh and be members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. "This,"

says Paul, "is a great mystery." He feels unable to utter it, and so expresses his amazement without explaining it to us.

Calvin's idea evidently is that we lost and dead sinners could never reach the infinite source of life, nor he us, except in this one way of his coming nigh to us *in flesh* and making himself one with us, so as afterwards in the same way to make us one with him—that is, partaking of our nature that he might make us to partake of his. We must, therefore, have communion of his life, which is lodged for us in the reservoir of his flesh. Life comes not to us from God, but from God-man. The Son of God is the eternal source of life. But the difficulty is for that life to reach fallen man. There is a legal difficulty which justification removes. But does there not remain a difficulty as to the vital connexion? Must there not be some natural tie of life betwixt the Redeemer and his people? Such there clearly was betwixt the first Adam and his members. He was their head, and they got their life through and from him. This was no figurative or imaginary tie, but a real vital one, necessary to his being their representative. And must there not be a vital union also between the second Adam and his people? Now, the way in which this comes about is that he takes our nature on him and then gives us his nature, and so we become indeed one. He takes our flesh and gives us his Spirit, and so establishes a real communion of life with us through his flesh and blood by the Holy Ghost.

Thus, he says, Christ's flesh and blood feed our souls as bread and wine our bodies, and these signs would have no aptitude as feeding our bodies if our souls were not fed by communion with the life which is in his flesh. And he calls on us now to let our faith conceive what our minds cannot understand, viz., that the Spirit can truly unite things separate in space. By a sacred communion of his flesh and blood, Christ transfuses life into us by faith, and this he testifies to us and confirms to us in the Supper through the efficacy of the Spirit, so that it is no empty sign. Only believers, therefore, get what is set forth in these signs.

It will not do to say that the language of Paul, "The cup

of blessing, is it not the communion of the blood, and the bread, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" is *only figurative*. It is indeed figurative, but there is a reality figured in this language. God does not deceive by holding forth an empty symbol. The Lord puts the symbol into your hand to assure you that you truly partake of him.

Passing from this discussion with the undervaluers of the sacrament, to show the absurdity of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and that also of consubstantiation (where he never minces words with the Lutherans), we find him setting forth what kind of presence of Christ there is in the Supper, viz., such as neither affixes him to the element of bread, nor encloses him in bread, nor circumscribes him in any way, nor divests him of his just dimensions, nor dissevers him by differences of place, nor assigns him a body of boundless dimensions diffused through heaven and earth. There must be nothing derogatory to his heavenly glory, nothing inconsistent with his true and real and proper human nature. In other words, it is not any physical presence of his body at all, but only his spiritual presence by faith. And then we come to his grand reiteration of his inability to comprehend the great mystery which Paul had not undertaken to explain. "I will not be ashamed," says the great because humble Genevese, "that it is too high a mystery either for my mind to comprehend or my words to express; and, to speak more plainly, I rather feel than understand it. The truth of God, therefore, in which I can safely rest, I here embrace without controversy. He declares that his flesh is the meat, his blood the drink, of my soul; I give my soul to him to be fed with such food. In his sacred Supper he bids me take, eat and drink his body and blood under the symbols of bread and wine. I have no doubt that he will truly give and I receive." Let transubstantiators and consubstantiators and all others who exaggerate the sacraments on the one side, and let Socinians and Rationalists and all other depreciators of them on the other, say what they will, we admire, more than we can express, the consummate skill and masterly power with which, with the Word for his rule and the Spirit his guide, Calvin steered betwixt Scylla and Charybdis, and framed for us

a statement of revealed truth on this difficult subject which makes it not level to our comprehension, of course, but yet not confused or self-contradictory.

Now Dr. Cunningham says that Calvin makes an effort in all this "to bring out something like a real influence exerted by Christ's human nature upon the souls of believers in connexion with the dispensation of the Lord's Supper, an effort which was of course unsuccessful and resulted only in what was about as unintelligible as Luther's consubstantiation. This is perhaps the greatest blot in the history of Calvin's labors as a public instructor; and it is a curious circumstance that the influence which seems to have been chiefly efficacious in leading him astray in the matter was a quality for which he usually gets no credit, viz., an earnest desire to preserve unity and harmony among the different sections of the Christian Church" (Theol. Ref., p. 240).

Now, we have great respect for William Cunningham, but more for John Calvin. We hardly know any modern writer whom we esteem more highly than Cunningham, and this is perhaps the only blot we ever discovered upon any of his writings.

There are three points made against Calvin in this statement by Cunningham. One is that he errs in his doctrine of the sacrament; another, that his doctrine is as unintelligible as Luther's; and a third, that he was led into the error by a weak desire for peace and harmony. Let us glance at these in the reverse order.

First. As to the allegation that Calvin was misled into the error charged by overweening anxiety to please the Lutherans, the chapter we have just been considering bears us out in a denial of the correctness of the statement.¹ Calvin did, as we all know, earnestly desire to prevent the Lutherans and the Zwinglians from separating; but it is, we are persuaded, a gratuitous allegation that this desire led him to turn and twist his doctrine into such a shape as would please either party. This same statement, in a milder form, Dr. Hodge makes, saying in effect that one great object of his life was to effect a compromise between these

¹ See the strong and even offensive terms in which he speaks of consubstantiation in B. iv., cxvii. §§ 16-19; and also see the language he uses in his controversies with Westphal and Heshusius.

parties (Bib. Rep., 1848, p. 229). We have never fully examined what evidence there may be for this charge, but we are well satisfied from our acquaintance with his writings that it would not be difficult to defend Calvin's complete integrity in the premises and to show that he holds strictly and tenaciously to a doctrine which he considers to be written down in the word.

Next. As to the unintelligibleness of the doctrine, we have yet to learn that that quality is any absolute proof that a doctrine is not true. If consubstantiation, or if transubstantiation itself, were but revealed in God's word, we could not object to their being mysterious. Does Dr. Cunningham mean to say that he finds the Trinity, or the humiliation of the second Person, or the omnipresence of God, or the connexion of sovereignty and free agency, all very easy to be understood? For one we see no self-contradictoriness in Calvin's doctrine, and are not stumbled at its mystery. We find mystery above and beneath and around and within us, and if we were to abandon all the mysterious doctrines which are unintelligible to our weak comprehension, we should just abandon our whole faith. The whole of Christianity moves in the sphere of the supernatural.

Thirdly. As to the *falseness* of this doctrine, which is "the only blot on Calvin's teaching": if Cunningham, with his patience and his learning and his candor and fairness had gone into a statement of the grounds of this judgment which he pronounced, there would have been more satisfaction afforded us, and possibly we might have been convinced by the great Scotch divine. But as he only *affirms*, and that very briefly, of course we need waste no time in examining the point.

Touching the difficulty which there is in comprehending Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, let it be remembered that the subject itself is mysterious. Hear Dr. Charles Hodge on this point: "The Lord's Supper is by all Christians regarded as exhibiting, and in the case of believers confirming, their union with the Lord Jesus Christ. Whatever obscurity rests on that union must in a measure rest on this sacrament. That union, however, is declared to be 'a great mystery.' It has always on that account been called 'the mystical union.' We are there-

fore demanding too much when we require all obscurity to be banished from this subject. If the union between Christ and his people were merely moral, arising from agreement and sympathy, there would be no mystery about it, and the Lord's Supper, as the symbol of that union, would be a perfectly intelligible ordinance. But the Sacred Scriptures teach us that our union with Christ is far more than this. It is a vital union—we are partakers of his life, for it is not we that live, but Christ that liveth in us.”¹ Thus Dr. Hodge, and we may put now what Dr. Cunningham, said unwisely by way of objection to Calvin's doctrine about its being unintelligible with these wise and scriptural words of Dr. Hodge concerning the impossibility of its being an intelligible ordinance as symbolising a union which confessedly is not intelligible to any mortal mind.

Let us add that Dr. Hodge thus states the points relating to this union of Christ and believers about which there is a general agreement amongst Christians: 1. A federal relation by divine constitution. 2. On Christ's part a sharing of our nature. 3. A participation by us of the Spirit of Christ and his indwelling within us. 4. This union relates to body as well as soul—our bodies are temples of the Spirit, and even in the grave they are still united by the Spirit unto Christ. All these features of the union are certainly not a little unintelligible, and yet *being revealed*, “almost all Christians,” says Dr. Hodge, believe them. He adds: “This union was always represented as a real union, not merely *imaginary*, nor simply moral, nor arising from the mere reception of the benefits which Christ has procured.” Dr. Hodge might have still further added that this union is no mere *figure of speeck*, for of course he means so. And to make his statement fully and thoroughly Calvinistic he should have added a fifth particular of the Christian faith, viz., that we all partake of his flesh and blood in the sacrament.

Dr. Hodge proceeds in the article whence we have drawn these statements to examine:

1. Those authorities which express the Swiss views.
2. Those which present the views of Calvin.

¹ Bib. Rep., 1848.

3. Those symbols in which both sides concurred. And then in conclusion,

4. He proposes to analyse and state their meaning. Let us accompany him in this investigation.

1. The Swiss Confessions referred to by Dr. Hodge are the Confessio Tetrapolitana, the first Basel and the first Helvetic. The last named protests against the representation that the Reformed look upon sacraments as mere badges of profession, asserting that they are also signs and means of grace. It calls the Supper "*coena mystica* in which Christ truly offers his body and blood, and hence himself, to his people," but says "the body and blood are not naturally united with the bread and wine, or locally included in them or sensibly there present." In "The Sincere Confession of the Ministers of the Church of Zurich," the Supper is said to be for "remembrance of the body and blood devoted and shed for remission of our sins." This is "by faith," which renders them "present in one sense to the soul of the believer." "To believe is to eat, and to eat is to believe." "There is no other life-giving food in the Supper than believers get elsewhere." "Christ's flesh has done its work on earth, no longer benefits on earth, and is no longer here." Observe now that every one of these statements Calvin accepts readily, and that they differ not at all from what he employs. Zwingle himself is quoted as saying that the natural substantial body of Christ is in heaven, and is not eaten "corporeally in the Supper, but spiritually only"—and this is "to rely on the goodness and mercy of God through Christ." Dr. Hodge distinguishes, in a note, betwixt the doctrine actually held by Zwingle and the name *Zwinglian*, which is popularly applied to the Socinian doctrine of the sacraments being mere signs.

2. Let us pass to the views of Calvin and of the Confessions formed under his influence. In stating Calvin's view of this matter, Dr. Hodge naturally goes to the Institutes, Book IV., C. XVII., but he quotes from § 10, instead of from §§ 8 and 9. The consequence is not a full and clear statement, but an imperfect, partial, and unsatisfactory one. The reader will remember that Calvin says Christ is the eternal source of life, was mani-

fested in our nature to restore it to us when lost, and to bring it nigh when afar off; that his flesh, naturally mortal like ours, was pervaded with life, in order to transmit life to us, and is a reservoir constantly drawn from by all believers, but replenished continually from the eternal spring-head of his divinity; that we must be in communion with this flow of life coming down from the very throne of God itself or else have no life in us; that we must be members of his body and of one spirit with him or be dead. Now, this union, Paul says, is a great mystery, and the great Genevese humbly professes that he feels, but does not understand it. There is certainly, however, no great difficulty in apprehending his statement of the mysterious doctrine. Surely the prince of the Reformers does not talk any unmeaning jargon. His views, derived directly from Scripture, he puts into plain and simple words. It is possible, however, of course, to misapprehend and to misrepresent him, and this can hardly be avoided if one gives only a partial statement of his doctrine. What we have to say, therefore, touching Dr. Hodge's account of Calvin's views is [Hibernice] that it could not possibly be clear or complete, seeing that it is so very incomplete. Undertaking to set forth the view Calvin gives of this mystery, Dr. Hodge unfortunately begins near the close of Calvin's brief summary, and the result of course is that we have no intelligible account of his doctrine.

The Confessions, formed under Calvin's influence, which Dr. Hodge refers to, and from which he makes quotations setting forth the same views which he held, are:

(1) The Gallican, adopted by Protestants of France in 1559; (2) the Scotch, adopted in 1560; and (3) the Belgic (or Dutch), adopted in 1561. The testimonies of these Confessions are all as direct and strong as possible in favor of the doctrine of Calvin. And they constitute the most important symbols of the Reformed religion, representing the doctrines held by the French, the Scotch, and the Dutch Churches. There were no more important sections of the Reformed than these three.

It may be worth while to refer just here to testimony from another most important quarter, though dating nearly one cen-

ture later. We refer to the Westminster Confession, which is acknowledged at this day by untold numbers of the descendants and followers of the Reformed. Its language is: "Worthy receivers outwardly partaking of the visible elements in this sacrament, do then also inwardly, by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ crucified and all the benefits of his death: the body and blood of Christ being not corporally or carnally in, with, or under the bread and wine, yet as really but spiritually present to the faith of believers in that ordinance as the elements themselves are to their outward senses."

3. We come to those Confessions in which Zwinglians and Calvinists agreed.

The first one referred to by Dr. Hodge is the *Consensus Tigurinus* or the Agreement of Zurich. It was published with the title "Consent of Ministers of Zurich and of John Calvin, Minister of Geneva." Dr. Hodge says very truly that "in these articles there is not a word which any of the evangelical Churches of the present day would desire to alter" (p. 238). But he also alleges that Calvin's view is excluded from it (p. 251). This is a remarkable statement. Let us recur to the history of this document. Let it be observed first and foremost that there were no *very great* differences betwixt the Swiss Churches of Geneva and Zurich touching the sacraments. There were at this period (twenty years or so after Zwingle's death) some differences—the remains of the wide separation between Zwingle and Luther. It was easy to exaggerate these, and most desirable that they should be composed. In 1549, therefore, Calvin, accompanied by Beza, goes to Zurich to confer with Bullinger. He had previously written these articles with his own pen. Bullinger and the others accept them. Beveridge, the competent translator of so many of Calvin's works, describes the conference between these brethren as one where personal intercourse drew their hearts together, and they found themselves far better agreed than was supposed before, but he observes, "If any who subscribed the agreement must be understood by so doing to have changed the views they had previously entertained, *he* [Calvin]

was not of the number, as there is not one of the articles which he had not maintained in one or other of his works." He adds that the effect of it was to convince many Lutherans how unjust it was to say that the Zwinglians held to no sort of real presence at all, and it was confidently expected that out of it would flow the realisation of Calvin's constant hope—a *great Protestant League* on the basis of that agreement. In view of these facts, which cannot be denied, it is preposterous to say that Calvin had left his own view of the sacrament out of the Consensus. For of course if he thus yielded everything to the Zwinglians, what hope would have remained of his satisfying by any such statement the Lutheran expectations? It is manifest, of course, that having Lutherans, as well as Zwinglians, to convince, he could not have failed to insert something considerable touching the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament. But we have further proof of this to offer. In the midst of all the bright hopes that a great Protestant union was about to take place, Joachim Westphal, minister of the Lutherans at Hamburg, a man unequal to the discussion of such a question, but scurrilous and virulent, attacks the Consensus, and amongst other points makes this very one that Calvin had abandoned his own opinions. For reasons, which we have not time to detail, Calvin thought best to stoop so far as to reply to this man, and publishes his "*exposition*" of the agreement. And here he shows in forcible terms how and where the Consensus did set forth clearly, though mildly, his peculiar views.

Second in the class of Confessions accepted by both Zwinglians and Calvinists, Dr. Hodge has put the Heidelberg Catechism. He might with just as good reason precisely have put the Gallic, Scotch, and Belgic Confessions, which he calls strictly Calvinistic, for they are no stronger than it is in declaring Calvin's view. The truth is, as is evidenced in the Consensus Tigurinus, that there was a substantial harmony between Calvin and the Swiss, notwithstanding their differences. Calvin would have had little trouble if what he aimed at had been to unite with himself merely the Zurich brethren. But his great idea was a grand union of all the Protestants, and the difficulty was to bring the extremes to meet. He stood in the true Scripture middle

with his doctrine of the real spiritual communion, while Luther had gone to one extreme and Zwingli to the other. But Zwingli is dead. Most of the Swiss (see Henry, II., p. 76) have already adopted Calvin's higher views—if indeed Zwingli did not himself forsake his own lower ones. Out of regard to Zwingli, however, they do not openly confess the change as yet. There is no proof, however, that Bullinger was what Dr. Hodge represents (p. 242), “the great opponent of what was considered peculiar in Calvin's views.”

Now the history of the Heidelberg Catechism may be given thus: Frederick III., the elector of the Palatinate, after a very violent disturbance in his kingdom, created by one Tilemann Heshuss, a Lutheran whom Calvin had severely castigated, had this Catechism drawn up by Casper Olevian, a disciple of Calvin, and Ursinus, a friend of Melanchthon—the object being to state the moderate Calvinistic view of the real presence as against the Lutheran extreme, there was no question raised in all the agitations and conflicts which gave rise to this venerable symbol, concerning the *reality* of Christ's presence in the Supper, but only concerning the *mode*. Was it *by the mouth* that Christ was received in the Supper, or was it *by faith*? Heshuss is so violent that Frederick, who succeeded to the electorate in the midst of his fierce denunciations, not only dismisses him from office, but determines to establish a rule of faith on this question for his subjects. He consults Melanchthon, who condemns Heshuss, Luther being now dead and gone, and Frederick decides for the mild or Calvinistic view, and resolves to have the Palatinate become *Reformed*.

In these circumstances he causes the persons named above to draw up the celebrated formulary which, being adopted by a Synod at Heidelberg in 1563 and published as a confessional standard, has been translated into all modern tongues, honored with countless commentaries, and exalted by general consent to the highest authority for the whole Reformed Church (Nevin's *Myst. Pres.*, p. 83).

Now this famous symbol is perfectly clear in expressing the peculiar doctrine of Calvin. It says Christ “feeds and nourishes

my soul to everlasting life with his crucified body and shed blood as assuredly as I receive from the minister and taste with my mouth the bread and cup of the Lord as certain signs of the body and blood of Christ." And it says "to eat the crucified body and drink the shed blood of Christ is *not only* to embrace with a believing heart all the sufferings and death of Christ, and thereby to obtain the pardon of sin and life eternal; but also, *besides that*, to become more and more united to his sacred body by the Holy Ghost, who dwells both in Christ and in us, so that we, though Christ is in heaven and we on earth, are notwithstanding 'flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone,' and that we live and are governed for ever by one Spirit as members of the same body are by one soul." Also that we are through the Spirit as "really partakers of his true body and blood" as we receive the signs by the mouth. Ursinus also wrote a commentary on this symbol, in which he expresses in the strongest terms Calvin's peculiar doctrine—which we again call peculiar, inasmuch as it separates him from the Lutheran, and what is popularly called the Zwinglian doctrine.

Now this Heidelberg Catechism is the symbol of the German Reformed Church, and has received also the endorsement of the Reformed Dutch Church, being solemnly approved by the Synod of Dort in 1618. It is just another Calvinistic symbol, though Dr. Hodge chooses to represent it as one of those where Zwinglians and Calvinists met.

Third and last in this class comes the Second Helvetic, drawn up by Bullinger after Calvin's death in 1562, but not of public authority till 1566. The Elector, Frederick III., anxious to meet the extreme intolerance of the Lutherans at this time against all the Reformed, but him and his subjects particularly, and desirous to make at the imperial diet which was at hand as fair a showing as he could for the side he has espoused, writes to Bullinger for some such statement as might serve to repress the cavils of the Lutherans. Bullinger sent to him this formulary, which, to give it more authority, was subjected to the other Helvetic or Swiss Churches, and being generally approved, it comes to be known as the proper Swiss Confession. Now, as Bullinger

wrote this symbol, Dr. Hodge says of course we must expect to find in it nothing but what the Zurich ministers could cordially adopt, seeing that Bullinger was Zwingle's successor at Zurich, and the "great opponent of Calvin's peculiar view!" (Pp. 242 and 250.)

Referring then to the Second Helvetic, we find it full and clear in the statement of Calvin's peculiar doctrine, albeit written, as Dr. Hodge says, by the chief opponent of it! It says: "Believers receive what is given by the minister of the Lord, and eat the Lord's bread and drink of the Lord's cup; *inwardly*, however, in the meantime, by the work of Christ through the Holy Spirit, they partake also of the Lord's flesh and blood, and are fed by these unto eternal life. For the flesh and blood of Christ are true meat and drink unto eternal life, and Christ himself as delivered up for us and our salvation is that which mainly makes the Supper," etc. It proceeds to explain what it calls *spiritual manducation*, which is not "of a merely imaginary, undefinable food, but the body of the Lord itself delivered up for us, which, however, is received by believers, not corporally, but spiritually by faith."

We have gone far enough with Dr. Hodge, and the remarks which he offers on all these various Confessions are, in our judgment, so confused and erroneous that we pass them over in silence, except to say merely that, whatever objections he makes to Calvin's doctrine, he never once signifies that it is not possible to be understood, or that he does not understand it. And thus we set him over against Dr. Cunningham on this point, and flatter ourselves that we can knock down the Scotch theologian with his American brother. We may also refer to Schleiermacher, confessedly a great master of ratiocination, as professing that he saw nothing absurd in the Calvinistic theory. We may refer to another great master of it, Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, as testifying strongly (Subjective Theology, pp. 606, 607) to the consistency and scripturalness of the same doctrine. We may also speak of the celebrated Walter Marshall, one of the Puritan ministers ejected in 1662 for non-conforming, whose treatise on "The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification" was so strongly recom-

mended by the Erskines and by Adam Gib, and is so highly esteemed amongst Calvinists, as setting forth in the fullest and strongest manner this same doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

We can also give our personal testimony to Dr. Thornwell's having averred that he agreed with Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

So, too, one shall find in various portions of John Owen's works, that prince of theologians, very clear and forcible statements of the doctrine taught by Calvin. See his *Sacramental Discourses*, x., xxiii., xxv.

And we can refer, on the other hand, to passages in the works of modern theologians of more or less repute for soundness in the faith, who have evidently fallen away very much from the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper—as Edwards, Ridgley, Hopkins, Bellamy, Dwight, Ashbel Green, Dick, and Barnes. The tendencies of the age, especially in New England, are rationalistic, and even Presbyterians are often too much inclined to suffer a disparagement of the supernatural.

Recurring, however, to the facts brought to view in this article, the reader perceives that whereas Luther, on the one hand, and Zwingli, on the other, were wide apart, and the former especially obstinate and virulent, as well as extreme, yet the successors of Zwingli were never far apart from Calvin; and that accordingly the First Helvetic Confession itself (which Dr. Hodge counts as anti-Calvinist, that is, Zwinglian) uses language which contradicts his representation of it, while the Gallic, Scotch, and Belgic Confessions, the Consensus Tigurinus, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Second Helvetic Confession, all of them, are decidedly Calvinistic in their utterances. And he will not forget that the great Genevese Reformer (great because humble) only undertakes to set before us, what he does not claim to comprehend, *the sublime mystery revealed in the word of God*. It seems to follow that, in accepting his views, we are not only following in the footsteps of the flock, not only accepting the creed of the Reformed Churches—which we believe to be right and true on so many other points where other Churches wander—but we shall be accepting also the very word of God upon the

ineffable mystery of the union of the Head and the members. Calvin insists on nothing whatever except the sublime truth of *life for us in the incarnation*. There is life of course in the God absolute—it is infinite and superabounding and everlasting, but not *for us*. We are creatures and cannot get access to it; we are sinners, and it is impossible for us to receive it, if we could come near to it. And so that life of the absolute God is to us as though it were not—nay, it is against our life, and dooms us to death for ever. But the incarnation is a wondrous divine plan which procures for us justification and a share in the life of God's own Son. But the life which it procures is inseparable from itself. Not God's Son *as such* gives it to us, but God's Son as he is in human flesh. He is not only our representative Head, but we are likewise vitally one with him. He partakes of our flesh, and we partake of his Spirit. His humanity is the connecting link between his Godhead and our manhood. The flesh of Christ is a reservoir full of life, constantly drawn upon by all his people through the Holy Spirit and by faith which unites us to the Saviour; and this reservoir is itself constantly replenished from the everlasting spring-head.

Now, then, Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper simply is, that it holds forth and seals to us this most blessed truth. Does the reader see any heresy here? Does he see any absurdity? Does he see anything he cannot or ought not to accept? Our Reformed fathers in France, in Holland, in Scotland, in Switzerland, in Germany, accepted it. They were not tinctured in the slightest degree with the Rationalism of this age, and they accepted it as they perceived it in the word. The whole Reformation, excepting only the Lutherans (and not excepting all of them either, for Melancthon believed with Calvin), the whole Reformation, excepting Luther and his especial followers, accepted the same doctrine with Calvin, and we may safely do the same.

JNO. B. ADGER.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Any one who has had the good fortune to hear the master of the "Temple" in London beneath that low roof, and amongst those exquisite antique arches, and slender, comely, steel-like columns, remembers him as one of the most faultless and impressive of the Church of England preachers. Every reader of "Hours with the Mystics" knows him as one of the most learned and suggestive of contemporary writers for the multitude. It is something to have a commentary on such a book as the Philip-
pians from the pen of such a man.¹ The only pastoral theology (except in a wholly secondary sense) worthy of the name is to be found in the New Testament.² Every effort (if sincere and humble) to extract that theology is worthy of attention.

Among the archæological scholars of the British Museum there is, perhaps, no one who comes so near occupying the place of the late George Smith as Professor Sayce. An introduction by such a man to some of the books of Scripture, which are most intimately connected with Chaldæa and Persia, ought to possess both interest and value.³ The fallacy of certain treatises betrays itself in their very titles. The Lippincotts are in a measure responsible for a work of this sort. The sophism is in the word "dogma."⁴ Truth is an antidote for doubt, and truth is never more potent than when presented in a dogmatic form. Dogmatic truth is another thing from dogmatising error. We rejoice to have another opportunity to laud Dr. Liddon's great lectures on the divinity of Christ.⁵

¹St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. With Translation, Paraphrases, and Notes for English Readers. By C. J. Vaughan. 12mo, \$1.50. New York: Scribner & Welford.

²Pastoral Theology of the New Testament. By I. T. Beck. Translated from the German by J. A. McClymont and Thomas Nicol. 12mo, \$2.50. *Ibid.*

³An Introduction to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. By Professor A. H. Sayce. Religious Tract Society.

⁴Dogma No Antidote for Doubt. Lippincott, Philadelphia. \$1.25.

⁵The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By Canon Liddon. VOL. XXXVI., NO. 4—14.

The *Contemporary Review* started the idea of controversial "symposiums." For ourselves we have become rather tired of them. We believe in printing sound doctrine and discarding heresy. "What agreement hath a Christian with an infidel?" Archdeacon Farrar is a godly man, but he is sadly astray in his theory of inspiration. That grand old man, Principal Cairns, it is to be hoped and supposed, is all right on that head.¹ Dr. Martineau has not been writing so well of late.² Like so many others, he is an acute critic, but has not much that is good to substitute for what he condemns. This is little more than saying in other words, that he is a Socinian. We suspect Mr. Matheson's volume³ is an enlargement of his eloquent address on Evolution, which excited so much attention last year in Belfast. His argument, however, did not touch the real gist of the question; and this was pointed out at the time by the venerable Principal Smith of Edinburgh.

It is a melancholy reflection that so much of the erudition and thought of the present day should be, if not apparently yet really, on the side of unbelief. We understand Dr. Pfeiderer's volume to be one that approximates to this character.⁴ Dr. König's duodecimo,⁵ on the other hand, would seem to carry upon its very front a protest against such alarming departures from the true

(The Bampton Lectures for 1866.) 12mo, \$2. Scribner & Welford, New York.

¹Inspiration. A Clerical Symposium on "In what Sense, and within what Limits, is the Bible the Word of God?" By Canon Farrar, Principal Cairns, Prebendary Stanley Leathes, the Rev. Edward White. 12mo, \$2.40. *Ibid.*

²Types of Ethical Theory. By Dr. James Martineau. Henry Froude & Co. (English.)

³Can the Old Faith Live with the New? Or, a Problem of Evolution and Revelation. By the Rev. George Matheson. 12mo, \$3.00. New York: Messrs. Scribner & Welford.

⁴The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. By Otto Pfeiderer, D. D. Translated by J. Frederick Smith. Hibbert Lectures for 1885. 1 vol., crown 8vo, \$2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

⁵The Religious History of Israel. A Discussion of the Chief Problems in Old Testament History as Opposed to the Development Theorists. By Dr. F. E. König. 12mo, \$1.50. New York: Scribner & Welford.

path. The mischievous peculiarity of the current Rationalism evinces itself, for the most part, in covert tendencies rather than in avowed and downright antagonism to the Christian faith. This statement hardly applies to the candid but utterly evolutionary scheme of Wellhausen.¹ The translator, Professor Robertson Smith, has elsewhere given engaging expression in English to some of the most dangerous, and at the same time insidious, theories of Germany. When Mr. Moncure D. Conway repaired to the shrines of India, he was reluctantly constrained to abandon the promulgation of the Oriental faiths.² An octavo comes to us from the University of Dublin on a subject of high importance that has never yet been adequately handled in English.³

Mr. Evertson's interesting book is the first successful effort of which we have any knowledge to give a thorough and yet popular account of that suicide of intellectual as well as of religious hope, modern pessimism.⁴ But Hartmann and Schopenhauer could never be dislodged by any, or by all, the guns that have ever been fired at Concord.⁵ The speculations of the Concord sages lie mostly in a realm of shadows, and therefore in "The Occult World."⁶ Professor Olcott and old Madame Blavatsky, however, understand this expression to relate to a veritable domain of invisible spiritual existences. This world is more truly occult than these crazy dreamers imagine.

¹Prolegomena to the History of Israel, with a Reprint of the Article Israel from the "Encyclopædia Britannica." By Julius Wellhausen. Translated from the German by J. S. Black and Allan Menzies. Preface by W. Robertson Smith. 8vo, \$6. *Ibid.*

²The Bibles of Other Nations: Selections from the Scriptures of the Chinese, Hindoos, Persians, Buddhists, Egyptians, and Mohammedans. To which is added "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," etc., etc. By J. M. Hodgson. 12mo, \$1.40. *Ibid.*

³An Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament: Being an Explanation of Lectures Delivered to the Divinity School of the University of Dublin. 8vo, \$6.40. *Ibid.*

⁴The Philosophy of Disenchantment. By Edgar Evertson-Saltus, author of Balzac. \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

⁵*Philosophicæ Quæstor*: Or, Days at Concord. By Julia R. Anagnos. 12mo, 60 cents. D. Lothrop & Co., Boston.

⁶The Occult World. By A. P. Sinnet, author of Esoteric Buddhism. New edition. 16mo, \$1.25. *Ibid.*

Our book catalogues are as usual sufficiently rich in historical works. The name of a distinguished expert in this department is fitly associated with biographies of the masters of Hellenic statecraft.¹ The vivid lights and startling shadows of the Middle Ages furnish a pleasing theme to a man of some scholastic pretension.² Opinions differ as to whether the second volume of Mr. McMaster's clever and vigorous narrative of American events is altogether equal to the first.³ It must be agreed that the book has glaring mistakes in it, and lacks the unprejudiced color of judicial truth. Dr. Donne was a man of undoubted talents, both as a sermoniser and as a poet. Some of his pregnant sayings and graphic descriptions have enriched some of the best pages of Trench. It is pleasant to have the lives of these old worthies given to us in a readable and portable form.⁴ Mr. Hutton is (or was) the editor of that valuable hebdomadal, the *Spectator*, and used, on the strength of that, to be rated one of the finest of English critics. His first book was rather a disappointment. This one is almost sure to be good.⁵ The author of "Old Times" is getting to be more and more identified as the charming annalist of the so-called Golden Age of English literature.⁶

The biography of Col. Hutchinson⁷ must long continue to have

¹Lives of Greek Statesmen. By the Rev. Sir George W. Cox. 1 vol., 12mo, \$1. New York: Harper & Brothers.

²Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages. By the Rev. Edward L. Cotts, B. A. 8vo, cloth. 182 illustrations and copious index. Price, \$2.50. New York: James Pott & Co.

³A History of the People of the United States. Vol. 2, 1790-1804. By J. B. McMaster. \$2.50. New York: Appletons.

⁴Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Walton [*sic*], etc. With notes and illustrations. New edition. Revised by A. H. Bullen. With memoir. 12mo, \$2. Scribner and Welford.

⁵Literary Landmarks in London. By Lawrence Hutton. \$1.50. Boston: Osgood.

⁶Old Times. A Picture of Social Life at the End of the Eighteenth Century. With eighty-eight illustrations. 8vo, \$6. New York: Scribner & Welford. London: John C. Nimmo.

⁷Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson. By his widow, Luey. Revised and edited by Charles H. Firth, M. A. With ten etched portraits. In two volumes, fine paper, medium 8vo, and handsome binding. J. C. Nimmo.

a singular claim upon the regards of the historical student. The "national sentiment," one should say, exists, if anywhere, already in England. The principal "Bars to British Unity" would appear to be within the compass of the Emerald Isle.¹ The obstacles to a harmonious alliance are too old and too considerable to be removed at once even by an administration of affairs that should attain the ideal maximum of righteousness and clemency. "The Well-Being of Nations" is determined by the same principles which affect the well-being of individuals.² We heard a clever man, a sceptic, say this summer of Professor John Fiske (or *James Fiske*, as he incorrectly called him), of Harvard, that he is a writer who "carries heavy guns." The reply might have been ventured, that nearly all of Professor Fiske's heavy guns are overcharged and warranted to burst.³ *Voilà!* the wonted series of new works on Russia.⁴ The three best books on the land of the Czar and the Cossack are these: Mr. Wallace McKenzie's "Russia"; Théophile Gautier's "A Winter in Russia"; and Count von Moltke's "Letters from Russia." Of these McKenzie's is fullest of solid and digested information, and Gautier's is incomparably the most brilliant and popularly attractive. But as a *vade mecum*, Moltke's is better than all, and has high importance stamped upon it, as well by the military and civic renown and social station, as by the rare ability and accomplishments of the illustrious author. It may be had (in legible type) of the Harpers for twenty-five cents, being one of their "Half Hour Series" of pocket editions. For special purposes, such works as those of Mr. Noble and Mr. Lansdell⁵ may be perused

¹The Bars to British Unity; or, A Plea for National Sentiment. 12mo, \$2. Scribner & Welford.

²The Well-Being of Nations. Its Essential Element. The Teaching of Scripture on the Subject Plainly Set Forth. By the Rev. George S. Smith. 16mo, \$1.40. *Ibid.*

³American Political Ideas. By John Fiske. \$1. New York: Harper & Brothers.

⁴The Russian Revolt. By Edmund Noble. 16mo, \$1. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

⁵Russian Central Asia, Including Kuldja, Bokhara, Khiva, and Merv. Frontispiece, maps, and illustrations. Two volumes, 8vo. By Henry Lansdell. \$16.80. Scribner & Welford.

with advantage. Of course the Franco-Tonquin¹ matter had to be written up sometime, and some persons are bound to read Mr. J. G. Scott's book. We do not class ourselves as of this number. It is needless to commend Mr. Hawkins's invaluable compilation.²

The career of Stanley, the African explorer, is scarcely less remarkable in its heroic and geographical aspects than that of Livingston. Once thought to be a mere adventurer in the interest of a pushing newspaper, he is now an authority in relation to the question of conquering and governing the Soudan.³ There is no more abstruse, and no more fascinating path of inquiry than what we may style the metaphysics of physics. What is force? The region of the unknowable lies nearer to the man of science than he is always willing to acknowledge.⁴ The late Professor Clifford was an avowed atheist, or not very far removed from one. He was also a prince among mathematicians and review writers. His last book is, of course, able, but it is also misleading and disappointing.⁵ The name of the author of "The Light of Asia" will doubtless give ample currency and Western fame to the Sanscrit "Song Celestial."⁶ Aratos has written nobly, and deserved to be quoted and honored in the way he has been.⁷ Mr. Swinburne has been living more cleanly latterly—

¹France and Tonquin. A Narrative of the Campaign of 1884, and the Occupation of Further India. Maps and plans. By James George Scott (Shway Yoc). 8vo, \$6.40. *Ibid.*

²Medallie Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II. Compiled by the late Edward Hawkins. Edited by A. W. Franks and G. R. Grueber. Illustrated. 2 vols., 8vo, \$35. *Ibid.*

³The Congo and the Founding of its Free State. By Henry M. Stanley. Two vols., 8vo, \$10. New York: Harper & Brothers.

⁴Lectures on Some Recent Advances in Physical Science, with a Special Lecture on Force. Third edition revised. 12mo, 50 cents. Scribner & Welford.

⁵The Common Sense of the Exact Sciences. By the late William Kingdon Clifford. Volume Fifty of the "International Scientific Series." 12mo, cloth, price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

⁶The Song Celestial; or, Bhagarad-Gita. (From the Mahâbhârata.) Translated from the Sanscrit Text. 12mo. By Edwin Arnold. \$2. New York: Scribner & Welford.

⁷The Phænomena; or, the Heavenly Display of Aratos. Done into English verse. Illustrated. Small 4to, boards, \$2. *Ibid.*

we mean, of course, as a poet; and is, without doubt, a man of scholarship as well as of extraordinary powers of energetic and melodious expression in verse. His latest subject is one suggestive of the author's characteristic vigorous treatment.¹ A book with so exquisite a title as "Ros Rosarum," etc., ought to be a delectable morsel in the mouth of many men; and so it is sure to prove.²

The recent scare about Ruskin will add to the sale of his separate works, now issued by the Wileys.³ Hitherto his greatest works (notably his "Modern Painters") have been inaccessible to lightweight readers. The charm of Ruskin is not so much in his accuracy (for he is half the time all wrong), as in his rare genius, his sterling character, and his irresistible personal magnetism. The same is true, and in a yet higher degree, though in an utterly different fashion, of his redoubtable master—Thomas Carlyle.⁴ "The Golden Treasury Series" is the *ne plus ultra* of such volumes; and it is enchanting to the lovers of Tennyson's virgin muse to have his lyrical pieces by themselves and edited by Francis Palgrave.⁵

We love natural history. Who does not, that has anything of the boy left in him? Four new issues from the press go to feed and satisfy this desire. One of them is limited to the islands of the Orient;⁶ another to the feathered tribe;⁷ while the two that

¹Marino Faliero: A Tragedy. By A. C. Swinburne. Chatto & Windus.

²*Ros Rosarum ex Horto Poetarum*. Collected by E. V. Boyle. Elliot Stock.

³The Separate Works of John Ruskin. (Forty different works.) Heretofore issued by them in fifty-six volumes. At greatly reduced prices. 12mo, russet cloth, and mostly 50 cents per volume. The new catalogue will be sent to any one gratis. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

⁴Carlyle: Personally and in his Writings. (Two Edinburgh Lectures.) 16mo, 90 cents. New York: Scribner & Welford.

⁵The Lyrical Poems of Alfred (Lord) Tennyson. Selected and annotated by Francis Turner Palgrave. (Golden Treasury Series.) 16mo, \$1. *Ibid.*

⁶A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago. A narrative of explorations from 1878 to 1883. \$5. New York: Harpers.

⁷Birds in the Bush. By Bredford Torrey. 1 vol., 12mo, \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

remain have a somewhat wider scope^{1 2}—not being restricted to live things at all—though one of them confines its view to a portion of Alaska. These four books are all readable, and the one about Alaska is astonishing. In point of natural scenery, Alaska may be said to be the Norway of America; and it could, of course, win no higher praise.

¹Talks Afield. By L. H. Bailey, Jr. 1 vol., 12mo, \$1. *Ibid.*

²Alaska: Its Southern Coast and the Sitkan Archipelago. By E. Ruhamah Scidmore. Each volume \$1.50. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

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