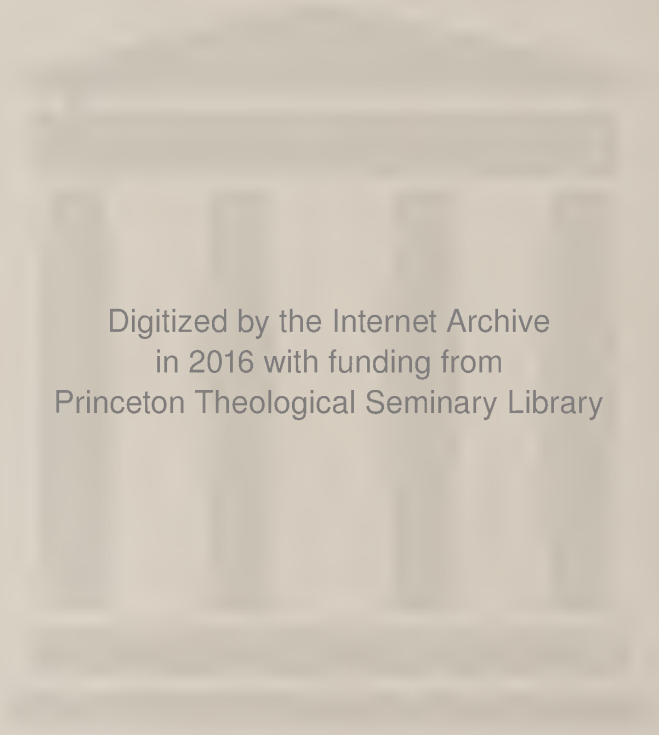

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J. A. Alexander

Art. I.—*Guerike's Manual of Church History.**

The rapidity with which this work was sold, is a sufficient proof that it was wanted. The German press teems, it is true, with valuable books in this department, nor are there wanting in that language convenient manuals for the use of students. But research is continually adding to the stock of knowledge; and the favourable change, which has occurred of late years, in the religious views of many, has created a necessity for a compendious work, which should not only furnish the results of recent investigation, but present them in a form consistent with evangelical belief. This task Professor Guerike has undertaken in the work to which we now invite the attention of our readers. He is *Professor Extraordinarius* of theology in the University of Halle, and is well known as a strenuous adherent to the creed of Luther, but at the same time as an humble and devoted Christian. Some of our readers may perhaps recollect him, as the author of a life of Francke, which was reviewed in a former volume of this work,† and from which the late lamented Rezeau Brown

* Handbuch der Allgemeinen kirchengeschichte. Von H. E. Ferd. Guerike. a. o. Professor der Theologie zu Halle. Halle, 1833. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1120.

† See Bib. Rep. for July 1830.

prepared a succinct biography for the American Sunday School Union.

Professor Guerike is not to be considered as belonging to the highest rank of German theologians; nor is it on account of his celebrity at home that we think the present work entitled to attention. We notice it because it is the kind of book, precisely, which is wanted in America, and because upon perusal we have found it to be, in some important points, decidedly superior to any other work which we have seen upon the subject. These points we wish to bring before the reader.

We may premise, that there is no branch of theological learning upon which the modern Germans have expended more successful labour, than the science of church history. It is a singular fact, that, with all their characteristic wildness in matters of mere feeling or of mere speculation, they are unsurpassed as accurate, laborious, and sagacious workmen in the vaults of archaeology. With respect to the foundations of historical truth, and the credit due to historical evidence, they have run, in certain cases, to the extreme of skeptical extravagance. But when once the fundamental principles are settled, they erect the superstructure with unrivalled skill. The world has seldom seen such sifting scrutiny, such scrupulous attention to the minutest points of evidence, as the German writers upon history exhibit. This arises, in a great degree, from their invariable practice of resorting, so far as possible, to primary authorities. Plagiarists and second-hand dealers may be found in Germany as elsewhere. But the fact is certain, that their writers of distinction cannot venture to construct their works, as too many works are constructed among us, by picking shreds and patches from the handiwork of others, and combining them anew. The very rage for novelty compels each new aspirant to employ the raw material, in the hope of developing some undiscovered attribute or evolving some fresh product. And the law which public sentiment and practice have enacted, is relentlessly enforced by the unsparing critic. Any attempt to palm off stolen wares upon the public, is instantly detected and exposed to general scorn.

There can be no doubt, that this perpetual recurrence to the elements of knowledge has its disadvantages. Where every man begins at the beginning, there is not much hope of ulterior progression; and accordingly we find, that those who carry out the process of improvement and discovery to new results, do it, not by taking up a subject where their predecessors left it, but by spending such a vast amount of time and labour on it, as to overtake and outstrip those who went before them.

It must, however, be admitted, that this evil is counterbal-

anced by the signal profits which accrue to science by means of this continual agitation of the elements. This is particularly true of history. While English and French writers on this subject are, for the most part, satisfied with copying the citations of some other modern author, with no further change than that of language and arrangement, and sometimes without even the correction of mistakes, the German throws aside all secondary means of information, interprets the original authorities *de novo*, and when this is done, combines them and applies them for himself. In doing this he often makes himself ridiculous by misplaced ingenuity and wanton deviation from the beaten track. But the method he pursues imparts a life and freshness to his treatment of the subject, which atones for many errors, and is in itself conducive to correct conclusions. While with us error is frequently perpetuated by a sluggish reference to unread authors, such appeals expose a German writer, not to censure merely, but to laughter and contempt.

What we have said of history in general, may be said with special emphasis of the history of the church. While we repose upon the dicta of Mosheim as the ultimate results of historical research, his countrymen regard him as a venerable milestone on the road to knowledge, useful in its proper place, but now left far behind. Nor is this a mere symptom of their morbid taste for change. It is unquestionably true, that since the days of Mosheim, much has been accomplished. The process of research has been continued, by a succession of laborious scholars, in an unbroken series from the chancellor of Göttingen to Neander of Berlin. The last named writer is admitted to the highest rank in this department, by the united suffrages of the German literati; nor have foreign nations any pretext for dissent. His great work, now in progress, will certainly be an invaluable addition to the treasury of truth.

After what we have said, it will be needless to attempt to show, that American teachers and students neither can nor ought to be contented with a book like Mosheim's, if a better can be had. Dr. Murdoch, it is true, has enriched his new translation with a multitude of addenda drawn from later writers. But the form of notes into which he has thrown them, is entirely at variance with the object of a text-book. In spite of all that may be said and done, the reader will regard mere notes as something less important than the text, and will be fain to avoid distraction by letting them alone. To accomplish their design they must be wrought with skill into the body of the work, and meet the eye as ingredients of the general mass, not as supplemental patches or misshapen excrescences.

For the preparation of a manual or text-book, which should furnish the results of late researches, and especially Neander's, Professor Guerike is the better qualified, from having studied history himself, under that celebrated teacher, at Berlin. What he there acquired has since been brought to a repeated test, and no doubt much augmented, in the discharge of his own academical duties as a lecturer at Halle, for above nine years. As might have been expected therefore, he has introduced into his manual many improvements with respect both to method and matter, which distinguish it from former works. The plan of Neander has in fact been adopted, on a reduced scale, and the first part of the work before us may be regarded as, in some sort, an abstract of Neander's history, so far as that work has yet appeared. In the remaining portion, which is much the largest, the author could of course do no more than carry out the method in his own compilations and researches.

To those who are acquainted with the writings of Neander, it may possibly occur as an important question, whether that distinguished writer can be followed as a guide, consistently with what we are accustomed to regard as orthodox belief. We need scarcely say again, what we have said so often, that there is no individual German whom we could adhere to as a trusty guide in all things. The revolutionary chaos of opinion must be first subjected to a plastic influence. At present there are floating fragments well worth fishing for, and sometimes these are found in novel and fantastic combinations. But coherent systems of religious truth are not to be expected from that quarter, till the reign of idea shall give place to common sense. With respect to Neander, in particular, we must say, that in some points we believe him to be greatly over-rated. For the merits which we have already mentioned, he deserves all praise. His intimate acquaintance with the sources of church history, and his diligence in drawing from them are beyond dispute. The fidelity and clearness too, with which he places the results before the reader, give an extraordinary value to his published works. We are not prepared, however, to assent to all that we have heard and read, respecting his philosophic depth, and his masterly developement of principles and causes. No one can study him without surprise at the extraordinary theory which seems to be the basis of his speculations, by which we mean his reasoning and deductions, as distinguished from the facts on which they rest. Look at his uniform attempts to do away with all essential distinctions of opinion in the ancient church, and to exhibit every heresy as a peculiar form of truth resulting from the idiosyncrasies of some distinguished teacher. Look at the constantly recurring notion

of a gradual *entwickelung*, or developement of truth from age to age, which is such a favourite hobby with him, that the very term has grown into a bye-word and been coupled with his name. Look at his most unmeasurable efforts to reduce the fundamental truths of Christianity, as it were, to a single point, and we may even say to a single word; a scheme for which he is so zealous, that he regards with abhorrence all contention for the truth, and is even more disposed to harmonize with infidel skepticism than with orthodox rigour. It is easy to call this Christian liberality, but call it what we may, the question still recurs, is this truth? There are some no doubt to whom Neander's laxity and latitudinarianism are extremely welcome, and who therefore represent them as arising from the depths of his philosophy. For our own part, we regard this as precisely his weak point, and while we set the highest value on the products of his industry, we hold his speculations, for the most part, very cheap. We are not among the number of those who believe, that all which grows in German soil is either totally corrupt or wholly perfect. Here, as elsewhere, to distinguish is the only safe expedient.

Entertaining such views of Neander's merits as a church historian, we should not have thought so highly of the work before us, had it blindly followed him in all his singularities. We are happy to state, that Professor Guerike, so far from doing this, has essentially departed from his model in a number of particulars. And the points of difference are precisely those in which we think Neander an unsafe authority. While the author of the manual has taken full advantage of Neander's researches, and we may even say discoveries, he has carefully avoided that spurious philosophy which takes away the land-marks between truth and error, that spurious liberality which makes a stern attachment to the doctrines of the Gospel worse than unbelief, and that spurious simplicity which almost does away with all external institutions, and reduces the organization of Christ's body, not to a skeleton, but to a very shadow. In other words, Professor Guerike is not ashamed to own that he has a creed, and that he holds some doctrines to be strictly fundamental. That he grossly errs in one point, will be seen anon; but in the principle, that Christianity is not a vague abstraction, but involves certain definite articles of faith, we are sure that he is right. If this be bigotry, we glory in being bigots.

From what we have already said, without any particular description of the book, our readers will be prepared to find, that it surpasses Mosheim in two important points. In the first place, it presents the subject in accordance with the last results of scientific investigation. In the next place, it is animated by a

truly Christian spirit. From beginning to end this manual exhibits that impress of piety which defies all counterfeit. No one who reads the book can, for a moment, doubt that the author, whether right or wrong in his opinions of the church, is an humble follower of Him who is its head. The tone of religious feeling which pervades the work, is truly refreshing in comparison with Mosheim's frigid orthodoxy, if such it may be called; while to Calvinists at least, there is a pleasing contrast between the unevangelical bias of the one, and the cordial attachment to the doctrines of grace apparent in the other.*

As the work before us is a manual of Church History in general, it is of course impossible to give the reader a minute description of it. With respect to the plan, we shall merely state that, instead of the arrangement by centuries, the subject is divided into seven great periods. 1. From the foundation of the church to the end of Diocletian's persecution. 2. From the end of Diocletian's persecution, to Gregory the Great (A. D. 311—590.) 3. From Gregory the Great to the death of Charlemagne (A. D. 590—814.) 4. From the death of Charlemagne to Gregory VII. (A. D. 814—1073.) 5. From Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII. (A. D. 1073—1294.) 6. From Boniface VIII. to the Reformation, (A. D. 1294—1517.) 7. From the Reformation to the present time.

Under each of these periods, the author describes, first, the progress and extension of the Gospel, together with the assaults upon the church. 2. The successive changes with respect to church government and discipline, under which he comprehends the history of the Pope and the monastic orders. 3. The state of religion, and the forms of worship. 4. The state of theological opinion, including the history of heresies and sects.

We have already stated, as the prominent merits of this manual, its evangelical spirit, and its scientific accuracy, or in other words, its conformity to the latest results of historical research. All that is needed farther to characterize the work may be found in the following observations :

1. It is not a mere collection of the raw materials of church history. The matter has obviously been digested, and carefully wrought into one consistent mass.

2. Though in some sense a popular work, it is nevertheless a learned one. We mean to say, that while an ordinary reader may derive from it a clear and impressive view of the fortunes

* We may remark, by the way, that Professor Guerike, though a zealous Lutheran, is a no less zealous Predestinarian, and maintains that on this point the Reformers were unanimous.

of the church, the theologian and the scholar will find in it a copious index to the bibliography and literature of the whole subject. The primary authorities are carefully referred to, and even the best editions of the standard writers are distinctly pointed out. This is a kind of learning which the Germans cultivate above all other nations, and which no doubt contributes in a very high degree to the value of their critical writings. No lecturer is there thought to have done justice to the science which he teaches, unless he has laid before his hearers a sketch of what is called the *Litteratur* of his department. This is a catalogue of the standard writers on that subject, with a concise account of their respective merits, and the progress of the science. In the department of Church History this statement must extend to the different editions of the writings of the Fathers, and their critical value. Nor is this designed merely for the amusement of the students. In one university at least (that of Halle) we know that the candidates in theology are examined strictly on Patristic-Bibliography. Whatever may be thought of this arrangement, as a part of theological education, there can be no doubt, that a correct enumeration of the standard authorities is of the highest value to the reader of a book like that before us, as it informs him precisely where he is to look for the proof of every statement, and where he may find that proof presented in the most advantageous form.

3. While the view here given of the history of the church before the Reformation, is as clear and as minute as a compendious statement could perhaps be made, the remaining part deserves still higher praise, as being not only accurate and perspicuous, but impressive and interesting in a rare degree. The author was not merely familiar with his subject. He felt it—he was full of it. So that some of his sketches have all the peculiar interest of historical romance. This is the case with his history of Luther, and account of the Lutheran Church, from the Reformer's time to ours, which is the best that we have seen within such limits, and is drawn from the best authorities. We must not forget to mention, among the merits of the work, that it brings down the history to the time when it was written, and includes all branches of the Christian Church. To the churches of this country and the missionary enterprise, the author assigns a conspicuous place.

We have not forgotten, in the course of these remarks, that the book is written in German, and that consequently few of our readers can feel an immediate interest in it, until it is translated. From the high praise bestowed upon it in the present article, the reader may possibly expect us to recommend an English version

of the work for the American market. There are two or three things, however, which conspire to render it doubtful whether this would be advisable. They are as follows:

1. The rigidly systematic method of arrangement, which would be very convenient in an extensive history, gives a manual like this a sort of skeleton air, which is not a little repulsive. The effect is aggravated, in the present case, by the formal inscription over every chapter, paragraph, and section. This is a German foible. The writers of that country seem to think that the *lucidus ordo* of a work consists in the multiplicity of its subdivisions, and the complex fulness of its nomenclature. They ought to know, that excess in the mere formalities of method tends to frustrate its design, whereas real perspicuity is promoted by a skilful concealment of the apparatus by which it is secured. Would the harmony of parts, and exactness of proportions, in an edifice, be any more apparent, if the nails, and pegs, and nice articulations were exposed to view? We are much amused at the blind servility, with which translators from the German sometimes copy all the faults of their original, not excepting those which are entirely formal and dependant upon taste, an attribute in which, we are bold to say, the Germans are as far behind their neighbours, as before them in some others.

2. Another circumstance which tends to make it doubtful whether the book would bear translation, in the proper sense, is its deficiency in point of style. We refer not merely to trivial faults in diction, but to the author's fondness for complex and sesquipedalian sentences, and his frequent use of idioms quite incapable of transfer into lawful English. These faults are not conspicuous in all parts of the book, but they affect so large a portion of it, that the task of 'doing it into English,' would require an uncommon share of taste and judgment, an accurate acquaintance with the idioms of both languages, and an entire freedom from that servile spirit which disfigures many versions.

3. Lastly, there is one point in the author's creed, to which he attaches such importance, and allows such prominence in his history of the church, as to give the book a peculiar tinge throughout. We refer to the doctrine of *consubstantiation*, which the evangelical Lutherans of the present day in Germany have restored to its former bad eminence, and almost coupled with justification by faith alone, as the test of a standing and falling church. With the theological question we have nothing here to do; nor can we suppose, that for American readers there is any need of proving, that if Luther had begun with the Scriptures, as Zuingle did, and reasoned from them as the supreme and sole authority, instead of beginning with the creed of a cor-

rupted church, and rejecting only what he could not keep, this mongrel doctrine would never have been heard of. We doubt whether any honest reader of the Bible would ever have thought of the Popish or Lutheran interpretation of the passages in question, unless they had been previously suggested, by scholastic speculations. The difficulty complained of is a factitious one. The subject, however, is not so viewed in Germany, we mean by the beloved few who really love the truth. While a small number, even among the Lutherans, (as, for instance, Tholuck,) hold the sentiments of Calvin, with respect to the Lord's Supper, the majority of real Christians, not excepting some who have been brought up in the *Reformed* communion, are disposed to look upon consubstantiation as a test of orthodoxy. Professor Guerike mentions, with the liveliest satisfaction, that such men as Hengstenberg and Theremin, though not educated Lutherans, are helping to unfold the "truth of the Lutheran doctrine of the sacrament," as a lofty banner on the field of theological dispute.* Guerike himself considers the rejection of this dogma, by the Swiss Reformers, as the first step towards neology and deism; and with the utmost gravity, traces to this source the modern infidelity of England, France, and Germany!

This unfortunate infirmity is of course not without its effect upon his history. He strives to show the existence of the Lutheran doctrine in the ancient church, and the effects of Zuingle's heresy in that of modern times. He is, however, very far from being despondent. On the contrary, he entertains the pleasing hope, that all evangelical denominations will be ultimately brought to confess the real presence of the Saviour's body in the sacramental elements. This is the third and last particular which we designed to mention as detracting from the merit of the work before us. We are not afraid of any effect upon the doctrinal belief of the American reader; but we are afraid that this unhappy weakness would impair his respect for the real merits of this valuable manual.

In justice to the author, we must guard against any misconception, with respect to the spirit and temper of his work. Nothing could be more truly Catholic. Almost every page bears the impress of that wide-armed charity which embraces all who embrace the Saviour. With all his mistaken zeal for consubstantiation, he is far from making it essential to salvation, or to real union with the household of faith. His doctrine is, that no church can be perfect in its constitution, though it may exist, without acknowledging this solemn truth. It may have a divine

* Vol. II. p. 956.

charter, but the charter is not sealed, or only sealed imperfectly. He does not, therefore, really attach so much practical importance to this doctrine, as bigotted prelatists attach to the imaginary pedigree of their bishops. He thinks his own views of the sacrament necessary, not to the existence of a Christian church, but to its symmetry, completeness, and security from error with regard to other doctrines. Instead of abandoning his fellow Christians to "uncovenanted mercy," because they do not symbolise with Luther, he hails them as members of the body of Christ, and prays that God would strengthen them wherein they are infirm. At the same time he is earnestly opposed to the amalgamation of those churches which, on this point, differ. He denounces, in particular, the darling project of the present King of Prussia, for the union of the Evangelical and Reformed, or as we should call them, Lutheran and Calvinistic churches. This measure, in our author's judgment, only tends to generate indifference with respect to important doctrines, and to effect a compromise between truth and error, without in reality promoting peace. On this principle he acts, as well as writes. The external union of the Prussian churches may be considered as accomplished. The ministers of both now form one *clerus*, and are appointed promiscuously to the vacant churches. A few, however, of the strenuous Lutherans still protest against the coalition. Among these is Professor Guerike, who refuses to do any act which can be construed as expressing approbation of the change. In this he differs from many of his best beloved friends, and the staunchest advocates of truth, who regard the union of the two communions as a token for good to the ancient desolations of the German Zion.

In this we think them right, and our author clearly wrong. We feel, however, that we cannot do him justice by this hurried statement, and take leave of him, therefore, for the present, with a determination to lay before our readers, at an early opportunity, his own account of this interesting matter, as well as other specimens of the work before us. From these the theological public will be able to decide, whether a translation of the manual is expedient. Our own judgment, after a perusal of the whole, is, that a work of about the same dimensions, founded upon this, and embodying all its valuable matter, yet without adopting all the author's sentiments, or retaining his expressions, would be a welcome addition to the store of our theological literature.

ART. II.—*Brief Memoir of the late* REZEAU BROWN, A. M.

J. W. Alexander

THIS memoir of a young preacher of the gospel, distinguished for piety and learning, was written for the purpose of being read before the *Society of Inquiry on Missions*, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. At the suggestion of several respected friends, it is now offered to the public. Though the name of Mr. Brown may be new to some, into whose hands the memoir may fall, it is believed that none can fail to be interested in the lovely traits of his character, however feebly depicted. To young ministers, theological students, and instructers, it will perhaps be useful; and in order to adapt it to the wants of youth, the utmost simplicity and brevity have been attempted.

The writer has avoided, rather than sought, embellishment; and claims no merit beyond that of a mere biographer; for which character he has felt conscious of one important qualification, as having been for years intimately acquainted with the subject of the narrative.

As an attestation to the faithfulness of the sketch, the author is happy to subjoin one or two communications with which he has been favoured.

From the Rev. Isaac V. Brown, of Lawrenceville, N. J.

EXTRACT.

"*Reverend and dear Sir*,—With much interest have I read over the Biographical Sketch of my departed son, which you recently put into my hands. The facts are believed to be accurately and judiciously stated. Many more might be introduced, but these are sufficient for the brief outline intended.

"The simplicity of the style employed is well fitted to convey truth, and peculiarly adapted to biography, whose office it is, not to form and embellish character, but to exhibit real life. Should you, in accordance with the wishes of friends, and in the hope that it may do good, give it to the public in a neat little volume, I shall be gratified.

"*Lawrenceville, June* 23, 1834."

From the Rev. Dr. Miller, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton.

"*Reverend and dear Sir*,—I have read your sketch of the life of our lamented friend, Mr. Rezeau Brown, with mournful pleasure. I can recollect very few young men with whom it has

been my happiness to be acquainted, at any period of my life, whose character I should so much desire candidates for the ministry to study and imitate. When I first noticed him, as a member of his father's academy, I know not that I ever admired a youth more. When he became pious, he appeared to me simplicity and loveliness personified. And when amidst the delicacy and decline of his health, I witnessed his growing devotedness to the cause of his Master, and remarked how much he was "strengthened with might, by the Spirit, in the inner man," I could not but consider his early removal from his chosen and beloved work, as a most mysterious dispensation.

"But he was removed by Him who loves the Church, and understands her true interests infinitely better than you or I. 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord!'

"Allow me to say, that I thank you for this monument to the memory of a precious young man; and that I hope it will prove useful to some who never enjoyed the privilege of seeing his face in the flock, as well as to many who can, from their own knowledge, testify to the truth of what you have stated.

"Very sincerely and respectfully, your brother,

"SAMUEL MILLER.

"*Princeton, July* 12, 1834."

From the Rev. Dr. Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton.

"As you request me to express my opinion respecting the character of the late Rezeau Brown, of Lawrenceville, I cheerfully comply, although I do not think it necessary to use many words.

"The piety of Mr. Brown appeared to me—and I have had much intercourse with him from the commencement of his religious exercises—to be sincere and genuine. Its tendency was to make him humble, conscientious, benevolent, and zealous for the honour of God. I have seldom known a young Christian who gave more satisfactory evidence of zeal, consistent and fervent piety. His views of divine truth were, from the moment of his first religious impressions, clear and scriptural. His convictions of sin were deep and pungent, and his faith in the Redeemer lively and joyful. I fully believe that, from that moment, love to the Saviour become the predominant affection of his mind, and the governing principle of his life. There was habitual seriousness on his mind, which produced a becoming gravity in his deportment, without rendering him gloomy or austere; and in all religious exercises of a social kind, he manifested a solemnity

and tenderness, which indicated that these things were not mere matters of form, but privileges in which his soul took a deep interest, and from which he derived the purest pleasure.

"His ardour in pursuing knowledge, and his capacity of acquiring it rapidly, were probably possessed in a higher degree by none of his acquaintances. His field of inquiry was so comprehensive, that he could not be expected to excel in every department of literature and science. Yet when he appeared before the Presbytery of New Brunswick to be examined on his academical course, I could not but remark his uncommon correctness and proficiency in every branch; so that I have often said, that I never heard an examination of the kind, in which the candidate appeared equal to Rezeau Brown. On each branch he might have superiors, but taking the whole cyclopaedia, I knew none who excelled him. Yours, &c.

"A. ALEXANDER.

"*Princeton, July* 12, 1834."

It is the wish and prayer of the writer that this humble endeavour may be instrumental in promoting the cause of Christ.

J. W. ALEXANDER.

Princeton, 1834.

MEMOIR.

Rezeau Brown was born September 30, 1808, at Lawrenceville, Hunterdon county, New Jersey. It was his happy lot to be the eldest child, not only of intelligent and pious parents, but of one who was a minister of the Gospel, and an accomplished instructer of youth. This gave a colour to the whole of his life, and is therefore worthy of note.

Not long before the birth of Rezeau, his father, the Rev. Isaac V. Brown, had assumed the pastoral charge of the congregation, and a few years after added to his other duties the care of a classical school, which still exists as one of the most flourishing preparatory institutions in the country. Rezeau began to attend the instructions of a common English school in his native village at the age of four years. His friends remember that his precocity was remarkable, and that he made rapid advances; being especially distinguished for his aptness in acquiring the knowledge of arithmetic. He was fond of study, but even at this early period was feeble in constitution, and subject to frequent attacks of quinsy. It was observed that he was never

much addicted to the common amusements of boys, but seemed to derive his chief entertainment from intellectual pursuits.

After a suitable time, he was admitted to his father's classical seminary, where for a number of years he enjoyed the direction and judicious care of this affectionate parent. The facilities here afforded were not wasted upon him. He was very soon distinguished in every branch of study. Especially in the various lines of mathematical pursuit, he displayed a quickness and a maturity of understanding which are rare; passing through the details of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, not only with ease, but with delight, in no case requiring to be urged, and in scarcely any to be assisted.

This kind of genius seldom fails to be accompanied by a thirst for information, such as leads to various and discursive reading. It is happy when the cravings of a youthful mind are at once gratified by abundance of books, and regulated by rigid discipline, as was here the case. At this time, the greater part of those who were connected with Mr. Brown's academy were from the south, and were young men approaching to manhood, and some of them adult age. Yet even these were accustomed to look up to Rezeau for assistance, while he was yet a child. The effect of this was for a time not altogether favourable. It could scarcely fail to happen, that his mind should be inflated; and an undue self-esteem gave to his boyish manners a tincture of conceit, and an air approaching to dictatorial consequence. This, however, like diseases arising from too rapid developement in the physical constitution, wore away with the increase of real power. The period was most interesting; and there are few of sufficient age, in this vicinity, who do not remember the pleasing appearance of this promising boy, his symmetrical form, his manly grace of motion, and that beauty of countenance which arises from the light of intelligence playing upon features of perfect regularity.

In the autumn of 1823 he was admitted to the junior class in the college of New Jersey, at Princeton, being then fifteen years of age. During the two years which he passed in this institution, he was much absorbed in the appropriate studies of the course, was uniformly in the first rank of distinguished scholars, and received the highest literary honour at the close, though a number of his competitors were young men more advanced in years. The minute particulars, however, of his college life are beyond our reach, and the most which we can say is, that he was remarkably attached to the mathematical and physical sciences, and that his deportment was such as to win the regard of his friends and teachers.

It was of not a little advantage to him, that he was at this time

domiciliated in the family of his uncle, the late Dr. John Van Cleve, who will long be remembered in New Jersey as a skilful practitioner of medicine, a proficient in science, a citizen of probity and talent, and a church officer of wisdom and piety. Dr. Van Cleve was at this time delivering a course of lectures on chemistry, and Rezeau Brown was employed by him for two successive winters, in those manipulations which were required by the train of experiments. This tended to develope his taste for the natural sciences, and that manual tact for which he was always distinguished; and these circumstances contributed largely, no doubt, to awaken in him a desire to enter the medical profession.

A course of study so long and arduous as he had been pursuing, would very naturally give life to the hidden germs of disease in his constitution; and such was the debility which now manifested itself, that it was thought necessary by his physicians for him to interrupt his scientific pursuits. He therefore set out, in company with a college friend, upon a tour to Ohio and Kentucky, where he passed the autumn of 1825 and the following winter, in active travel. He traversed this western region with the vivid curiosity of a naturalist and an antiquary, every where exploring the forests, searching into the antiquities, productions, geological and mineral formations, and the natural phenomena of the country.

On his return, in the spring of 1826, he was seized with a violent affection of the lungs, which reduced him to the brink of the grave. The instructions and associations of early life, and the constant influences of a religious society, had hitherto failed to awaken him to a due sense of divine things; and even now, imminent as was the peril, and well fitted to break the spell of Satan, the most that it seemed to produce was mere alarm. He still remained, what he had always been, a seemingly correct but really irreligious youth.

In March, 1826, having recovered his common health, he proceeded to act upon his long cherished purpose of studying medicine, and entered the office of his uncle with this intention. At no time of his life was he able to pursue any object by halves: he threw himself into the subject with enthusiasm. It was his toil, his entertainment, his meat and drink. And it is the unanimous conviction of all competent judges who knew him, that he was wonderfully fitted for this profession; possessing sagacity, tenderness, unflinching determination, singular dexterity, and an amount of chemical and medical knowledge which together must have made his way to eminence.

Providence had other paths marked out. In March, 1827, a

change in his spirit took place which gave a new character to his remaining years, and on which, even from his present mysterious seat in the unknown world, he looks back as the crisis of his eternal destiny. It was then that he believed himself to have been converted to God. His friends have never doubted that this was the case; and though it is best to infer the reality of the change from the effects, yet it may not be uninteresting to refer to his own account of the impressions which issued in that event.

Among his posthumous papers, is found one, entitled, *Meditations on my religious character and exercises;* the date is uncertain. It contains the following observations:

"There has, no doubt, happened a great change in my character, which I date in March 1827. I was before that a mere worldling, careless of eternity, thoughtless of my own eternal interests, and of those around me, a profane swearer, Sabbath-breaker, and every thing else that is wicked; though only to that degree which was quite consistent with a decent exterior, and what were considered quite regular and moral habits in a young man. At the time mentioned, I was led in a most sudden and surprising way, when I was alone one evening, to look upon myself as a deeply depraved and guilty sinner, and to experience, in a lively manner, the feeling of my desert of hell. But in the course of a few days, I was enabled, as I thought, to cast myself on the Lord Jesus Christ as my Redeemer, and I felt through him a sweet sense of forgiveness and reconciliation with God."

This is a brief and simple account, but what more could be said in a volume? It is an epitome of the saving exercises of every renewed soul. It contains all that is essential, and nothing more. We may however add a few particulars from other sources. At the time of which he speaks there was a great prevalence of awakened feeling in the congregations at Lawrenceville and Princeton. There is reason to believe that young Brown was not only exempt from serious conviction, but proudly averse to the whole subject, and opposed to the instrumentality which was used. Among the labourers in this good work, Mr. Robert Gibson, a zealous and active licentiate, was the most prominent; a man of uncommon fervour and Christian energy, who, notwithstanding the enfeebling influence of a mortal disease, daily went about doing good, among all classes of society. Against the efforts of this good man, Rezeau Brown was particularly aroused, so far indeed as to declare, that if he attempted *his* conversion, he should be met with marked insult. It is not known with any degree of certainty whether Mr. Gibson was

eventually made the instrument of his conviction of sin, but it is well remembered that Rezeau was very soon brought to feel the power of divine truth, so that his opposition yielded, and the result was such as has just been recounted in his own words. Such indeed was his apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ, that, suddenly overwhelmed, he sank to the earth.

The Rev. Mr. Brown was ignorant of this signal change, being himself engaged in active labours at home, until he was informed that his beloved son was taking part in the public exercises of religious conferences. A most intimate and affectionate intercourse continued to subsist between the subject of this memoir and the Rev. Mr. Gibson, until the closing scene of the latter; at which Rezeau Brown waited and watched with unusual love and assiduity, as the dying bed of him whom God had made the instrument of such mercy to himself. He was admitted to the communion of the church in his native village, in June 1827.

The following winter he passed in New Haven, his principal inducement for seeking this delightful literary emporium, being the advantages offered by the lectures of Professor Silliman; a gentleman from whom he received the kindest attention, and for whom he retained through life an affectionate respect. As he had not yet relinquished his intention of becoming a physician he attended the lectures of the Medical Department, and particularly the course of chemical and mineralogical instruction. At the same time, the example and aid of Professor Gibbs strongly incited him towards the pursuit of Oriental languages. From his correspondence it would appear that he was usefully and happily employed in New Haven, constantly applying his mind to study, but at the same time using such gymnastic exercises as tended to corroborate his frame. And what was more important, he was evidently making advances in piety, becoming more familiar with Christian experience, and studying the interior of those blessed revivals which the New England churches enjoyed at that period.

"I find myself (says he,) at this time very pleasantly situated. Chemistry, Anatomy, Hebrew and Greek are heterogeneous studies to be sure; but I manage to find some place for each of them. I am considered a Theological student, which is here a very honourable character; and I consider Theology as the main object of pursuit, although the other subjects are very useful and pleasant to me, and I try as far as possible to bring all my knowledge to bear upon the great work which is before me. It adds a charm to all knowledge, to think that by it we may glorify Him, who is the kind preserver and author of all good; and the

study of natural science, if it has its proper effect, will lead the mind from 'nature up to nature's God.'"

In another letter, addressed to his father, of date Jan. 29, 1828, he thus describes his situation. "I desire to remain until May, in order to hear Professor Silliman's lectures, and become grounded in Hebrew. If I go to Princeton, I shall be able then to follow out the studies which I have commenced; but if not, Professor Gibbs would take me as a private student, through the summer, when I might get a more complete knowledge of Oriental language. I wish to lay a broad foundation, so that I may be prepared for whatever station in the church God in his Providence may call me to fill."

In reply to a friend who suggested a query whether his pursuits were not too numerous, he writes: "My miscellaneous studies lasted only through the vacation, and I have now returned to the laborious investigations of the session. I looked at two or three kindred dialects of the Hebrew, and I shall now be able, from what I know, to pursue them alone when occasion may offer. My time is well occupied; chemical lectures last three or four weeks more, and also anatomy; I attend the former always, the latter when there are dissections, which are frequent. From my acquaintance with them, however, they are rather relaxation than otherwise. I take the spare time offered for History and German. I can already read Luther's Bible with profit, and Latin has become like English from the constant use of Latin books. I have translated most of a Syriac grammar, which was beneficial. It is a language which I wish to know, as being the vernacular tongue of our Saviour and his apostles; and because many *Syriasms* are found in the New Testament, as are *Hebraisms* in the Septuagint."

These details are not the signals of a vain ostentation, but the effusions of affectionate confidence into the ear of a solicitous father. The extracts which have been given, evince an uncommon thirst for knowledge, and also reveal the gradual leaning of his mind towards the Christian ministry. On his return in June 1828, he settled this great point, by clearly determining that it was his duty to preach the gospel; for which he cheerfully abandoned secular prospects which could scarcely have been more bright, in the line of another profession. The summer was spent in some preliminary studies, particularly that of the original Scriptures, the importance of which he felt in the most lively manner till his dying day.

In the spring of 1828 he received the appointment of Tutor in the College of New Jersey, in which situation he continued two

years and a half. It was a seclusion favourable for the culture of his intellect and his heart, and fitted to create habits of decision and promptitude in action. During this period, it was pleasing to his anxious friends to observe that he steadily increased in grace, becoming at once more tenderly devout and more warmly active. Yet his religion was no hinderance, but rather a spur to his research into all subjects connected with ministerial qualifications. And it was with a zeal almost passionate, that he gave himself up to the pursuit of the Hebrew, Arabic, French, and German languages, and the more strictly theological studies; availing himself of every aid from teachers and associates.

One of the very interesting traits of his correspondence during this period, and one which was characteristic of the man, is his anxiety for the spiritual good of his unconverted friends, and his faithfulness in remonstrating with them. To this we shall revert more distinctly in the sequel. For the present it must suffice to give an extract from a letter to a young female acquaintance, who made no profession of faith in Christ. It will serve to show how easy the transition in his mind was from literature to religion, and is a fair specimen of his untrammelled correspondence.

"Let me again advise you to follow what I know to be your inclination—to redeem time for reading, meditation and writing. I have often been struck with the manner in which those men, who have made the greatest attainments, recommend this last. Their example alone is sufficient. There are, it is said, remaining at this time *bushels* of the manuscripts of President Edwards, one of the greatest philosophers and divines of this or any other country. He wrote *always*. It was the practice of Gibbon, the great historian (though bad man) to make an abstract of every book he read. I am astonished at the amount he daily read and wrote, as recorded in his diary. He frequently remarks, 'Read again, and meditate thoroughly such a book,' or 'I make no further remarks here, because I intend to make an abstract of it.' '*Le seul précepte général que j'ose donner*,' says he in his journal in France, '*est celui de Pline, qu'on doit plûtot lire beaucoup, que beaucoup de choses; se faire un choix de vos ouvrages et se les rendre propres, par des lectures réfléchies et reitérées.*' I think with him and with you, that no reading is so unprofitable, as that which we undertake just to say, 'we have read' such a work, without reflection, or any scrutiny of its sentiments. Reading improves only when it excites the mind of the reader. If it fail in this, the ideas received are soon lost—and the habits of the intellect injured. It is well remarked, that

'too much reading without meditation is like turning upside down a lamp, which goes out through the very excess of that which gave it life.'

"I was indeed happy to find that you had read and reflected on *one* book—to wit, the Evidences of the Christian religion. I sincerely hope and pray that the clear and powerful argumentation of that little volume may ever remain fixed in your memory; that you may recollect also that the difficulties and mysteries of religion are such as arise out of man's weakness and ignorance; that light sufficient to save is given, and that our duty is to receive it humbly and obediently, and not complain that Omniscience has not admitted us to share the councils of his throne. No stronger test of the divinity of our faith is necessary than its going forth 'conquering and to conquer,' translating man from sin and misery to holiness and happiness, and forming the highest blessing of every country where it is enjoyed. Upon it, if I am not deceived, I have rested my eternal all—if I have—I *know* that I am as secure as though I ruled an universe.

"Scepticism is man's natural character. We are proud, selfish, and perverse, and love not the humbling doctrines of revelation, but choose rather to be our own guides, and believe our own way to be the best. This principle and these feelings must be eradicated before we can find favour with God. You know not the deep, settled hatred of your heart to God, or it would weigh upon you like a mountain. Seek this knowledge, I entreat you, by prayer, by meditation, and self-examination, and go to be washed in the fountain of a Saviour's love."

In the spring of 1831, Rezeau Brown renounced his literary employments in Nassau Hall, from the conviction which was deepening in his soul, that he ought, without further delay, to enter upon the work of the ministry. He had been for a year or two engaged in the studies pursued by the classes in the theological seminary, among whose students his name was enrolled. He revolved in his mind the great question of devoting himself to the work of Foreign Missions, and his laborious attention to modern languages was chiefly with reference to the contingency of his going abroad. But his constitution was even then radically impaired, and his spare frame, and mild but bloodless countenance were signals of distress by which nature seemed to warn him from any longer seclusion. Indeed, his friends often told him that his feeble body was unfit to endure the labours of the sacred office. To this his uniform reply was, that he longed for the service, and could never be satisfied that he had done his

duty, until he had made the trial. All his studies had this object; and it is worthy of remark, that he appeared always to *study for God.* A sentiment of Coleridge was inscribed in one of his books; 'An hour passed in sincere and earnest prayer, or the conflict with, and conquest over a single passion, or 'subtle *bosom* sin,' will teach us more of thought, will more effectually awaken the *faculty*, and form the *habit* of reflection, than a year's study in the schools without them.' He felt the force of Luther's adage.

Bene orasse est bene studuisse;

yet he did not pervert it to mean that any degree of fervour could justify idleness, or miraculously supersede the necessity for application. "How momentous (says he) is the holy ministry! Every moment may give birth to a thought or a feeling which may be the means of saving hundreds. I have felt under some circumstances, that for certain objects even prayer was less important than study. How awful then my responsibility for the employment of every moment! Oh! for grace, grace!"

A few rough and hasty notes in a little memorandum-book seem to have been penned about this time, and manifest very clearly the complexion of his thoughts respecting the evangelical work. They are such as become one on the threshold of the ministry.

"No defect is so prevalent as that of duly estimating the ministry.

"The *qualifications* for it are:

"1. Proper views and feelings in relation to it: and

"2. Ability and disposition to realize them in action.

"I find that I have come utterly short of any adequate views of this solemn ambassadorship of heaven, upon which I propose so soon to enter. My mind has been delighted and attracted by its grandeur, and my hopes elevated by the prospect of success in the world. But I have entirely forgotten that the present measure of usefulness is to be far surpassed by the coming generations of ministers; and that even the moderate calculation of ordinary success cannot be expected in my present state of mind and heart. In addition, the world demands all that I can possibly do; and it is proved that the moral influence of any one man is far above any thing commonly realized.

"We are too prone to look at the success which has attended the efforts of such men as Howard, Clarkson, &c. as moral phenomena, rather than what might be perhaps secured by any one of us. I have suffered myself to float along thus far with the

current on which I chanced to be thrown, with scarcely any thing more of an evangelical desire to glorify God, than a general wish that my course might be directed in a way to do good. I have never resolved, and in the strength of God endeavoured, to *spend and be spent* for Christ. I have had some general purpose to be a very active and zealous minister, and promoter of revivals, but my heart has been far from right in approaching this sacred office, and now I desire to pause upon the threshold, and to call myself to a strict account, to settle in my mind some appropriate impressions of its magnitude, and of my need of proper views; and, if possible, to secure some better fitness for the work before me.

"To this end, I would attend,

I. To the affairs of my soul.

II. To the affairs of my body.

III. To the affairs of my mind.

I. 1. To be much engaged in reading the Bible, in meditating and in prayer.

2. To improve opportunities of Christian intercourse.

3. To cultivate a Christian temper, and do every thing as conscious that the eye of God is directed to me, as well as the eye of the world.

4. To gain proper views of duty, and to act up to my convictions.

II. 1. To take regular exercise, morning and evening.

2. To be moderate in eating, &c.

3. To 'keep my body under.'

III. In regard to *objects of study.*

1. The Bible.

2. Theology, as a science.

3. Books to aid the intellect, by their power of thought or some effective quality.

B. In regard to *method,*

1. Read *twice* every good book.

2. Read *carefully,* not caring so much to finish the volume as to gain knowledge.

3. Read *pen in hand,* noting striking thoughts, and recording such as throw light on points not hitherto understood.

C. In regard to *writing.* I wish to gain some *facility* as well as *correctness* in my composition for the pulpit and the press.

1. Analyses of Sermons.

2. Sermons.

3. Presbyterial Exercises.

4. Notes on remaining topics in Didactic Theology."

These records need no comment; they indicate a mind jealous of itself, and awake to the importance of rigorous self-control.

It would be injustice to the memory of Mr. Brown if some notice should not be taken of his labours, in public and private, during the period of his connexion with the college. As an officer he was conscientious, faithful, and acceptable. But he found time for other services out of doors, especially for assisting in various social meetings in the vicinity of Princeton. In one of these, his prayers and exhortations, and private admonitions, were made instrumental to the awakening of souls.

He also exercised himself in compositions of a religious nature, frequently contributing to some of our first periodical works. The cause of Sunday schools was particularly dear to him, and in its behalf he wrote and laboured extensively. Among other important services, he prepared for the American Sunday School Union *the Memoirs of Augustus Hermann Francke*, which has proved to be one of their most popular and useful works. It is a book which may be recommended to the perusal of every Christian, as an unassuming volume, but judiciously compiled, and fraught with narratives of thrilling interest. It was completed in the autumn of 1830, and published early in 1831.

In the month of April, 1831, he was licensed to preach as a probationer for the Gospel ministry, by the Presbytery of New Brunswick. In the months immediately following, there was a great awakening and revival in the region of Rocky Hill, Somerset, and as many as one hundred and twenty-five persons were supposed to be converted. The instrumentality of Mr. Brown in this work of grace will long be remembered by many of these affectionate converts, who regard his youthful labours as the means of their restoration to God. Day after day he laboured publicly, and from house to house, and it is evident to all who knew him, that the experience of this favoured season gave an impulse to his Christian feelings, and a mould to his character, which were discernible throughout his few remaining years. Some of his associates in this sacred employment have since gone to foreign countries; and it is remarkable, that a large number of those whom congeniality of feeling had made his intimate friends, have become missionaries.

In October, 1831, he received an appointment from the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, to preach the Gospel in Virginia. The place assigned to him was the village of Morgantown, Monongalia county. Of his employments there for seven months, our information is only of a general character. He preached statedly at three different places, about fifteen miles apart. Constant exercise on horseback was advantageous to his

health, or at least suspended the morbid action of his system; and his services were highly acceptable and accompanied with the divine blessing. Among other effects of his assiduous labour, a church was organized in a very destitute spot on Laurel Mountain, about eight miles from Morgantown. The people contributed about two hundred dollars towards the erection of an edifice, and Mr. Brown collected what was further necessary among his friends in New Jersey and Philadelphia. This place of worship has received the name of *Brown's church.*

Letters received from that region since his death, dwell with tender esteem upon his piety, meekness, activity, and holy example. "During my acquaintance with him, (writes one of a different Christian persuasion) I never knew a conversation of five minutes duration, in which some religious or moral maxim was not thrown out, and that with an aim so certain, as never to fail of more or less effect." That he still thought sometimes of a wider field of action, is manifest from such expressions as the following, addressed to a female friend:

"I rejoice much at the movement in behalf of Foreign Missions in the Synod of Pittsburg. That cause is dear to me, and believing as I do that the spirit of Missions is identical (*now* at least) with *true religion*, I cannot but hope that it may be the beginning of blessings to the churches in this region. I shall take an early occasion to interest the people of Morgantown in that cause, and if possible to obtain contributions to your funds. I do not know that I shall ever be a foreign missionary, but I think I should be willing to go; and if I were not, I should judge myself unworthy of the ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ. Shall not these desolated churches be visited this winter with showers from heaven? Will not God be entreated to return to west Pennsylvania, and revive his work? What say the good people of Pittsburg, and the servants of God in that centre of influence? Oh that I and all who preach the Gospel might feel our responsibility, and implore unceasingly at the mercy seat, and labour untiringly among our fellow men for this great end."

Some of his letters to young Christian friends, written about this time, are indicative of growing zeal and heightened affection; more love for souls, and humble distrust of self; but it would unduly protract this sketch to give them an insertion. A single extract, from a book of memoranda, will exhibit the temper of his mind on a solemn occasion.

"*Monday, January* 2, 1832. Another year is gone! Let

me be excited by the remembrance of my failures in duty, sins, waste of time, slow advancement in piety and knowledge—let me be stimulated to future diligence in every good thing.

"I would, in dependence on divine aid, this morning resolve,

"1. To be more diligent in the pursuit of piety. And as I have most failed by the neglect of devotional reading of the scriptures, by wandering thoughts in prayer, and by permitting unholy thoughts and tempers to gain admission to my mind, I would resolve to pay special attention to these things.

"2. I resolve to be more faithful in every public and private duty of the ministry. Especially in bearing such an exterior as to exhibit the influence, and commending the nature of religion; and in private and public admonition.

"3. I resolve to attempt to do some good to some individual every day.

"4. I resolve to study the Bible more than I have done, both *critically* and *practically*.

"5. I resolve to press forward towards perfection, as much as possible here below; or in other words, to *grow in grace*."

About the same time, he writes to a valued relative, who had just been admitted to the communion of the church:

"In regard to personal piety, I find (as you will do) that *prayer* is the chief means of growth. *Days* devoted to prayer are very profitable; seasons of fasting and humiliation equally so. To pray much and yet be a cold Christian, is an anomaly I have never seen in the dealings of God with his church. The scriptures should take up much of your attention. Religious biography, and other religious books, are also worthy of regard and perusal. There is no royal road to manhood in Christ Jesus: we must grow by degrees, which will be greater or less in proportion to our diligence in the use of the means. Read *Ephesians* vi. 10—18. *Philippians* iii. 12—14. *Romans* xii. 1—21. for some inspired directions."

In June, 1832, Mr. Brown returned from his missionary work to his father's house. Although the constant exercise of these labours had given him reason to hope for an entire restoration of health, yet it was the opinion of his judicious friends that this advantage had been more than counterbalanced by exposure to the rigours of a winter which is memorable for its inclemency, and which he passed in a bleak and mountainous region. Shortly after his return, he again connected himself with the Theological Seminary in Princeton, and sat down to study with an intensity

of application which could scarcely be justified in his condition of body. His pursuits were various. He renewed his critical study of the original scriptures, and daily read large portions of the Greek Testament with Mr. J. Read Eckard, now a missionary in Ceylon. He availed himself of the instructions of a European gentleman, to perfect himself in the German language. He wrote sermons and essays, and entered upon the laborious work of compiling, principally from German authorities, a *Scripture Gazetteer* for the American Sunday School Union. By these literary pursuits, and frequent preaching in vacant congregations, he again enfeebled his health. Various flattering invitations were tendered to him, and among the rest a professorship of chemistry in a southern college; but he was unwilling to accede to any of them.

Nothing was more evident to his pious friends than the steady, healthful growth of his religious character. The false flame of a zeal which he now acknowledged to have been unwise, was giving place to the genial glow of settled Christian love, without noise, and without asperity. Some of his exercises may be gathered from a devotional composition which is subjoined.

"*A prayer for July* 26, 1832, *being a day of Fasting and Humiliation.*

"Eternal and ever glorious Jehovah! I adore thy great and holy name! Thou art He that is, and was, and is to come. Thou art the Creator of the Universe, and its Supporter and Governor. Thou art possessed of every possible perfection. I see the wonders of thy wisdom and power in the works of nature around us, and read the exhibitions of thine amazing goodness and mercy in thy Holy Word. All around, and all within me, call upon me to bow with the deepest reverence before thee!

"I would present myself, Lord, at thy footstool this day in the name of thy dear Son, our Saviour, through whom alone I can hope for acceptance with thee! Teach me to rely with implicit confidence on Him, and through Him to come boldly to the Throne of Grace!

"I would confess my sins before thee. I would, with sorrow and shame, recal to mind my various and aggravated transgressions. Oh God! I have broken thy holy law in all its parts. I have indulged in secret and in open sins. I have suffered my evil passions and corrupt desires to rise and gain the mastery over me; and thus I have, instead of growing more and more in love with thy commandments, remained as careless, or more so, of obedience than before. I have neglected many solemn duties. I have neglected prayer, stated and habitual. I have often been

satisfied with vain apologies for the neglect of secret devotion, penitent confession of sins, and devout reading of thy word of truth. I have often neglected opportunities of doing good. I have not been so watchful over my deportment as I should have been, that I might be a 'light of the world.' My desires have not been strong for the glory of Jesus Christ, and the conversion of the Heathen. I have been exceedingly unbelieving, proud, envious and foolish. And oh! God, I have been all this, and done all this, whilst I was surrounded by the means of instruction and improvement, and followed by peculiar manifestations of thy love.

"Oh thou righteous Lord God! I deserve thy judgments. Thou wouldst be just in bringing on me the heavy scourge which has visited many of my fellow men, and hurried them into eternity!

"I would also bewail before thee this day, oh Lord, the sins of my people and nation. We are exalted to heaven in privileges, but not proportionably obedient to thee. We have sinned: yea, this whole nation. We have rioted in thy bounties, yet forgot the giver. We have been unfaithful in duties to God and man. We have disregarded thy holy Sabbaths, and slighted acknowledged obligations to our fellow creatures. We have oppressed the Indian and the African in the midst of us, and the cry of their bondage and misery has gone up to heaven. Thy people too, oh God! have been unfaithful and negligent. They have not been as diligent in the discharge of duty as was required of them at thy hand. They have suffered means of usefulness to be unemployed, and brethren have wickedly striven with brethren.

"And now, oh! thou merciful Sovereign, I would presume to ask of thee forgiveness, through the blood of Christ, for all my sins and those of my nation. Oh! bring us to repentance. Thy judgments threaten us on every side. Internal dissension, and the fierce passions of men, are excited within us, and enemies on our borders, and in our States, long for our destruction. The wasting pestilence, too, has come nigh, and is pouring out its fury upon our great city. Oh! avert these threatening calamities. Oh! send abroad thy spirit to awaken a general inquiry after the causes of these evils, and give us all a disposition to come and humble ourselves before God, and confess our sins in sincerity, and bewail them in truth.

"Grant, most merciful Father, to thy people a deep sense of their obligation. May thy ministers meet between the porch and the altar, crying, 'Spare thy people, oh God!' May every professed Christian return to the performance of his duty, and

with earnestness call for thy blessing. And oh! send it down abundantly. In thine own way and time visit this nation. Withhold thy hand from smiting us, and make us to rejoice in thy salvation.

"Oh! God of mercy, visit me with thy rich blessing. For Jesus' sake, I would pray thee to send thy Spirit down, to write thy law upon my heart. Purify me from every sin of every kind, and enkindle within me the flame of true and acceptable love to God. Show me my duty. Oh! give me light as to the field where thou wouldst have me labour, and give me a disposition to give up every thing for the glory of God, if I may but promote it.

"Bless, thou gracious Saviour, my brethren in the ministry, and those preparing for it. Bless my brothers according to the flesh. Oh! convert them unto thyself by the operations of the Holy Spirit, and save them in thy kingdom at last.

"Fill the world with thy glory. Send thy Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth, and let all flesh see thy salvation.

"Hear me, this day, oh God, and bless me abundantly, for Christ Jesus' sake. Amen! Amen!"

A more full account of his religious exercises is contained in a paper which is entitled, "Meditations on my religious character," and which we refer to the summer of 1832. Part of it is as follows:

"*Meditations on my religious character and exercises.*

"1. That which I find of good within me.

"Here I do not wish to flatter myself, but only to come to some kind of a decision as to the state of my soul. There has no doubt happened a great change in my character, which I date in March, 1827."

[Here follows the account of his conversion, already introduced into this narrative.]

"Since that time," he proceeds, "my feelings have fluctuated constantly, but I have had a prevailing sense of the importance of religion, the vanity of the world, the desirableness of holiness, and the sufficiency of God alone to satisfy the cravings of the soul. Sometimes I have had what was to me great enjoyment in the exercise of my nobler feelings and powers; but in the general I have had so many corrupt feelings, and have been burdened by such tendencies to evil, that I have been rather a "mourner," than a happy spirit, as a Christian ought to be.

"Especially since last October, (1831,) when I went forth to preach the Gospel, do I remember to have been weighed down

by a sense of my weakness, corruption, and disobedience. So that I have often been led to ask, 'if there be religion in the world, *can I possess it?*' Does my present state of mind indicate any thing like the existence of *grace* in me? Have I that *faith* which overcomes the world? Or am I not rather in a state of nature just as before, except with an enlightened and scrupulous conscience which leads me to desire to see and do good?

"These inquiries I have often made. And I have prayed, as I thought, most fervently, for that faith of which I felt the need, and which must be the gift of God, but have not, so far as I know, received any answer to my prayer. I should be afraid to die, with no more evidence of piety, no more feeling of the friendship of God than I now have, no more clear and satisfying views of Christ, and no stronger hopes of eternal life.

"I wish to decide this question, painful as may be the struggle necessary for it; deep as may be the wounds which shall be made, by searching carefully the wound which sin has made upon my soul.

"Almighty and most merciful God! thou art my creator, and thou hast been my constant preserver and benefactor! May I not dare, encouraged by thy past goodness, and thine abundant promises of mercy, to ask thee to look down with an eye of compassion on me, and grant me the assistance and direction of thy Spirit in this inquiry? Oh Lord! for Christ's sake, deal graciously with me, unworthy, and wayward, and guilty as I am, and lead me in the way everlasting, to the praise of thy glorious grace, in Jesus Christ, my only hope, Amen!

"And now, as to my exercises, I am conscious of a dislike to sin, nay more, a *detestation of it.* Yet I cannot say certainly that it is *merely* owing to its being a hateful thing in the sight of God. I do know, indeed, that *much* of my hatred to sin is of the *same kind* which I had before (what I have been in the habit of calling) my conversion; nothing more than the pain of conscience wounded, or self-dependence mortified, and pride cast down; and I have thought, sometimes, that I could detect a secret wish in my heart, that the law of God were not so *strict*, so *holy*, so extensive, or, perhaps, it was rather a desire that it were not so hard to live up to.

"Yet I admire and approve of holiness, and can rejoice in the piety of my brethren, and can think with delight of the holiness of Christ and heaven, and can try sincerely to help others to grow in grace.

"My moments would seem to glide happily along, if no sin encumbered me, and I often ask for a 'closer walk with God.'

"I have had, I am sure, a *peculiar* love to Christians. Yet I am not quite certain that it was not, in part, a kind of *party-feeling*, like that of the freemason, when he joins the mystic fraternity. I think I do meet an humble, devoted Christian with sincere regard, even though they are not the *noble*, nor *wise*, nor *rich* of this world. But, at the same time, I am conscious sometimes of dislike to some who appear true Christians, on account of some defects of character, and my attachment is strong only to those whom I would, it is likely, love, had they no grace.

"I have had a desire to see sinners converted, *strong* desire sometimes. But *moral* men have the same. My desires have not been strong enough to lead me to venture to offend for the sake of doing good; or to obtrude religion upon those whose 'ease in Zion' ought not to have been left uninterrupted.

"I sometimes think it is a mere *professional* thing, and that if I had no *responsibility* in reference to their salvation, I should feel but little desire for it. God knows, I have never felt as David did when he wrote, 'Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy law;' and yet, I think it gives me real joy sometimes to hear of the conversion of men. The prospect of a universal prevalence of piety certainly does.

"But this is no *evidence* of grace.

"I feel deeply my own sinfulness, and desert of banishment from God's presence and mercy, and could not but say, Amen! to the sentence of my condemnation, if it were this day to be executed; yet I do, I think, cast myself upon the mercy of Christ, believing his ability and willingness to save, and desirous, if saved at all, to be saved through him.

"I have sometimes seemed to perceive an excellence and glory in this plan of salvation through Christ, which passed all understanding, and felt a trust that I had embraced him as he is offered to me in the Gospel.

"Of one thing I am certain, and that is, that 'I have no other hope.'

"I think, too, that I have a desire to see God glorified. I can remember few times when the thought that Jehovah, the Triune Jehovah, should be honoured by every heart, did not give me joy, and a strong desire for that great and blessed result arise in my mind.

"Yet this may have been a mere wish to get rid of the painful thought of sinners going to misery; or to avoid the conviction, that I ought to do much for their salvation.

"But were they all to be saved, and God and Christ dishonoured still, my joy would not be complete. It seems to me that if I could this day know that every heart on earth had

acknowledged God as its rightful Sovereign, and that every tongue was engaged in proclaiming his praise, it would be the happiest day of my life.

"And I think I feel willing to devote myself to the work, in which I may best promote so glorious a consummation. Yet, alas! my willingness is not so complete as to lead me to walk in the path of duty, without deviating often and sadly from it.

"As to the world, I see its empty and unsatisfying nature, and the impossibility of deriving real happiness from its highest pleasures and pursuits. I should be happy at any moment to leave it, if I felt that my calling were sure, and if I could do no more good while I lived.

"And yet, I know that my heart is not completely released from the fetters of worldly cares and joys."

He then proceeds in a manner equally frank, and at much length, to adduce the evidences on the other side, and concludes thus:

"Great God! *Thou* knowest my inmost soul. Thou canst search and see, in deepest shades of night, the workings of my heart, and under the thickest covering I am in thy view.

"Oh! show me, show me the hidden iniquity of my soul. Holy Spirit come down and enlighten me, and above all, by thy gracious influences, purify and sanctify me.

"Make me like thyself, oh God! Renew a right temper within me—an humble and holy temper, and teach me to believe thy truth, without hesitation or reserve.

"Help me to overcome my evil propensities, my pride, my worldliness, my fear of man, my passions of every kind. Teach me to think soberly of myself, and oh! make me meek and humble. May I see the loveliness of holiness, and make daily progress towards it. And may I rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no other hope or trust."

Such was the path of humble self-examination, by which the Lord was at this time conducting this beloved young man to the end of his earthly course.

Mr. Brown ended his regular studies with the summer of 1832, and after preaching with much acceptance for some weeks in the city of Trenton, he was prevailed upon by the solicitations of an intimate friend, who was the editor of a religious journal, to assist him in this work. For this purpose he repaired to Philadelphia, and for a number of months persevered in the faithful and assiduous performance of the duties which he had assumed.

The friend whom he came to aid can never forget the generous ardour with which he wore himself down in this employment; nor the pious principle by which he seemed to be actuated. Even those minute drudgeries of the editorial life, which are almost mechanical, seemed to be conducted by Mr. Brown with a direct view to the glory of Christ. Often did he groan in spirit at the responsibility of the Christian press; often did he admonish all who were associated with him, of the importance of using this channel to convey pure truth, to promote the cause of revivals, and to awaken the spirit of missions. His prevalent feelings are expressed in the sentences following: "It is now a crisis in our church. A new spirit of enterprise is waking up, and I hope the Holy Spirit is likely to abide in the hearts of ministers, more than in times past. Who can measure the good of a dignified, yet warm defence of revivals; a constant presentation of primitive models of ministerial fidelity; a kind discussion of prevailing errors, and, above all, the manifestation and inculcation of the genuine spirit of true religion—the charity that *hopeth all things?*"

There were several churches in the city at that time destitute of pastors; and no Lord's day passed in which Mr. Brown did not preach—sometimes more than once. In the Second Presbyterian Church, and in what has since become the Central Church, his ministrations were frequent, and were highly prized. As a preacher he improved daily, and the serene gravity and cheerful dignity of his whole demeanour in private, won the respect and affection of a numerous circle of Christian acquaintances. The language of a venerable elder, whose praise is in all the churches, expresses the estimation in which this young minister was held: "My dear young friend, we should all rejoice to see you here, and I do not say too much, when I add, that our people are attached to you in stronger ties than can well be expressed. Daily prayer has gone up to the throne of grace on your behalf."

His constitution may be said to have been already undermined by an invidious disease, as was manifest to many of his friends. On this subject, admonitions and remonstrances were not wanting, though they proved unavailing. Some extracts from them may, however, be serviceable to others.

"We are troubled (writes a female friend of eminent talents and piety) about the affection of your throat, and fear it may result in something more serious than you seem to imagine. Do, we entreat you, be careful. Take moderate exercise. I fear the editorial concern is not the thing for you; it will tempt you to be too sedentary in your habits. You will become torpid and

sluggish; your blood will 'loiter in unelastic tubes;' the vital principle will be cramped, and the fine machinery robbed of its play. Take warning before it be too late."

In the same strain, a Professor in one of our theological seminaries, for whom Mr. Brown entertained a filial respect, thus writes to him in terms worthy of universal regard from those in like circumstances:

"The situation in which you are placed is full of danger There must be a *balance* between the mind and body, between the agent and instrument. If the agent be strong and violent, and the instrument weak, the latter must give way. Your spirit is ardent and active. The sight of much to be done around you, awakens your zeal; but *your body is too frail* an instrument to accomplish half that your zeal would undertake. You will break it in your enterprises. I beseech you, have a care for your machinery. 'She hath done what she could,' is high enough approbation from the blessed Master. There is no more common and ruinous mistake, as I find by observation and experience, among the disciples of Christ, than the supposition that duty must be measured by *the work to be done*, not by the *power given*. And hundreds are constantly the victims of this mistake. This would make our Lord 'a hard master, gathering where he had not strawed.'"

Notwithstanding all this, Mr. Brown continued to study, to write, and even to preach. Towards the end of March, 1833, he was seized with a catarrh, and while under its pressure conducted two public services on the Lord's day. In the interval of services, he was observed to lie upon a sofa, pallid and exhausted. The next day a hectic flush mantled his cheek, and his pulse was alarmingly accelerated. There was no time to be lost, and he hastened to his father's house. The pulmonary disorder was evidently seated and confirmed. It was no small aggravation of his solicitude that he had just matured a plan for a voyage to Europe, in company with an early and most intimate friend. For such a visit he was eminently prepared by his course of study, his avidity in pursuit of knowledge, and his acquaintance with the French and German languages. His object was to travel through the most interesting literary fields of Europe, and to repair to the chief universities of Germany, to acquire the languages, and to complete his familiarity with biblical and classical antiquities, Oriental letters, and the natural sciences. There was every reason to believe that on his return he would have received

a professorship in one of our most distinguished colleges. His passport was already obtained, his companion was awaiting his recovery, and letters of recommendation were furnished. In some of these letters, kindly furnished by Professors in Yale college, he is characterised as a 'young man of extensive scientific and literary attainments, well skilled in the Hebrew language, and otherwise learned.' But Providence was opening his way to "a better country, even a heavenly."

From this time forward his symptoms became gradually more alarming. His body wasted away, and his strength was prostrated; his visage assumed the hue of death, and he was visibly marked as the victim of pulmonary consumption. Every means was used for his restoration, in the way of medicine, regimen, exercise and change of scene; but in vain. He was favoured with a general exemption from acute pain, and complained chiefly of a lassitude which was almost insupportable. The nature of his disorder precluded him from much conversation, yet even if this had been needed as an index to his experience, enough was said by him to evince that he was prepared in spirit for his change of worlds.

In the month of July, he set out in company with a younger brother, on a visit to the Red Sulphur Springs of Virginia, which have been famed for specific medicinal efficacy in pulmonary cases. Just before his departure, an intimate acquaintance, with whom he cherished a confidential intercourse from childhood, embraced a last opportunity of drawing from him a statement of his religious views. The Memoirs of Thomason had just then been published, and from this work a passage was read which gives an account of the dying exercises of the Rev. David Brown, missionary in India. Rezeau Brown was much interested, and though he lay panting for breath upon the sofa, entered into a free conversation. His friend addressed him thus: "Tell me frankly, Rezeau, what is the prospect which you entertain of recovery?" He answered much as follows:

"I have no expectation of recovery. I am fully acquainted with the nature of my disease, and aware that I am a dying man. Sometimes an illusive hope plays about me; but my prevalent judgment is, that I am not long for this world."

"And now, my dear R., what effect has this expectation on your feelings? Do you regard death with terror?"

"Not at all," he replied; "I am relieved from all fear, and entertain a calm hope of heaven."

He then proceeded, in words not now remembered, to give a clear and satisfactory account of his trust in Christ, and his resignation to the will of God. There was no rapture, nor any strong

excitement of feeling; indeed this seemed, in his case, to be precluded by the sedative and benumbing influence of the disease; but every word indicated a serene waiting till his change should come. It is highly probable that while he felt himself to be labouring under a fatal malady, he did not anticipate so speedy a dissolution as actually took place.

From the springs of Virginia he returned without benefit. During this journey he often spoke with composure of his approaching end. To his friends he said, that in the review of his life, he had but one thing to wish, namely, that he had been still more devoted to the cause of God; that life did not consist so much in length of days as in abounding usefulness, and that thus a few years might be equivalent to the longest life. He returned on the 4th of September, and during the few remaining days was too ill to speak. He declined the visits of any friends, except two, with each of whom he conversed a few moments. To a brother who inquired after his spiritual frame, two days before his departure, he replied: "I have experienced some seasons of fluctuation and depression, but my prevailing state is that of established confidence and hope."

Although he had been for some time exceedingly weak, his dissolution was somewhat unexpected both to his mother, who was with him, and (as is supposed) to himself; and after a night of unusual exemption from coughing and of calm repose, he awoke about 3 o'clock on the morning of September 10th, in an exhausted, sinking state, and in a few moments was joyfully surprised by the messenger, and entered into rest.

There was no visible indication of the change until a short time before he fell asleep in Jesus. His departure was then without a struggle or a groan.

His friends have since regretted that they had not watched for opportunities to draw from him much more respecting the great change towards which he was hastening. They find consolation, however, in the remark which the pious John Newton used to make, when he heard any inquiring about the last expressions of eminent saints: "Tell me not how he *died*, but how he *lived*."

The solemnities of Mr. Brown's funeral were attended by a large number of friends from the immediate vicinity, and from the literary institutions of Princeton. A discourse was delivered by the writer of this memoir, from Revelation xxii. 3—5. Upon this sad occasion, every thing manifested the respect and affection in which the deceased was held, as well as the deep impression produced by this bereaving dispensation of Providence.

The following letter, from a gentleman of Morgantown, was

addressed to the Editor of the *Presbyterian*, shortly after the death of Mr. Brown. It is a simple but affectionate tribute of regard:

"*Morgantown, October 8th*, 1833.

"*Mr. Editor*,—A few days since I noticed in your paper the death of Mr. Rezeau Brown, with a sketch of his character; the notice of his death was written by one who was acquainted with him, and is faithful as far as it goes. In one place it is observed that on quitting his studies 'he repaired to Morgantown in Virginia, where he laboured with apparent success.' It is true his powerful ministry was felt here before he left the place, but the additions to the church were not very numerous, yet rest assured he was a faithful steward, and well improved the talents entrusted to him. The seed has been sown deep in the hearts of the people, and the word dispensed by him through the spirit of God has taken root, and though nothing signal was immediately visible as the effects of his labour, there is a gradual growth of grace that he was no doubt instrumental in causing to put forth. His unaffected piety, his holy walk, his solemn countenance, and impressive manner are still before us; and his love for sinners, his strong and active exertions to bring them to a knowledge of the truth, how he followed them with entreaties, prayers, and exhortations, and mourned, after all, that he had done no more. It was not in the pulpit alone that he was useful, but feeling his high calling in all things, and at all times filled with the mild graces of a Christian, he would draw into all his conversations some useful religious instruction. During my acquaintance with him, I never knew a conversation of five minutes duration, that some religious or moral maxim was not thrown into it, and that with an aim so certain as never to fail of more or less effect.

"One leading characteristic, which was the fruit of that grace which was so richly shed abroad in his heart, was his love for the followers of Christ in whatever church they were found. True to his principles, but liberal, charitable, and affectionate towards Christians of all denominations, he met them as brethren, he associated and worshipped with them as brethren, and elicited in turn their warm and heartfelt love. No railings, no heart burnings, no strifes were ever manifested between his church and any other while he was among us. And even those who were not professors of religion, seeing how the churches harmonized, were constrained to exclaim: 'Behold how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.' The church of God seemed to put on new charms, and invite the lovers of peace into its borders.

"Can we forget him? The writer of this article would feel himself faithless to the memory of one who had been more faithful to him, were he to say nothing of his worth. He would feel that he had poorly requited that solicitude which this young but gifted herald of Christ had manifested for his individual salvation, where he to shed the tear in silence, or stifle the gratitude of a heart that he knows to be too ungrateful. No, as long as talents of the first order, devoted to religion in early life, are admired; as long as the Gospel that he preached, and the sentiments expressed in a letter now before us, written from the place where he died, that showed a heart still alive to our welfare and precious in our sight, so long will we remember him. When we go to the church and hear from Sabbath to Sabbath, the story of our Saviour, we shall remember him. When we hear it proclaimed from God's holy word, that 'we ought, therefore, to take the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we let them slip:' we shall remember him. And some of us, we trust, in eternity, will bless the day that Providence in divine mercy, directed this young missionary to Morgantown."

In taking a brief review of the life and character of our interesting young friend, it will not be necessary to protract our remarks much further. It may not be out of place to say that with regard to personal appearance, Mr. Brown possessed every advantage. Though slender, he was above the common height, and had the appearance of greater strength than he really possessed. His whole exterior was marked by graceful dignity; and his calm and somewhat pensive countenance, in which regularity of feature was joined with an expression of intelligence and gentleness, was highly prepossessing of his manners; it is enough to say that he was in every sense of the term a Christian gentleman.

His *intellectual traits* have been already exhibited to some extent. Quick and discursive, rather than profound or commanding, his mind attempted almost every department of literature and science. Indeed, such was his inquisitiveness with regard to all useful knowledge, that we may doubt whether his reigning fault was not the diffusion of his powers over too vast a field. Languages, both ancient and modern, belles-lettres, criticism, chemistry, physics, anatomy and physiology were his favourite pursuits. In the acquisition of these he manifested a readiness which was astonishing. The versatility of his genius made every subject soon familiar; and the tenacity of his memory rendered these stores available.

This was strikingly exemplified in his examination for licensure before the Presbytery of New Brunswick; on which occasion those who were present were astonished at the compass and precision of his knowledge, and the promptness and pertinency of his replies on every subject.

As a preacher, he was hindered in some degree by constitutional frailty, from becoming eloquent. Yet it is not here meant that he was not both acceptable and impressive. Indeed, his improvement in pulpit exercises was rapid and constant, even until his latest public performances. And there was in all his addresses a solemn sincerity, and sometimes a natural pathos, which endeared his ministrations to all who enjoyed them.

His adversaria and common-place books attest the care with which he made collections for future labours. Epitomes, criticisms, abstracts and reflections form the greater part of these manuscripts.

But it is to his character as a Christian, dedicating all his talents and acquirements to the service of Christ, that we turn with most satisfaction. There are instances of professing Christians, not without fervour and activity, who are yet so variable and inconsistent as to leave their friends sometimes in doubt as to the reality of their experience. Such was not Rezeau Brown. There was no moment of his religious life during which any pious friend could harbour such a surmise. He always bore, in every company, the appropriate manifestations of sincere devotion to God.

His piety was *intelligent*, founded on the word of God, and drawing daily sustenance from established means. Especially were *self-examination* and *prayer* made obligatory by his resolutions. And his multifarious pursuits were seasoned with devotion. Some instances have been given. It will illustrate our judgment of his character, to add a few more. On a day of special humiliation (Jan. 10, 1831) he thus records his exercises:

"Spent this day in fasting and prayer. It has, I trust, been to me a good day, I have been enabled to gain a clearer view of my character, and to give myself away to Christ with more unreserved consecration, than I remember to have done before. Still, oh! what a work is to be done! Sins to be avoided—depraved passions to be mortified—unholy desires to be subdued. That I am not entirely sanctified, witness my disposition to avoid speaking with my unconverted neighbours on religious subjects; witness my fearfulness in determining and doing any thing special for Christ.

"I think I can say, *I long to be with Christ, which is far*

better; since, however, it seems to be my lot to abide in the flesh, help me, O God, to live with supreme devotion to thee, and with a reference, constant and wise, to the judgment day."

Again, (February 15.) "Review of my exercises during the past week. 1. I am confident that since the day of fasting I observed this week, my thoughts have been more turned to serious things. 2. Prayer has become more pleasant and more habitual. 3. I feel a greater calmness of temper. 4. I feel a greater willingness (I think) to spend my powers of every kind for Christ. These are truly gratifying advances, but oh! what a work of sanctification is yet to be carried on!"

(March 17.) "I feel a determination rising within me, to live hereafter *exclusively for God*, and I have asked his grace, and do now implore it, to enable me to put this resolution into effect. Father of mercies! help me! Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?"

His piety was *symmetrical* and *consistent*. By this we do not intend any thing like an exemption from fault. The defects of his temper and life were manifest to himself. No one saw more clearly, or condemned more severely, than himself, these blemishes. He grieved over an irritability and petulance of temper, a fickleness of purpose, and a rashness of expression, and he laboured to mortify these evils. Yet they were mere spots upon a very fair tablet. And the general tenour of his religious life was uniform, elevated, scriptural, without intermission, without enthusiasm, and without eccentricity.

His piety was *progressive*. We believe that all piety is such, but in the case of our departed brother the advance was undeniably visible. He grew from month to month, from year to year. His elders in the service of Christ looked with pleasing wonder on his speedy ripening to spiritual constancy. And it was often remarked, how grace was working without interruption to soften the asperities, correct the errors, and supply the defects of his character. More especially was this observable during the last year of his life.

His piety was *active*. Benevolence was the principle, and daily beneficence was the fruit which he aimed to produce. The good of souls was his determinate object. His mind was always teeming with plans of usefulness. Among these, a favourite one, was a happy scheme for the printing and circulation of religious books, which he warmly advocated in private conversation and in public addresses, and which is spread out in a manuscript found among his papers.

Liberality towards all objects of benevolence marked his

character. Besides considerable sums of money supplied by his father from time to time, the most of his salary, as a tutor in the college, and his earnings elsewhere, were devoted to the cause of education, missions, and the publication of evangelical books and tracts.

In the still more difficult and rare duty of fraternal admonition he began very early to be exemplary. He had in a remarkable degree surmounted his natural repugnance to admonish his unconverted friends, acting upon the principle: *Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.* Lev. xix. 17. In order to show how he performed this duty, some extracts from his correspondence shall be added.

To a female friend, whom he always valued highly, he writes, Feb. 5, 1830.

"As usual, in dating letters in a new year, I have the mistake of writing 1829 for 1830, as if unwilling to acknowledge that time could fly so fast. How soon since 1820 has 1830 come! And how rapidly will another ten years glide away! What scenes may we pass through during that period! How fast such reflections rush upon the mind when we suffer ourselves to recal the events of our past life, or to anticipate the future: and how fruitful a subject for the moralist is here presented, you seem to have felt in the letter for which it is now my duty to thank you." "It is true that 'no plenitude of enjoyment' can secure our happiness, unless we can calculate on something for the future; and you and I can join in testifying our conviction of its truth."

"You have tried the path of gay pleasure—of affluence—of taste—of self-gratification in every shape; and so have I to some extent, and the way of wickedness and depravity further than you, and our experience coincides as to the main fact, that the world, in whatever form it may be enjoyed, cannot fill up that insatiable desire for 'something *sure*'—some *immortal* possession—which, while the desires of the soul shall ever expand, will be capable of meeting and answering their demands. There is only one affection in the universe which answers this description and that is the 'love of God;' an emotion, under the control of which the whole man is elevated and sanctified and blessed; which will be a solace in adversity, a joy in prosperity, a 'hope that maketh not ashamed,' when death shall come—and a possession which cannot be taken away. Why then is my friend overwhelmed with sorrow at experience of the thankless unkindness and insincerity of a treacherous world? or oppressed with

'mental maladies' of any kind? I would she should seek that which shall raise her above these evils, and which shall bloom throughout eternity."

Again, to the same friend, March 20th, 1829, being a much earlier date.

"Your candour interests, while it pains me. It is painful to me to see you so attached, as you tell me, to what experience has told us in most solemn words, will never satisfy the soul. No! this and ten thousand other worlds could not minister one single comfort to the disembodied spirit; and could we command the universe, it would not support in the hour of dissolution. Look forward to that hour, and ask yourself how you will part with these idols, upon which you have depended for your happiness; for no matter how gaily the voyage of life is now hastening on, that hour of dismay must come—how unexpectedly often, you well know. It is the part of reason to set out in such a way that the end may be prosperous. Have *you* a surety that yours will be such?"

Then after dealing at great length with a number of ingenious objections which had been presented by his accomplished correspondent, he goes on:

"But I would not leave this solemn subject here. I would appeal to the convictions of your own heart. Can you not love God? Your affections to parents and friends are warm and vigorous. Have you no power to love the greatest and best of Beings? You know it is your duty to love him above all things else; and believe me, the reason you do not, is that your are not inclined. Have you prayed for a new heart, daily and hourly? Have you avoided every sin of heart and life? Nay, you have deliberately, wilfully, and constantly chosen what was directly against the warnings of the gospel and the dictates of conscience, and you cannot give up—what? a bubble—a toy."

From a pious and intelligent gentleman of Morgantown, we have the following statement concerning Mr. Brown's deportment: "His gentlemanlike conduct, and his plain but refined manners, procured for him a favourable reception in every society, and his general information and attainments as a scholar ensured him respect. The same unaffected solemnity which appeared in the pulpit, accompanied him wherever he went, banishing all levity from every company where he was present. He

possessed a happy facility of directing conversation into a profitable channel; and in every circle, without infringing upon the civilities or courtesies of life, he could introduce some important religious admonition. Indeed, I have never known any one who could more faithfully warn and rebuke, without ceasing to be courteous and kind. He was, in a preeminent degree, useful in gaining the affections and good will of his Methodist brethren in Morgantown. This he accomplished by his Christian deportment, and the manifestation of a benevolent spirit, without sacrificing any of those doctrines which he believed; for it was known that he was truly a Presbyterian in principle, and a strict adherent to the doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian church. His object was to cultivate among the professors of different religious denominations, peace, good-will, and Christian kindness; and in the accomplishment of it he was in a good degree successful."

We must now close our extracts. It only remains to be said, that Mr. Brown's great desire was to spend his powers in preaching the Gospel. He looked with yearnings of heart upon the heathen world, and was much exercised upon the subject of a foreign mission. But his feebleness of lungs almost forbade his preaching even at home. In his pulpit addresses, he aimed mainly at the awakening of the impenitent; and he accustomed himself to practise those pungent appeals which might most effectually arouse the conscience. Having been converted during a revival, and having been instrumental in the turning of a number of souls to God, it was with him a fixed principle to labour for this specific blessing, wherever he was: and having the opportunity, while in Philadelphia, of spending much time with the Rev. Asahel Nettleton, he took great pains to learn practical wisdom from the counsels of that highly-favoured servant of Christ. Young as he was, and brief as was his career, "his works do follow him."

As a preacher, he was engaged for a longer period at Morgantown, than at any other place. One who there enjoyed his ministrations, thus writes: "His solemn manner in the pulpit, and the reverence and awe with which 'he handled things divine,' made the impression on every hearer, that he who addressed him was in earnest, and that he felt the importance of his message. This unaffected solemnity had the most happy effect, as it removed every unfavourable surmise, and secured an attentive hearing. Again, there was apparent in his public services a freedom from any desire to preach himself. So far as the eye of man could penetrate, he felt it to be a paramount duty to point

out to the sinner the error of his ways, and to direct him to the Saviour; and in the accomplishment of this, every consideration of self seemed to be swallowed up.

"Of the spirit and character of his preaching, as truly as of any man's that I have ever heard, I think the description of the apostle Paul's preaching to the Corinthians may be used: 'For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified!' His labours were incessant—too great for his debilitated state of health. It is well known that a desire to do good, and a love to his Master's work, would not allow him to enjoy the relaxation which was necessary. A respectable number were added to the church during his six months' labour, and many—even the most lawless and thoughtless—were occasionally made to feel and reflect, under his discourses."

When we see the young and active servant o God, in the midst of fruitful labours, snatched away from the midst of us, we are too ready to suppose that he is lost to the kingdom of Messiah. Oh no! he has gone to "be ever with the Lord," to that city where "there shall be no more curse; but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and *his servants shall serve him.*" In a higher sphere, and with nobler powers, he gives his tribute of obedience to the Master whom he loved. There, no error misleads his understanding, or drops from his lips, no inconstancy or lukewarmness checks his service, no unhallowed fire is mingled with the incense of his praise; all, all is knowledge and love and rectitude, without a blemish or defect.

J. A. Alexander

ART. III.—*Memoir of Roger Williams, the Founder of the State of Rhode Island. By James D. Knowles, Professor of Pastoral Duties in the Newton Theological Institution.* Boston: Lincoln, Edmands & Co. 1834. 12mo.

OUR nation is one of the very few, whose origin is not involved in darkness. That which, in other countries, is the subject of obscure tradition or epic fable, is with us matter of sober history and official record. On the early inhabitants of such a country, it is incumbent to provide succeeding ages, with an abundance of historical instruction. Had we and our fathers felt this obligation in a due degree, many a chasm would have been filled up, which now must yawn forever. It is unfortunately true, that those who colonized America, while ready enough to repu-

diate abuses of a certain sort, adhered with much tenacity to some European notions which might well have been discarded. Coming as they did from a little nook of the smallest continent, into a new world of gigantic limbs and features, it might have been supposed, that their exterior arrangements would be accommodated to the change of scene. It might have been supposed, that in laying off their towns and building houses, they would take advantage of their newly acquired elbow-room, and exchange smoke and pavements for green grass and wholesome air. And yet, to the astonishment of later generations, and especially of visiters from the old world, our worthy fathers chose to live in narrow, crooked, crowded streets, though surrounded by a continent running to waste for want of occupation. This preposterous attachment to ancestral usage, at the expense of comfort, and in spite of altered circumstances, has continued, in a measure, to the present time, and as may be seen from the construction of the towns and villages, even in our newest settlements. It is, indeed, a most extraordinary fact, that there are more green plots and open squares in London than in New York, to the shame of the Dutchmen who contrived the latter city.

Analogous to this blind imitation of the old world, is the way in which our fathers and ourselves have left the history of the country to take care of itself. They knew, and we know, that the want of light respecting early English history, is much to be lamented. But they also knew, that it was a want which could not be supplied, and therefore, wisely left our own deficiencies to become equally irreparable. We are far from meaning to deny, that much has been accomplished, but in comparison with what might have been done, that much is almost nothing. The treasures which we do possess daily increase in value, and what we neglect to gather, will be more and more regretted by succeeding generations to the end of time. The great uses of history are becoming more apparent. It is no longer a pastime, one degree above romance. Like other branches of knowledge, it has been pressed into the service of religion, and by Christian alchemy its meanest elements are transmuted into gold.

We of the present age have much to do in this way. We should fix what now is only floating on the surface of tradition. We should combine what is scattered. We should perpetuate what is vanishing from the memory of man. We should complete the links of that important chain, which is to connect posterity with the original settlers. And that, not merely because we have the opportunity; not merely because it is easier to go back to the beginning of our nation than of any in the old

world; but because the fathers of this country are more worthy of remembrance than those of any other. The American colonies did not owe their existence to the prowling of ambition after power, to the thirst of conquest, or the *auri sacra fames.* If the character of the subject gives value to the history, surely our early annals have a title to preeminence, especially in the eyes of those who love the cause of truth.

As this historical dignity belongs especially to the settlers of New England, so the records of that region are the most complete. And yet from various causes, there are chasms even there. Among these causes we are sorry to enumerate intolerance and bigotry. Those who were convicted of dissent from an inexorable standard, were not only disapproved, but thrust aside as unworthy of remembrance, or remembered only to be scoffed at and condemned. Those who know how the freedom of conscience was dispensed by the very men who fled to seek it from a garden to a wilderness, will not wonder, that historical injustice should have befallen Roger Williams. The best thing said of him by Cotton Mather is, that he *may* have had the root of the matter in him. No early writer thought him worthy of a memorial, and the moderns have been baffled by the want of materials. We are glad, at length, to see his life in print, and glad to see it written by Professor Knowles. Not merely because a native of Rhode Island has anticipated Southey, who had formed the same design; nor merely on account of the biographer's ability and established reputation. We have still another reason. When the current of history and traditional opinion has set in favour of an individual; when the best construction has been uniformly put upon his questionable acts, and a full allowance of applause has been bestowed upon his real merits; truth often gains by the appearance of a writer, who inclines the other way; one who suspects where others praise, and condemns what others labour to palliate or excuse. Such a biographer may be unjust; but his want of charity corrects mistaken kindness; and between the hostile parties, public sentiment is settled on a reasonable basis. The same results must follow when the case is turned about, and when a man who has been vilified by a series of historians, falls at length into the hands of a partial friend. It may not be safe to go all lengths with such a friend, but it is surely wise to take advantage of his efforts to detect mistakes and falsehood. On this ground we are better pleased, that Roger Williams should be painted by a Rhode Island Baptist than by a Boston Unitarian, or an English Poet-Laureate.

In pursuance of a plan which we have heretofore adopted, we shall furnish our readers with a succinct biography of Williams. Our object is not to abridge the work before us; but so to present its striking points, that some may be induced to read it, and others comforted for the want of opportunity.

The known history of Roger Williams begins with his arrival in America. Tradition makes him to have been born in 1599, and educated at Oxford, under the patronage of Sir Edward Coke, whose attention he drew upon himself, when a boy, by taking notes of what he heard in church. According to the same doubtful authority, he commenced the study of law, but relinquished it for that of theology, took orders, and obtained a living. For these statements Mr. Knowles has found no satisfactory vouchers. We must be content to take them as matters of tradition, incapable of proof, but not improbable enough to be rejected as mere fables.

The well known causes which expelled so many good men from the English church and shores of England, in the reign of the first Stuarts', led also to the emigration of Roger Williams, who embarked at Bristol with his wife, on the 1st of December, 1630. He arrived in the following February, and found the corner stone of the American church already laid.

The Plymouth Pilgrims, who arrived from England, December 11th, 1620, had belonged, in the mother country, to the strictest sect of Independents. Before they came to America, they had been settled in Holland, where they were organized as a church. In New England, this organization was of course received; but it deserves to be remembered, that in one point they were honourably distinguished from their brethren in the other primary settlements. We refer to the principle, which they adopted, that ecclesiastical censures are wholly spiritual, and not to be enforced by civil penalties.

The settlers of Salem and Boston, who came over eight years later, professed to be members of the church of England, though they solemnly abjured its alleged corruptions. On leaving England, they expressed their sorrow on account of this compulsory secession from the mother church, and their ardent wishes for its thorough reformation. This class of emigrants had higher notions of ecclesiastical authority, and indeed, proceeded on the principle, that the state is but a handmaid to the church.

Salem was settled in September, 1628; and on the 6th of August, 1629, thirty persons entered into solemn covenant, as a Christian church. Mr. Skelton was ordained *Pastor*, and Mr. Higginson, *Teacher*, the two officers being regarded as dis-

tinct, but equally essential. They were inducted into office by a vote of the church, and by imposition of the hands of a ruling elder, as the organ of the church. Several of the settlers were dissatisfied with the rejection of the liturgy, and formed a society in which the prayers were read. This schism was healed, in a summary way, by sending the schismatics back to England.

Winthrop, the first Governor of Massachusetts Bay, removed the seat of government from Salem to Charlestown, where a church was formed July 30th, 1630. John Wilson was constituted Teacher, by imposition of hands, "but with this protestation by all," says Winthrop,* "that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, and not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce the ministry he received in England."

The system thus commenced, and afterwards completed under the influence of Cotton, coincided essentially with that of modern Congregationalism, but distinguished between pastors and teachers, and recognized ruling elders. The church was now made the model of the state. It was the obvious intention of the colonists to establish a theocracy. In May, 1631, it was enacted by the General Court, that no one should be admitted to the privileges of a freeman, unless he was a member of some church within the colony. At the same time, the law of Moses was adopted, as the basis of their civil code. Idolatry, blasphemy, man-stealing, adultery, and witchcraft, were made capital crimes; and every inhabitant was compelled to contribute to the support of religion.

Roger Williams, on his first arrival, refused to unite with the church of Boston, because, to use Winthrop's words, "they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England." He also declared his opinion, that the civil magistrate had no right to punish breaches of the first table, i. e. the first four commandments. Notwithstanding the position which he thus assumed, he was, within a few weeks, elected teacher of the church at Salem, in the place of Higginson, who had died some months before. This invitation was complied with, whereupon the court at Boston wrote to Endicott, at Salem, expressing their surprise at this precipitate election, and requesting a suspension of proceeding till a conference could be held. At the same time the law already mentioned was enacted, excluding such as were not members of a church, from civil privileges.

On the very day of these proceedings at Boston, the church in

* Journal, vol. i. p. 32.

Salem received Williams as their minister, and on the 18th of the ensuing month, (May 1631,) he took the usual oath, and was admitted as a freeman. The colonial authorities could not be expected to remain quiescent, and accordingly we find, that in the course of the summer, he was obliged to leave Salem and withdraw to Plymouth. Here he became assistant to Ralph Smith, the pastor, and for a time was much respected and esteemed. During his stay in Plymouth, he embraced the opportunity of frequent intercourse with the neighbouring Indians. It appears from a statement of his own, that he resided for a time among them, with a view to learn their language.

As might have been expected, the free expression of his singular opinions, with respect to church and state, gave offence at Plymouth. Some also began to apprehend that he would run a course of "rigid separation and anabaptistry," like that pursued by Smith, the *se-baptist* at Amsterdam, so called, because he baptized himself, for want of a suitable administrator. In this juncture, an invitation to resume his place at Salem was cheerfully accepted.

Soon after his return to Salem, his suspicious jealousy of all encroachment on religious liberty displayed itself in a way that must provoke a smile. The ministers of the colony were in the habit of meeting once a fortnight at each others houses, for the purpose of discussing some important question. In this excellent arrangement, Roger Williams and his colleague Skelton, detected the insidious germ—of what? Why, of a Presbytery! On this laughable whim Professor Knowles comments with the utmost gravity, and we may here take occasion to observe, that his decided partiality to Williams, while it has the good effects which we have already mentioned, sometimes exposes him to a little ridicule, by leading him to treat mere trifles with as much solemnity as great events. Another bad effect is, that the biography presents the aspect of a special plea. Little points which might be left untouched, without detracting in the least from Roger's reputation, are laboriously canvassed, and a world of pains taken to make out the case distinctly in his favour.

No sooner was the good man's dread of an inchoate Presbytery partially allayed, than he incurred the censure of the governor and council, in relation to a treatise which he had written at Plymouth, and in which they charged him with calling king James a liar and a blasphemer, on account of certain phrases used by his majesty in the colonial charter. The object of the treatise, which was never printed, seems to have been to show that no royal charter could entitle the settlers to the Indians' lands without their own consent. The principles avowed in it

were truly noble; yet we find him shortly after submitting very humbly to the censure of the government, and offering his book, or any part of it, to be burnt. This, as Mr. Knowles well says, shows that Williams was by no means so intractable and contumacious as some have represented him.

It is well known, that the controversy between Puritans and Prelatists, in England, turned very much upon the use of the surplice, the sign of the cross, and other Popish ceremonies. The repugnance to these relics of a corrupted church which the fathers of New England had been taught to feel before their emigration, was by no means laid aside on their arrival in America. Needless as it might well have been considered, Roger Williams preached at Salem against the use of all such rites as had ever been abused to idolatrous purposes. Such was the effect of his discourses upon Endicott, that he cut the cross from the military colours, an act as ridiculous as it was unlawful. Such rigour is almost as superstitious as the mummery which it labours to destroy.

In 1634, the magistrates hearing of "some episcopal and malignant practices against the country," prescribed an oath to be taken by the inhabitants, in order that such as refused it, might not be placed in any office of trust. This oath Roger Williams declined himself, and persuaded others to decline, on the ground that an oath is a part of public worship, and therefore not to be imposed upon the unregenerate, thereby compelling them to take God's name in vain, no unconverted man being capable of a sincere oath. After some preliminary measures, he was summoned and appeared before the general court, July 5, 1635. There he was charged with propagating four pernicious doctrines. "1. That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace. 2. That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man. 3. That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, &c. 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meat."* These opinions were unanimously condemned as erroneous and dangerous, and the Salem church was censured for electing him to fill the place of Skelton. Time was allowed, both to the church and Williams, to consider the matter, with a requisition to "make satisfaction" at the next general court.

At this same court the men of Salem petitioned for some land in Marblehead Neck, which they claimed as belonging to their town. It was refused because they had chosen Roger Williams

* Winthrop's Journal, vol. 1. p. 162.

for their teacher! Hereupon the church at Salem wrote to the other churches, complaining of the wrong, and requesting them to reprove the magistrates and deputies, as individual church members, for the sin which they had committed. Endicott was imprisoned for justifying this letter, and not discharged till he acknowledged his error. In the meantime, Williams fell sick, and not being able to speak, wrote a letter to his church, declaring that he would not commune with them, unless they declined communion with the other churches.

In October he appeared again before the general court and justified both letters, as well as the four doctrines for which he was arraigned. Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but he was not convinced. He was therefore sentenced to leave the jurisdiction of the court within six weeks. One minister alone dissented from this judgment. The church at Salem disclaimed his errors and submitted to the magistrates. Many of the members, however, accompanied or followed him in his exile. He received permission to remain in Salem till the Spring, but as he could not refrain from uttering his sentiments in private, the court resolved to send him to England. When summoned to Boston for this purpose, he refused to come, and when orders were sent for his apprehension he had been gone three days.

Mr. Knowles very properly directs attention to the fact, that there is no indication of personal hostility in these proceedings. Williams was generally esteemed as a preacher and a man. The two leading men in the colony, Winthrop and Cotton, were on terms of friendship with him, and were ever after treated by him with profound respect. The judgment of the court appears to have proceeded from an honest belief that his opinions were pernicious, and a conscientious wish to save the people from corruption.

About the middle of January, 1636, Roger Williams left Salem in secrecy and haste, and went in the direction of Narraganset Bay. Thirty-five years afterwards he writes; "I was sorely tost for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean," adding, that he still felt the effects of these ancient hardships.

His first visit was to Ousamequin, the Sachem of Pokanoket, who resided at Mount Hope. From him he obtained a grant of land on the east bank of the Pawtucket (now the Seekonk) within the limits of the present town of Seekonk, Massachusetts. The place was within the Plymouth territory; but Williams acted on the principle for which he had contended, that the Indians alone were the rightful proprietors.

He had begun to build and plant at Seekonk, when he received

a kind and respectful letter from Winslow, Governor of Plymouth, reminding him of the unpleasant consequences likely to ensue from the position he had chosen, and advising him to remove to the other side of the water, in which case, he assured him, they would be loving neighbours.

With this timely counsel Williams at once complied, embarked in a canoe, accompanied by William Hams, John Smith, Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell, and Francis Wickes. They ascended the river on the west side of the peninsula, to a spot near the mouth of the Moshassuek. To the settlement here founded, Williams, "in grateful remembrance of God's merciful providence to him in his distress," gave the name of *Providence*.

It is probable that this event occurred in June 1636, the same month in which Hartford was founded by a colony from Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Roger Williams' first design was, to go alone among the Indians, learn their language, and labour for their good; in other words, to be a solitary missionary. From this plan he was diverted by the straits to which some of his acquaintance were reduced by the same causes that made him an exile. He therefore resolved to form a settlement which should be an asylum for the victims of intolerance. The negotiations with the native chiefs, however, were in his name and at his expense. The lands were granted to himself exclusively, and on the express ground of personal regard and gratitude to him. While at Salem and Plymouth he had treated with the Narraganset Indians, as if in anticipation of his banishment, and had won their favour by his kindness to Indian visiters and his frequent gifts. Without these preparatory measures, it is highly probable, that no white settlers would have been admitted into Narraganset Bay.

From these facts it is very clear, that Roger had it in his power to become a great proprietor. Nay, he was a great proprietor, owner of Rhode Island, by general grant and particular purchase. Had he retained this great domain as his personal property, and instituted an aristocracy, he could hardly have been blamed. That he did not, is a signal instance of generosity, public spirit, and genuine republicanism. By a deed, bearing date, October 8, 1638, he conveyed to the twelve, who had joined him in his settlement, a perfect equality of right, retaining for himself a simple share as one of the community. The only equivalent that he was to receive for this large cession, was the sum of thirty shillings from each person who should subsequently join the little commonwealth; from the original grantees he exacted nothing. This consistent and disinterested adherence, in a time of prosperity, to the liberal princi-

ples maintained in adverse circumstances, is perhaps unparalleled, and deserves all praise.

In this division of the land, Williams retained two fields, or farms, called Whatcheer and Saxifrax Hill, for which, though included in the Sachem's grant, he made private satisfaction to the natives whom he displaced. These lands he cultivated by his own labour, to obtain subsistence, as his means were now exhausted by the expenses of removal and settlement, and his dealings with the Indians. Such was his necessity, that he records with thankfulness the donation of a piece of gold from "that great and pious soul," Winslow of Plymouth. In one of his published works he says that he was employed much, yet not exclusively, in spiritual labours; "but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread."

The little society composed of Roger Williams and his fellow settlers, was soon enlarged by emigrants from Massachusetts and from Europe. Among the latter was his brother Robert. Every inhabitant was required to subscribe a covenant, which we copy, as illustrative of Roger Williams' principles, ecclesiastical and political.

"We, whose names are here underwritten, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves, *in active or passive obedience*, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, *by the major consent* of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit unto the same, *only in civil things.*"

When the difficulties commenced between the Massachusetts colony and the Pequod Indians, Roger Williams gave a pleasing proof of his kindly feelings towards the government which had banished him, by interfering to prevent a league between the Pequods and the Narragansets. During the course of the ensuing war, he rendered other services of no small moment to the whites, especially as an interpreter and a negociator. In 1637 a settlement was formed on Rhode Island, properly so called. This event was occasioned by the proceeding in Massachusetts, with respect to the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson, who, after collecting a female congregation by her eloquence, was convicted of heresy by a Synod, and banished by the government. The excitement produced by this act was met by an order to disarm a number of the inhabitants, many of whom forsook the colony, and went to other settlements. A considerable number of them visited New Hampshire, but the rigour of the climate drove them further south. On their way to Long Island and Delaware Bay, they were kindly received by Roger Williams, who persua-

ded them to settle on Aquetneck, now Rhode Island. Through his intercession land was obtained, first by a grant from the Indian chiefs, and then by bargain with the actual occupants. The first settlement was Portsmouth, on the nothern part of the Island. The next was New Port, in the south-west corner. Both towns composed one colony, under a judge and three elders, on the Jewish model, afterwards called governor and assistants. One of the first assistants was the husband of Mrs. Hutchinson. That lady is not known to have created any disturbance in Rhode Island, a natural result of the religious freedom there enjoyed. After her husband's death she removed to the neighborhood of New York, where she was murdered by the Indians.

The misunderstanding that from time to time occurred between the Massachusetts government and the different tribes of Indians, gave a high value to Roger Williams' skill as an interpreter, and his good offices as a days-man. Nevertheless, a law was passed in 1637, virtually excluding the inhabitants of Providence from the bounds of Massachusetts. The ground of this restriction was the apprehension of disorders from what were considered the lax principles of Williams and his party, with respect to civil government. Their only real laxity, however, appears to have consisted in the total separation of ecclesiastical and civil power, in their social system.

Providence Williams, Roger's eldest son, is said to have been the first white native of the settlement, from which he took his name. He was born in 1638, the same year in which Harvard College was organized, and New Haven founded.

One effect of the exclusion of the Providence people from the neighbouring colonies, was a scarcity of all those articles for which they were dependent on the mother country. Among the rest, paper was very scarce, so that the documents remaining of that period are written very closely upon scanty scraps. We need not wonder, therefore, at the meager stock of facts relating to the history of Williams. With respect to his ecclesiastical connexions, there is a great degree of doubt. He and his first companions in the settlement appear to have continued members of the church of Salem until 1639, when he was re-baptized by one Ezekiel Holliman, after which he baptized Holliman in turn, and ten besides. Upon this event, such of them as had been members of the church at Salem, were excommunicated. It is doubtful whether Williams was regarded as the pastor of this Baptist church, during the time of his connexion with it, which was only three or four months, at the end of which period he arrived at the conclusion that his baptism was not valid, that there was no true church on earth, nor any authorised ministry

or valid ordinances. The apostolic succession had been lost on the rise of Antichrist, and could not be restored until that enemy should be overthrown. This doctrine he appears to have derived from the Apocalypse, and he forthwith proceeded to reduce it to practice, by withdrawing from the church which he had just before established, and leaving those whom he had subjected to the vain repetition of a solemn ordinance, completely in the lurch. Professor Knowles has taken no small trouble to discuss the causes of these sudden whimsies. We honour his motives and forensic skill, but we are much afraid that weakness of judgment and a restless disposition, had an undue share in actuating Roger Williams' movements. We are very far from saying this because he became a Baptist. Had he continued one, we should have honoured him, if not for his theology, at least for his uprightness. But the ludicrous velocity with which he left a church of his own formation, and the extraordinary reasons which he offered for his conduct, are to us unambiguous symptoms both of weakness and caprice.

For several years we know scarcely any thing of Williams or his colony, except that he continued, in cases of necessity, to mediate between the whites and Indians; and that his settlement was much disturbed by the proceedings of Samuel Goiton, who was banished first from Massachusetts, then from Newport, and having formed a settlement within the bounds of Roger Williams' purchase, engaged in a quarrel with some previous settlers, which terminated in bloodshed. He afterwards removed to the Indian territory, where he was apprehended, taken to Boston, tried for his life, and acquitted. He then went to England and obtained a sort of charter for his settlement at Shawamet, forbidding the interference of the Massachusetts government. During these commotions, Massachusetts undertook to extend her authority to Providence and Rhode Island, on the ground of a submission to her government by a small number of the colonists. This claim was of course resisted.

The year 1643 is memorable in the history of New England, as the date of the first colonial confederacy. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven, were the contracting parties. Two things about this covenant deserve attention. One is the solemn avowal, so unlike the style of modern constitutions and official acts, that the design of the colonies in their first formation, as well as of the proposed confederation, was "to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in peace." The other circumstance is the exclusion of the Rhode Island settlements. The reason given for this uncharitable act, was that they had no charter, and

consequently could not be recognised as a body politic. When this difficulty was removed, however, the exclusion still continued, and indeed there can be no doubt, that it arose from a strong disapprobation of the principles avowed by Roger Williams, and adopted in his settlements.

Before this event took place, the people of Providence and Newport had come to the conclusion, that a regard to their own prosperity required a union of the settlements, and the erection of a regular colonial government. With this view Roger Williams was commissioned as a deputy to England. He wished to embark at Boston, but the old restrictions still remained in force, and he was still an exile. He went therefore to Manhattoes, now New York, and sailed from that port in the month of June, 1643.

Before his embarkation he had an opportunity of exerting his influence with the native tribes of those parts, in favour of the whites. This was an office which he had for years discharged, even in behalf of those by whom he was proscribed. Nor can it be denied that his forbearance and benevolence are conspicuously visible in the favours thus conferred upon the very government which forbade him and his fellows to purchase the means of self-defence within their limits. Happily, Roger was on such terms with the natives, as enabled him not only to dispense with arms himself, but also to protect his uncharitable neighbours.

Roger Williams says in one of his books, that "a grain of time's inestimable sand is worth a golden mountain." On this principle he appears to have acted, during his voyage to England. He relieved the tedium of the passage by composing his *Key to the Indian Languages*, which was printed soon after his arrival, and attracted much attention.

He reached England at a time when the eventful conflict between king and parliament was as yet a doubtful one. About the time of his arrival, Robert, Earl of Warwick, was appointed Governor in Chief of the American colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commoners. From these commissioners, Williams, by the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, obtained a charter granting ample powers for the erection of an independent government, to the inhabitants of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, under the name of *The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narraganset Bay in New England.* A copy of this charter is given by Professor Knowles in his appendix. It bears date March 19, 1644.

Before he left England, he prepared and published his cele-

brated *Bloody Tenet*,* containing a defence of religious liberty, in answer to a letter by John Cotton, of Boston. Cotton replied in his *Bloody Tenet washed and made white in the Blood of the Lamb*, to which Williams, at a later date, rejoined, in his *Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it white.* In the first of these publications Roger Williams clearly disavows the contempt of civil authority which had been charged upon him.

He landed at Boston, September 17, 1644, emboldened to this step by a letter from several noblemen and members of parliament, exhorting the Massachusetts colonists to receive him as a friend. This letter enabled him to proceed unmolested to Providence, but produced no relaxation of the Massachusetts rigour. Their dread of his loose principles was much enhanced by the growth of *Anabaptistry* even among themselves. This alarming symptom led to an enactment, that whoever should openly or secretly condemn infant baptism, or endeavour to draw others from the practice, should be banished. As Roger Williams was the founder of this dreaded sect in America, they had reason to regard him with distrust, a feeling not abated by the great increase of influence conferred upon him by the ample charter which he brought from England.

At Providence, he was joyfully and honourably welcomed, and began at once to prepare for the erection of a colonial government. This, however, proved no easy task, and he found that time was requisite to bring the three incorporated settlements into unanimity.

Scarcely had he returned before he had occasion again to interpose between the Indians and the whites. The other governments appear to have felt no scruples in demanding his assistance, and he as little in complying with their call. Another general war was soon thus suppressed by Roger's intervention, a circumstance which does him no small honour.

In 1646, or thereabouts, the settlements agreed upon a form of government. The legislative power was vested in an assembly of six representatives; the executive in a president and four assistants for the four incorporated settlements of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick. The first assembly, under this constitution, met at Portsmouth, May 19, 1647. Williams was certainly entitled to expect the highest station in

* "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience, discussed in a conference between Truth and Peace, who in all tender affection present to the High Court of Parliament, as the result of their discourse, these amongst other passages of highest consideration."

the colony, which owed its first existence and its civil rights to him. The office of president, however, was bestowed, first upon Coggshall, and then upon Coddington. The rank assigned to Williams, was that of assistant, or magistrate, for Providence.

The infant colony was soon threatened with division, the inhabitants of Portsmouth being anxious to obtain admission into the general New England league, which the confederates refused, unless they would subject themselves to the government of Plymouth. About the same time Connecticut laid claim to a portion of the territory included in Williams' grant. These political difficulties seem to have given Roger some uneasiness, though he still looked at all things in a religious light, and trusted steadfastly in an overruling Providence.

We must not omit to mention, that the colonial constitution, in the formation of which Roger Williams took the lead, contained a most explicit recognition of the principle for which he had suffered and contended. It is thus expressed: "Otherwise than thus, what is herein forbidden, [referring to mere civil and municipal restrictions] all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the lambs of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation, in the name of Jehovah their God forever and ever."

Mr. Knowles has enriched his volume with a series of letters never before published, from Roger Williams to John Winthrop, of Connecticut, son to the governor of Massachusetts, and a highly educated and accomplished man.* Williams became acquainted with him in England, and there seems to have been a mutual affection. The letters are highly characteristic, and extremely curious, displaying, in addition to the religious tone and pervading quaintness of the Puritan style, several qualities peculiar to himself, especially an odd sort of awkward formality which cannot be described. To those who do not read the book itself we should be glad to furnish samples of this correspondence. We have space, however, for no more than one, and that the first and shortest of the series. It is not so strongly marked as several others, but its brevity entitles it to preference.

"*Narraganset*, 22, 4, 45 (so called.†)

"Sir—Best salutations, &c. William Cheesebrough, now come in, shall be readily assisted for yours and his own sake. Major Browne is come in. I have, by Providence, seen divers papers (returning now yours thankfully) which are snatched from me

* See his life in Allen's Biographical Dictionary.
† i. e. June 22, 1645.

again. I have, therefore, been bold to send you the Medulla and Magnalia Dei. Pardon me if I request you, in my name, to transfer the paper to Captain Mason, who saith he loves me. God is love; in him only I desire to be yours ever.

"Roger Williams.

"Loving salutes to your dearest, and kind sister. I have been very sick of cold and fever, but God hath been gracious to me. I am not yet resolved of a course for my daughter. If your powder, with directions, might be sent without trouble, I should first wait upon God in that way; however, it is best to wait on him. If the ingredients be costly, I shall thankfully account. I have books that prescribe powders, &c. but yours is probatum in this country."

The superscription is, "For his honoured kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequod, these."

To this letter we cannot refrain from adding a single sentence, without comment. "My humble desire is to the most righteous and only wise judge, that the wood of Christ's gallows (as in Moses' act) may be cast into all your and our bitter waters, that they be sweet and wholesome obstructers of the fruits of sin, the sorrows of others abroad, (in our England's Aceldama) our own deservings to feel upon ourselves, bodies and souls, (wives and children also) not by barbarians, but devils, and that eternally, sorrows inexpressible, inconceivable, and yet, if Christ's religion be true, unavoidable, but by the blood of a Saviour."

Coddington, the chief man of the Rhode Island settlements, having failed in his attempt to detach the Island from Providence and unite it to Plymouth, went to England in 1648, to obtain a separate charter. Besides a difference of sentiment on this point, he and Williams were of adverse parties as to English politics, Coddington leaning towards the king, and Williams towards the parliament. In consequence of this man's absence, Roger Williams was elected temporary president. He appears however, to have been wholly unambitious, with respect to office, so that when the place was permanently filled by a Mr. Smith, he writes to Mr. Winthrop; "This last choice at Warwick (according to my soul's wish and endeavour) hath given me rest."

About this time a law was passed in Providence plantations, forbidding the sale of "wines and strong waters" to the natives, except in cases of necessity, which were left to the discretion of Roger Williams.

It is interesting to look back at remote events and see how they affected men of other generations. History, in its regular

systematic form, presents us for the most part with occurrences, carefully purged from every tincture of contemporary feeling. This may be necessary to historical truth, and yet the quality purged out is just the thing which gives to history its charm. It is on this account that narratives written at the time of the events, however imperfect or erroneous, are always more attractive than the finest histories composed in a later age. These reflections are suggested by one of Williams' letters, in which he mentions that momentous incident in English history, the death of Charles the First. Writing to Winthrop, of Connecticut, he says: "Sir, tidings are high from England. Many ships from many parts say, and a Bristol ship, come to the Isle of Shoals within a few days, confirms, that the king and many great lords and parliament men are beheaded. London was shut up on the day of execution, not a door to be opened. The states of Holland and the Prince of Orange (forced by them) consented to proceedings. It is said Mr. Peters preached (after the fashion of England) the funeral sermon to the king, after sentence, out of the terrible denunciation to the king of Babylon, Esai. 14: 18, &c."*

We are pleased with Mr. Knowles's passing observation on this great event, which is, that all who are not advocates of arbitrary power, must admit that Charles had forfeited his crown, and that all who do not silence the emotions of their hearts by political prejudice, must admit that he ought not to have been put to death.

In this part of his history, Mr. Knowles gives some lamentable specimens of the spirit which prevailed in New England, with respect to toleration. We refer particularly to the case of Clarke and Holmes, Baptist preachers, who were sent by the Baptist church in Plymouth, to visit an old man of that persuasion in the neighbourhood of Boston. Here Mr. Clarke preached on the Sabbath to a private circle in the baptist's house. In the midst of his discourse he was interrupted by two constables, carried to the meeting house, till after public service, and on the morrow he and Holmes were sentenced to be whipped or pay a fine. Clarke's fine was paid without his knowledge. Holmes received thirty stripes, inflicted so severely, that for some

* Cruel as this ceremony seems to us to have been, no one can help admiring the awful appropriateness of the text selected, "all the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in his own house. But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch, and as the raiment of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword, that go down to the stones of the pit, as a carcase trodden under feet. Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people. The seed of evil doers shall never be renowned."

time he was unable to lie down. He was afterwards pastor of the Baptist church at Newport, as successor to Clarke. Well might Saltonstall, then in England, write to Cotton; "these rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints."

In 1651, Coddington returned from England with a separate charter for the islands of Rhode Island and Connecticut, signed by John Bradshaw, and creating Coddington perpetual governor. This division threatened the existing colony with instant ruin. A majority of the islanders themselves were opposed to the new charter, and very anxious to prevent its execution. Newport and Portsmouth appointed John Clarke their deputy to England, and Providence and Warwick* gave a similar appointment to Roger Williams. As he had never been remunerated for his former agency, he was obliged to sell his house at Narraganset, though something was raised by subscription in the colonies for his support. These proceedings troubled the united colonies. Massachusetts and Plymouth now fell out respecting Warwick, each laying claim to it in the division of the spoil.

It was in November 1651, that Clarke and Williams sailed for England. After some time, they procured an order from the council, vacating the charter given to Coddington, and confirming that of Williams. This decision was sent home by another agent, while Clarke and Williams both remained in England. There the former published, "Ill news from New England, or a Narrative of New England's Persecutions; wherein it is declared, that while Old England is becoming new, New England is becoming old; also four proposals to parliament, and four conclusions touching the faith and order of the Gospel of Christ, out of his last will and testament."

It was during this visit that Roger Williams published *The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody*, which we have already mentioned. He also took this opportunity to print two other essays, one called *The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's, or a Discourse on the Propagation of the Gospel of Christ;* the other, *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health, with their Preservatives.*

Much of his time appears to have been spent at the house of Sir Henry Vane, both in London and the country. It was chiefly through the influence of that celebrated personage that he secured the leading object of his mission. This was not attained, however, until after long delays, which, together with an

* Warwick had been united with the other three settlements after the date of the charter.

"old law suit" that he mentions in his letters, detained him more than two years. During this period he engaged in teaching, as a means of subsistence. There is a sentence on this subject in one of his letters, which will interest the reader, on account of the great name which it mentions. "It pleased the Lord," says Roger, "to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practise the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The secretary of the council, (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages."

We were struck with the following sentence in relation to the state of public sentiment in England. We look at the great events of those days in the light of subsequent history. How different must have been the feelings of such as witnessed their occurrence, and could only guess at the catastrophe. "Praised be the Lord, we are preserved, the nation is preserved, the parliament sits, God's people are secure, too secure. A great opinion is, that the kingdom of Christ is risen, and the kingdoms of the earth are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ. Others have fear of the slaughter of the witnesses yet approaching." How different that ferment from the present one in England! That, in all its workings, still presented a religious surface. The excesses of that day were fanatical; those of our day atheistical. For even the Christians, who take part in the strife of politics, imbibe more of the unbeliever's spirit than they give him of their own.

The repeal of Coddington's charter was followed by new perplexities. The Islanders and Continentals could not act in unison. So disastrous were the consequences of these new divisions, that Williams returned home in the summer of 1654, bringing a letter from the protector's council, permitting him to land thereafter in the Massachusetts territories without molestation, and an epistle from Sir Henry Vane to the Rhode Island colonists, rebuking their dissensions. Through the influence of Williams, the conflicting settlements were restored to harmony, after which he was elected president of the united colony, Aug. 31, 1654.

Soon after these events the Rhode Island settlers had their principles brought to a decisive test by two occurrences. The first was the attack on civil government of every kind, made by one William Harris, who claimed liberty of conscience, as he called it, in promulging his seditious doctrines. The colonial government made a just distinction between freedom of opinion and licentiousness of action, and proceeded in the case in such a manner as to show, that while no one would be hindered in believing what he pleased, no one would be permitted to disturb society under the pretext of enjoying his natural liberty.

The same just principles were avowed and acted on, in a more serious emergency which shortly followed. The first emigration of Quakers to New England, was followed, as is well known, by a sanguinary law for their suppression in Massachusetts. The other colonies were called upon to join in this proscription. But Providence Plantations, while they engaged to punish all breaches of the peace and all attacks upon the government, refused to sanction such proceedings against any sect, as such, or on the ground of its opinions. In this affair their views appear to have been truly enlightened, with respect not only to the moral principle, but to the question of practical expediency. In their letter to the Massachusetts government, they justly declare that toleration was the surest remedy for fanatical excess, appealing to their own towns, as an evidence, where the Quakers finding no opposition and little notice, either changed their demeanour, or removed to the other colonies, for the purpose of enjoying the agreeable excitement of persecution. The same lesson is taught by all experience. On the death of Oliver Cromwell, Roger Williams wrote to Winthrop, "It hath pleased the Lord to glad the Romish conclave with the departure of those two mighty bulwarks of the Protestants, Oliver and Gustavus." He appears to have entertained a high esteem for Cromwell, to whom he is said to have been distantly related. An address to Richard Cromwell was voted by the assembly of the colony, but never presented. On the 19th of October, 1660, Charles II. was proclaimed in Rhode Island.

Williams' personal relations to the other colonists were much perplexed by the very generosity with which he had conceded his possessions to their use. Through the influence of Harris, already mentioned, a new deed was procured from the Narraganset Sachems, enlarging the grant very much to the detriment of the natives, and declaring that the former deed was given to Roger Williams as the *agent* of the colonists. This attempt to rob him of the credit which he so well merited, seems to have less affected him than the injustice done to the poor Indians, who, as he asserts, assented to the instrument before they understood it.

From one of his letters written at this period, we must extract a sentence which is strongly indicative of a truly Christian spirit. "Sir," says he to Winthrop of Connecticut, "you were not long since the son of two noble fathers, Mr. John Winthrop, and Mr. H. Peters. It is said they are both extinguished. Surely I did ever from my soul honour and love them, even when their judgments led them to afflict me."

In July 1663, Mr. Clarke, the colonial agent in England,

obtained from Charles II. a new charter, which is still the constitution of the State. In their petition the colonists declared, that it was much on their hearts "to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most civil state may stand, and best be maintained with a full liberty in religious concernments." Agreeably to this desire, the charter contains this memorable provision: "No person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion, in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his own and their judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness or profaneness, nor to the civil injury and outward disturbance of others."

From the time when Roger Williams left the Baptist society which he had organised himself, he seems to have stood aloof from all ecclesiastical connexions, and to have died without renewing his communion with any visible church. It appears, however, that he continued, till the close of life, to preach occasionally at Providence, and monthly at Narraganset. He was the only Christian preacher whom the Indians of that region would consent to hear, and even his ministrations were attended in appearance by no spiritual blessing.

In his old age he was so unwise as to engage in a public controversy with the Quakers. The refusal of Rhode Island to persecute this sect, rendered it necessary in his opinion, to give some decisive proof that their tolerance did not arise from doctrinal agreement. Hearing, therefore, that George Fox was at Newport, he sent fourteen theses which he offered to defend in public. Fox left Newport for England without seeing the challenge, which was accepted, however, by three of his adherents. On the 9th of August 1672, Roger Williams rowed in a boat to Newport, thirty miles, a remarkable proof of his vivacity and vigour. The discussion was disorderly, and like every other of the kind, without effect, save that of exasperating enmity and confirming error. An account of this debate was published by Williams under the title of *George Fox digged out of his Burrows*, to which Fox and Burnyeat (one of the debaters) replied in the *New England Firebrand Quenched.*

Four years after this event, on the breaking out of the war with Philip, Williams received a commission, and appears upon

the records as Captain Roger Williams, at the age of seventy-seven.

With respect to the last years of his life we know very little, though there is reason to believe that he withdrew from public business, and ended his days in poverty. So scanty is our information as to this period, that the day, and even the month, of his departure are unknown. This much is certain, that he died before the tenth of May, 1683, and that "he was buried with all the solemnity the colony was able to show."

The last chapters of the work before us contain a review of Roger Williams' writings, which is very interesting and, to us, instructive, but incapable of abridgment or analysis.

A few words, at the close, are devoted to his character, which, as Mr. Knowles observes, was so transparent, that those who have traced his history have had ample means of forming their own judgment. The only point on which we feel at all disposed to question the biographer's correctness, is his estimate of Roger Williams' intellectual powers. We feel, however, that we have no right to draw conclusions, in relation to this matter, as the data are not fully before us. His works we have not read, and it is on them that Mr. Knowles' judgment rests. We must say, however, that the specimens afforded by the author of his life, are far from leaving the same impression on his mind and our own. We think too that there is some appearance of a disposition to take for granted, *ab initio*, that he must have been a genius, because he was a champion of religious liberty. We can easily believe that the great principle of freedom of conscience might take full possession of an inferior mind, and rouse it to consistent and effective action. This is in full accordance with the policy of Him who chooses the weak things of the world to confound the mighty. Still, however, we submit to Mr. Knowles' better judgment, and superior opportunities. It is only to an apparent assumption of the fact that these strictures are directed.

Of the execution of the work before us, we can speak in terms of the highest praise. It exhibits proof of an uncommon talent for historical research and composition. Instead of the vague, confused, inaccurate mode of statement, which disgraces too many American works of this class, and even renders them useless as historical authorities, Professor Knowles' volume is marked by scrupulous precision, even in the minutiae of mere dates, as well as by that perspicuous conciseness of expression, which is characteristic of the best historians. We were at first disposed to think that he went back too far, and was too elementary, in the historical sketches which are interspersed. But we

are now persuaded, that to many readers this very circumstance will make the book more useful and agreeable. We must not take our leave of it, without distinctly stating, that it is not so much an article of personal biography, as a contribution to the civil and church history of our country. As such we recommend it to our readers. We earnestly desire to see the history of America treated with skill, with taste, and in a Christian spirit. The concurrence of these qualities in the work before us, leads us to disregard theological partialities, and to urge Professor Knowles to give us more.

ART. IV.—*Cornelius Jansenius; and the Controversies on Grace, in the Roman Catholic Church.*

J. W. Alexander

THE limits of a periodical publication would necessarily exclude any thing like a complete history of the Jansenists and their opinions. No controversy among the many which have divided the self-styled Catholic church, has been more fruitful of elaborate treatises and stirring events. The mere citation of authorities which might be named would fill many pages, and the annals of the controversy, whether in its theological or its casuistical aspect, as many volumes. What then remains, but that we should bind ourselves down to a syllabus of the narrative, and a transient survey of the spirited encounter?

The question concerning predestination and grace, which was first brought out in its whole extent in the Pelagian controversy, was never wholly put at rest. Between the Thomists and Scotists, the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Reformers and Italian Papists, the Jansenists and Molinists, and finally the Calvinists and Arminians—the ball of polemic contest has been kept in active motion, until the very moment when we write. Infallible pontiffs failed to settle it. Decrees of silence, sanctioned by sword and fagot, could not suppress it. And the utmost endeavours of packed Councils, representing or embodying the learning, craft, and power of the Roman communion, secured nothing more than violent opposition or sullen compliance. The reason is plain. It is a question which, in its rudiments, suggests itself to every deep thinker, be he Pagan, Mohammedan, or Infidel; a question which the Bible determines in one way, and the modern Catholic church in another way. The decisions of the Council of Trent, as uttered in the cate-

chism framed in the name of that synod by order of Pius V., was meant to ensure uniformity of faith, upon this, as well as on other points. No one who has meditated on the operation of arbitrary injunctions will wonder that the result was an increased agitation. The disputes took a new form, the line of division was changed, but the chasm remained the same. And of all the battles which were waged, perhaps there is none more interesting to the theologian than the Jansenian controversy.

It was not until a thousand years after the time of Augustin that the prevailing party of the Romish church deemed it necessary to proclaim its departure from his tenets. During all this period, however, a retrocession towards semi-pelagian opinions had been taking place. It was but in name that this great father was theologically revered. Yet beyond the scholastic ranks of the Scotists there were not many who openly assailed the doctrines of grace; and the influential disciples of Aquinas, the angelical doctor, rallied around the ensign of Augustin. When the Reformation began to shake all the spiritual powers, a new aspect of polemics showed itself. The Reformers stood upon the highest ground of Augustinian doctrine. This was their very fortress. There are indeed those, especially among the Lutherans and Arminians, who are hardy enough to deny that this was the fact. All documentary testimony is against them, as well as the concessions of their own party. The proof would be easy, but we content ourselves with a single quotation from a living divine of the Lutheran church. Guerike says of Luther: "The idea which gave soul to his religious life, as well as agreed with his experience, was that the sinner is justified throughout (and so sanctified) independently of all merit and worthiness of his own, by the free grace of God, for Christ's sake, through the divine operation of faith; and conformably to this he had adopted, with the strength of a deep practical conviction, the doctrine of absolute Predestination."* This was common to Luther with his fellow-reformers; and this was also the very question between the two great parties of whom we write. Both, however, claimed Augustin, and, stranger still, both sought refuge in the decrees of Trent, which had been drawn up with oracular ambiguity; and in the *Profession of Faith*, which every clergyman was ordered to subscribe.† But the Reformation and the institution of the Jesuits changed the state of affairs. The Thomists and Dominicans were now in

* Guerike, Handbuch d. A. Kirchengesch. p. 673. ed. Halle. 1833.

† See Staeudlin, theol. Wissensch. p. 212. or the document itself in Pfaff. Intr. in. hist. theol. Tub. 1724. P. II. p. 59.

peril of being denominated Calvinists; and their number was lessened: the Pelagian and semi-pelagian hosts were strengthened by the accession of the whole body of Jesuits; and their forces were increased.*

In order to clear the way for introducing our principal subject, we must recal to the memory of the reader the names of one or two theologians, which have marked epochs, and especially those of Baius and Molina.

Michael Baius, or de Bay, died in 1589, aged about seventy-six years. He was a doctor of Louvain, where he also held the dignity of Chancellor and Inquisitor. His controversy with the Franciscans arose from his attempt to bring the age back to the doctrines and the piety of primitive times, and to oppose the encroachments of semi-pelagianism.† The Franciscans picked out of his lectures seventy-six propositions, which they sent to Rome, and Pius V. at the instigation of the Jesuits, issued a Bull, in 1567, in which, without naming the author, he condemned the alleged tenets, and forbade all further discussion of the subject.‡ In a certain sense, said the Pope, words might indeed be received, but in *what* sense (out of regard for Augustin and Thomas) the holy father did not define. Through this loop-hole Baius very naturally crept out; but in 1569 he was forced to abjure his errors, and in 1579 Gregory XIII. confirmed the decision of his predecessor by a more decisive Bull. The whole list of propositions is extant in Leydecker. They evince the attachment of their author to the Pauline doctrines. Baius was celebrated as a man of learning, a devout, zealous, self-renouncing Christian, and a successful opposer of dialectic intricacies. He escaped excommunication, first by the cautious policy of Rome, and finally by his unhappy submission. In connexion with him is usually named John of Louvain, or Hessels.§

The theological faculty of Louvain, in the Netherlands, was at this era highly renowned. These doctors in 1587 censured,

* A. Turretine Ecc. Hist. Cen. xvi. § 11. Mosh. l. iv. Cent. 6. sec. 3. p. 1. c. 1. §§ 34. 40. sqq.

† For the assistance of the memory, take the following list of Popes, with the year of their decease:—Leo X. 1521. Adrian VI. 1523. Clement VII. 1534. Paul III. 1549. Julius III. 1555. Marcellus II. 1555. Paul IV. 1559. Pius IV. 1566. Pius V. 1572. Gregory XIII. 1585. Sixtus V. 1590. Urban VII. 1590. Gregory XIV. 1591. Innocent IX. 1592. Clement VIII. 1605. Leo XI. 1605. Paul V. 1621. Gregory XV. 1623. Urban VIII. 1644.

‡ Leydecker, p. 45. Guerike, p. 775.

§ Bayle's dict. art. Baius. Mosheim, cent. 16. § 3. p. 1. Leydeck. p. 295. Guerike, 774. Dupin. Bibl. xvi. p. 144. In which works see other and copious references.

as semi-pelagian, thirty-four propositions from the lectures of two noted men among themselves, the Jesuits Leonard Lessius and John Hamel. Thus the eontroversy broke out afresh; but with still more animation in the next year, when a work of the famous Jesuit Molina appeared.* This man was a Portuguese, who died 1600, aged sixty years. He attempted—futile, though oft-repeated task!—to harmonize semi-pelagianism with the scheme of Augustin; but in such sort as to teach that, while man attains salvation by the mere grace of God, and while this grace is obtained only through Christ's merits, nevertheless every man enjoys the gift, who does his part in employing the yet remaining powers of free will; and consequently that the cause of one man's salvation and another man's ruin, is found in the self-determination of each. Molina was at once attacked by the Dominicans, and even the Jesuits are said at first to have opposed his book. Both sides sent delegates to Rome, and Clement VIII. in 1597 instituted a speeial investigation, known as the *Congregatio de auxiliis*, or Congregation on the Aids of Grace. All Romish Christendom was on the tiptoe of expectation for nine years. In 1607 Paul V. sent the delegates home, assuring them, by way of placebo, that he would publish his decision at a more convenient season: the issue was, that in 1611 he enjoined on the disputants absolute silence.† These statements bring us down to the time when the Jansenian rupture took its origin, and allow us to recur to the biography of Jansenius himself.

It is important to distinguish this great man from another of the same name, a bishop of Ghent, very eminent in his time, and who died at an advanced age in 1576. Cornelius Jansenius, of whom we write, was born in the village of Accoy, of Leerdam, in Holland, in the year 1585. After the custom of the day he was ealled Jansen, from the Christian name of his father Jan Otthe. The precocity of his boyhood led his parents to set him apart for the ehureh, in pursuance of which destination he studied first at home, and afterwards at the college of Utrecht, already celebrated as the nursery of Adrian VI. and of Erasmus. Having excelled in these schools, he repaired to Louvain, when about 17 years old, and at this celebrated university was aided from the purse of a young townsmen and fellow student, Otho Zilius, who afterwards became a Jesuit. The 'Society of Jesus' enjoyed at this time a just reputation for learning, and with some

* Liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis, divina praescientia, providentia, praedestinatione, et reprobatione, concordia.

† Aug. le Blanc. Hist. Congr. de Auxiliis. Antv. 1709. fol. See abundant authorities in Dr. Murdock's Mosheim, Vol. III. pp. 120—130.

of its accomplished members Jansenius cultivated such a familiarity as to imbibe for a season their opinions on liberty and grace. But he became weary of Jesuitical instruction, and transferred his connexion to the college of Adrian VI. in which there were charitable foundations for poor scholars, and where he had access to Jacobus Jansonius, of Amsterdam, a professor remarkable for piety and science, an admirer of Augustin, and an avowed defender of Baius. In consequence of this connexion he learned more fully the true character of the semi-pelagian party. The latter assert that Jansenius left the Jesuits' college, because he was found too frail in body for their purposes. In 1604, he had made such proficiency, that he was ranked first in the philosophical schools. Such, however, was the opposition to this award, that a tumultuous mob, scarcely dispersed by archducal authority, was the result.

Continued study, chiefly of a theological kind, so impaired Jansen's health, as to render necessary a journey to Bayonne; an event highly remarkable as having given rise to his intimacy with his faithful coadjutor Jean du Verger de Hauranne. This man, better known as the Abbot St. Cyran, was a native of Bayonne, where he inherited a large estate. He studied theology at Paris and Louvain, and here, like Jansenius, he first addicted himself to the Jesuits, and under their guidance made himself familiar with the classics, but afterwards, though with great struggles, extricated himself from their toils, rejected their flatteries, and at the instance of J. Jansonius set himself in decided opposition to their corrupt tenets. It is not surprising that Jansenius and St. Cyran should at once coalesce, or that the Jesuits should consider Verger as the founder of Jansenism.* Having on his way to Bayonne made the acquaintance of Guibert, Gibieuf, and other fathers of the Oratory, he was the more ready to unite in the sacred conflict with the followers of Loyola. In the vicinity of Bayonne, at a village called Champrè, these two enthusiastic students of Augustin sat down to enjoy their favorite author. So assiduously were they employed, that Madame Hauranne used to say to her son, that he 'would kill that honest Fleming by making him study so hard.' After about two years thus spent, St. Cyran was made a canon of the cathedral, and Jansenius moderator of the college at Bayonne. Here, say the Jesuits, were concocted between them the offensive doctrines afterwards broached by Arnauld, in his book on Frequent Communion. Verger was about this time made abbot of the Benedictine monastery at St. Cyran, and Jansenius, on the ac-

* Gautrichius, Hist. Sacr. p. 325.

cession of a new bishop to the see of Bayonne, found it expedient, after an absence of almost ten years, to return to Louvain, again to wage war with his old adversaries.

It was not long before he was appointed president of a college recently purchased and dedicated to a certain St. Pulcheria. But the cares of academic discipline did not comport with his urgent desire of usefulness and learning. He therefore both relinquished this post and declined the offer of the philosophical chair; viewing the scholastic finesse with abhorrence, and, perhaps too hastily, denouncing the Stagirite as the patriarch of Pelagianism; while at the same time he was deeply versed in the subtilties which he repudiated.* In 1619 he was graduated doctor of theology, a title not then bestowed without a fair scrutiny of desert. His enemies have tried to prove that he and St. Cyran were about this time engaged in framing a plot for abolishing the regular clergy, reforming the church, and indeed introducing deism into the communion of Rome :† and this they pretend to corroborate by the fact that Jansenius refused to write against the Archbishop of Spalato. This man, whose name was Antonius de Dominis, was one of the most notable personages of the age. Having been fourteen years a Roman Catholic prelate in Dalmatia, he left all his former connexions in the church, avowing his abhorrence of popish enormities, but secretly actuated by a personal grudge against the pontiff, and came into England in 1616. After being welcomed with the richest favours, he was by the king made dean of Windsor, and master of the Savoy Hospital. In his character of Protestant he wrote a number of pungent works against Romanism. Avaricious, hypocritical, and otherwise odious as he proved to be, he could nevertheless, when a purpose was to be served, make some astounding disclosures concerning his former associates. The mask however fell off, or rather was torn off by Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who, while the Dean was seeking English preferment, cajoled him with offers of reconciliation with the Pope. This reconciliation was actually effected, Spalato was caught in his own toils, was banished, carried back to Rome, and suffered to die in contempt; for, says Fuller, "such a crooked stick, which had bowed all ways, was adjudged unfit to make a beam or rafter, either in Popish or Protestant church." It is worthy of note, "that Spalato (Fuller goes on to say) was the first, who, professing himself a Protestant,

* For a condensed history of the scholastic tendency to Pelagianism, see Twesten's Dogmatik, vol. 1. p. 100. ff.

† "Pour ruiner le mystere de l'Incarnation, faire passer l'Evangile pour une histoire apocriphe, exterminer la religion Chrétienne, et élever le Déisme sur les ruines du Christianisme." Pascal Prov. Lett. 16.

used the word PURITAN to signify the defenders of matters *doctrinal* in the English church: formerly the word was only taken to denote such as dissented from the hierarchy in discipline and church government, which was now extended to brand such as were anti-arminians in their judgments."*

In the year 1630 Jansenius was ordered by the king of Spain to read lectures upon the Holy Scriptures, in pursuance of which he expounded the books of Deuteronomy, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Zephaniah. Parts of these commentaries are extant. The Hebrew language is said to have engaged much of his attention during these researches. But next after the word of God he delighted to place the writings of Augustin, and used to say to his acquaintances "that he had, with the greatest attention, perused the whole works of this father ten times, making careful annotations; and had moreover read his treatises against the Pelagians thirty times from beginning to end: also, (so the editors of his celebrated work go on to say) we have more than once heard him say, that he should deem it the most pleasant life, to be shut out in some isle or crag of the ocean from all human converse, with Augustine as his sole companion."† What his admirers add concerning the aid of his tetulary saint, we omit as superstitious and idle.

The character of Jansenius as given by his friends is truly admirable and lovely. To an acute understanding, sound judgment and tenacious memory, he joined frankness, generosity, diligence and devotion. He is represented as liberal to the distressed, temperate even to austerity in his enjoyments, and accustomed through life to spend a morning and an evening hour daily in the abstraction of religious contemplation. A spark of irascibility is named among his faults; it was lively but transient. Perhaps to moderate this, he was slow to speak, even beyond the wishes of his friends. We may add that when he found it lie in his course against Protestants, this temper became more than a scintillation. It is a delightful trait of his mental habit, that the love of truth—a phrase how sadly prostituted!—seems to have ruled in his heart. When asked what attribute of deity he chiefly venerated, he answered, *truth;* his symbol was *In Veritate et Charitate.* And in the secluded paths of his garden, soliloquies were sometimes overheard, in which his reiterated ejaculation was, *O truth! O truth!* With such a mind, we do not wonder that he learned so much concerning the grace of God, while we lament that he had still so much to learn.

* Fuller's Ch. Hist. book X. § 6. ed. 1655. fol.

† J. G. Walch. Einl. in d. Religions-Streitigkeiten, P. II. p. 863. ff. Jena. 1734.

We are now prepared, by what has preceded of his history, to rank him as the chief theologian of Louvain, and the arch-enemy of the Jesuits. These fathers were bent upon monopolizing the philosophical chairs, and it was to thwart their schemes that Jansenius travelled twice to the Spanish court as an academical legate. After having been long debarred by papal authority, the Jesuits obtained in 1624, permission to teach philosophy. The embassy of Jansenius procured a royal prohibition, and after his second mission in 1626, the Loyolists were not allowed to profess any thing but theology. It is the less wonderful that they should have endeavoured to blacken the memory of one who was, as long as he lived, a thorn in their sides, and who being dead yet speaketh their refutation. Among other falsehoods, of which the exposure may be seen in Bayle,* they gave out that he fled from Spain to escape an inquisitorial process for heresy.

In his great conflict he wisely determined to use the writings of Augustin as the chief weapon of defence, inasmuch as the authority of these was not impugned. To give a fair representation of these writings was the darling effort of his life, and though he did not drink the waters of this fountain in that purity with which Luther and Calvin enjoyed them, he imbibed as much as we can conceive to be compatible with adhesion to Rome. The tenets of Molina, as sustained by the whole order, were his abhorrence. That this estimation of Augustin's doctrines was not altogether peculiar, or wanting among other Papists, may be seen in the judgment of the famous Father Paul Sarpi, who says, in comparing the two schemes of the Dominicans and Franciscans: "The former opinion (namely that of the Dominicans) embracing a great mystery and secret, humbled the mind of man, and while it looked on the one hand at the deformity of sin, and on the other at the excellence of divine grace, caused it, utterly rejecting self-confidence, to be fixed in reliance on God. The latter opinion (that of the Franciscans) being more plausible, popular, spacious, and better fitted to raise the pride of the human mind, was for this very cause more agreeable to the brethren, who ever professed rather the art of preaching, than the accurate knowledge of theology. It also appeared more estimable to courtiers, as consentaneous with political designs."† In correspondence with this Jansenius was accustomed to trace all theological errors to an overweening dependance upon mere reason, and a neglect of the ultimate canon of faith. His language was, that Augustin could be understood not by masters

* Art. Jansenius, note E.
† Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. II. p. 187.

but scholars, and would certainly mislead such as came to his writings with a preconceived system; that all his tenets depended on a single principle, from which the whole doctrine of grace hung in linked argument.*

Every thing in the policy of the Romish see contributed to incite Jansenius to the great work of his life. So far as worldly wisdom was consulted, her oracles plainly counselled the popes to suppress all controversy on these vexed questions, as necessarily tending to reveal the variations of doctrine even among successive pontiffs and councils. Hence an awful silence reigned; and the populace listened in vain for any decisive utterance from the seat of infallible judgment. Between 1598 and 1605, Clement VIII. held no less than sixty-eight congregations to settle the differences between the Dominicans and the Jesuits. These taken collectively are the noted *Congregatio de Auxiliis*, of which numerous accounts have been given.† The dispute remained as before. Leo XI. died a few weeks after his accession. Paul V. held fourteen congregations, the beginning of which was in 1605. *Parturiunt montes;* the conclusion was that there should be no further discourse upon the subject. The judge of controversies *would* not, *dared* not, or *could* not, perform that very act of decision, which is, by Roman Catholics, held to be the grand safeguard of mother church, as contradistinguished from the ever-varying Protestants. Each party maintained that the judge was secretly of his side, and the dispute, maugre all bulls, waxed hotter and hotter. Urban VIII. reiterated, in 1625, the decree of Paul V., adding a prohibition of all books on the "Aids of Grace." The decree was regarded as a *brutum fulmen.* Books multiplied beyond all prior example, and there was scarcely a scholastic work issued in France, Belgium, Spain, or Germany, which did not treat of Free Will, Grace and Predestination.‡ In the meanwhile works were published on the part of Jesuits, intended to win the favour of the pontiff by exalting his power above that of all secular princes. The notorious work of Santarelli was one of these. But successive popes found it safer to make no decision than to publish that most uncatholic division of the church, which actually existed. The body was actually rent, and unity existed but in ritual and name. How different the state of the ancient church, when these identical errors (for Pelagius and Molina may be re-

* Jansen. Aug. Tom. III. lib. ii. c. 30. 31.

† Mosh. Cent. xvi. § 3. p. 1. c. 1. note *m.* Leydecker, l. i. c. xi

‡ See *le Clerc*, Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination, etc. also "Catechisme sur les Dissensions de l'Eglise, tom I. p. 207. Dictionaire des livres Jansenistes, tom. I. p. 120.

garded as symbolizing) were held up by ecclesiastical anathema to the abhorrence of all coming time! And even if we are reminded that the contrary tenets of Jansenius were condemned by Urban VIII. and Innocent X., what does this prove, but that the infallible oracle can contradict its own determinations? Such were the circumstances which wrought in the mind of Jansenius, Jansonius, and St. Cyran, the purpose of devoting their whole souls to the defence of truth.

An additional motive was derived from the current of events respecting the Jesuit Leonard Lessius, of Brabant, (1585—1600,) a Professor at Louvain,* who wrote theological and ethical works in defence of the Pelagian and Molinistic sytem. A word or two of these events will serve to bring up the thread of the history. When Baius, of whom above, had been condemned by the bulls of 1570, and 1580, his adversaries were emboldened to bring his name and his works very frequently before the religious world, deriving hence a new implement for awakening odium. The Louvain professors, and those who agreed with them, felt themselves aggrieved by this, no less as friends of truth, than as friends of Baius; and issued a number of polemic dissertations, in their character of a theological faculty. They animadverted upon thirty positions of Lessius, the sum of which is thus given by Leydecker: "God, after the foresight of original sin, wills to give Adam and his posterity aids and means sufficient for attaining eternal life. God enjoins on the sinner no impossibilities, and therefore gives them sufficient aid, that they may be converted. Augustin has incorrectly interpreted, 1 Timothy, ii. 4. 5. (*Who will have all men, &c.*) The concurrence of supernatural grace is like natural concurrence, a preparation to natural power. Efficacious grace, such as efficaciously to determine the will, is not required. Even the hardened and the unbelieving have aid from God sufficient for salvation. Absolutely predestinated works† of the righteous subvert liberty. The number of the predestinated is not certain from such a foreordination as would precede all prescience."

Such is a candid and very strong statement of the principles which on the one part were maintained by Lessius, Molina, and the Jesuits and Franciscans generally, and on the other part were denied by the faculty of Louvain, the most of the Dominicans and Thomists, and all the genuine Augustinians. The reader sees that, on which side soever truth lies, this is the old feud between Austin and Pelagius, revived between the Reform-

* Staeudlin, theol. Wissensch. 405. Leydeck. p. 44.
† Absoluta de voluntate preordinata, Leyd. p. 46.

ers and the dominant Romish party, carried on between the Synod of Dort and the Remonstrants, and after two centuries still existing between Calvinists and Arminians, and to a certain extent between some dissentient theologians who profess to hold our own standards. Hence the natural interest which we expect our readers to feel in the history of Jansenism, however remote from ordinary speculation may be the tract into which we have ventured to invite their thoughts. The censure of these tenets was sent to the pontiff, the archbishop of Mechlin, and the Universities of Paris and Douay. Its second edition appeared in 1641. In this the Jesuitical theology is shown to be the same with that of the Marseilles Pelagians. The censors say, that "it is adverse as well to Augustin as to Scripture," alleging the concurrence of the faculties of Cambray, Mechlin, and Douay; and they conclude with this temperate but earnest paragraph: "This opinion of the Jesuits darkens the goodness and enervates the justice of God; trifles with Scripture, wrests to illegitimate meanings the testimony of the fathers; flatters the corruption of human reason, subverts the basis of humility, and takes away the chief necessity of prayer; engenders reliance on one's own strength in the matter of salvation, giving the greater work to man, the lesser to God; subjects the grace of God to free will, making the former a handmaid of the latter; and in a word is not sufficiently distant from Pelagius."* After this testimony there was a lively exchange of controversial works, but of such a character, as it regards the Louvain faculty, that the latter fell under the imputation of having receded from their former ground; in opposition to which charge they published in 1613 an explicit avowal of their adhesion to every thing stated in the Censure just mentioned.

The coadjutors of Jansenius were able and numerous. Among them the most remarkable were Fromond, Conrius, the Paludani, Pontanus, Rampen, Schinkelius, Polletus, and Jansonius. Libertus Fromondus (Froidmond) was a professor at Louvain. It was he who assisted in editing the posthumous work of Jansen, entitled *Augustinus*. Though a zealous Romanist, he held orthodox opinions concerning the questions now in dispute. Jansonius, of whom we have said so much, declared of a book written by Conrius, "Your book, my son, comprises all the ten predicaments of Austin's doctrine; and for the truth of this doctrine I would shed my last drop of blood." To these names ought to be added those of the learned Peter Rosaeus, James

* See *The Early History of Pelagianism*, Biblical Repertory, New Series, Vol. II. p. 77.

Boonen, archbishop of Mechlin, and Henry Calenus, his metropolitan canon.

That Jansenius was all this time a good son of the church, he evinced by his dutiful contention with the Reformed. For when Bois-le-duc was taken by Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau, the supreme civil authorities declared by an edict, in 1629, that the doctrines of the Reformation should be freely dispensed to the inhabitants, and to undertake this labour of restitution, they summoned Gisbert Voetius, Godfrey Udemann, Henry Swalmius, and Samuel Everwinius. These eminent men published an "Apology against the Papists," in which they complained of the calumnies which were disseminated against the Protestant faith and order, asserted the true doctrine, and declared their readiness to maintain a system contained in the word of God, and sealed by the blood of so many martyrs, laying their very souls in pledge for the truth of the same.* To answer the apology of the Bois-le-duc ministry, Jansenius was ordered by the pope's nuncio to take the field. He obeyed: and the result was his *Alexipharmacum*, or *Formula Antiprovocatoria*, dated 1630. In this work, he forsakes his appeal to Scripture, as no longer available, and begins with the usual method of Romanists, and their imitators, to argue the doubtful matter of apostolical succession, the nullity of Protestant ministrations, the glory of "the church," and the danger of being left without its pale to uncovenanted mercy, if to mercy at all. He demands of the Reformed clergy the diploma of their authority, and ends by declaring their system to be not *apostolical* but *apostatical*.

This book was refuted by Voetius, in his *Notes* published the same year.† Jansenius replied in a treatise entitled the *Sponge*,‡ with which he sought to wipe away the Protestant aspersions. The book is acknowledged to have been learnedly and eloquently written, but it was triumphantly answered by Voetius in his celebrated *Desperata Causa Papatus*, Utrecht, 1635; to which Jansenius made no reply, but transferred this task to Fromond, whose essay, entitled *Crisis*, was met by Schoockius, Professor at Deventer and Groningen, in a work entitled, *Desperatissima Causa Papatus*, with which the series is commonly said to have terminated. It is lamentable to observe, that he who, with truth on his side, dared to come up so frankly and nobly "to the law and to the testimony," should have been

* Leyd. p. 59. Voet. Caus. desp. Papatus. in praef.
† V. Voetii Philonium Romanum Correctum.
‡ *Spongia notarum*, was the punning title.

constrained to defend the figments of Popery with weapons, which it is difficult not to believe that he despised in his heart. So did not Augustin, his great exemplar.* About the same period Jansenius had a contention with one Theodore Simonis, a doubting Romanist, afterwards a Protestant; against whom he is accused of having employed cruel and persecuting measures.†

Before we speak of Jansenius, as a Roman Catholic Bishop, it may be useful to state the political services for which he received the mitre. The bloody tyranny exercised by the Spanish viceroys upon their Belgian subjects is well known, and enters largely into the romance of history.‡ It is also one of the most noted events in the annals of freedom, that in 1581 was founded the *Republic of the United Netherlands.* The independent Belgians were of course treated as rebels by the Spaniards. And when the King of France entered into a treaty with the Hollanders, the Belgian Papists were filled with such indignation, that they took measures to have a book written against the French court. This book is the once famous *Mars Gallicus*, and the acknowledged author was our Jansenius. It was printed in 1635, and is so well characterized by Bayle, that we employ his words, as agreeing with all the other representations to which we have access: "It contains the most malicious outcries, against the continual services which France did to the Protestants of Holland and Germany, to the prejudice of the Catholic religion. The Hollanders are there called rebels, who enjoy a republican liberty by an infamous usurpation. They have answered that reproach a hundred times, and Mr. Leydecker has given it a solid confutation." And here we cannot but note the enslaving influence of his ecclesiastical and political connexions upon a native Hollander, in leading him to aim a dagger at the very liberties of his native country. Such is popery, such is despotic power!—"The Jesuits failed not to exasperate the court of France against the followers of Jansenius, as being a man who had defamed the nation, and their monarchs almost from the first to the last."‖ The King of Spain, grateful for this favour, bestowed upon Jansenius the bishopric of Ypres. He was consecrated by the archbishop of Mechlin, primate of Belgium, at Brussels, on the 28th day of October, 1636, being

* For Augustin's sentiments on this point we are referred to the following passages in his works: De Unitate Ecclesiae Cap. V. XV. XVI. de Utilitate Credendi c. III. de Doct. Christ. lib. II. c. g. de Baptism. lib. II. c. 36. Maximin. lib. III. c. 14.

† Bayle.—Leydecker.

‡ German literature has few more awakening narratives than Schiller's history of the religious troubles in the Netherlands.

‖ Bayle, art. Jans. note F. Leydecker l. ii. c. 1—6.

the birth-day of the new prelate. Here again we see how much credit is to be given to those controvertists, who, when pressed with the "variations of Romanism," would insist that Jansenists are not Catholics. For *Cansonius*, a Romish bishop, and secretary to the Holy Consistory at Rome, thus writes to St. Amour: "The bull of investiture was conceded on account of his choice erudition, and his threefold battle with the heretics, a battle of glorious issue, for the honour of the church and the truth of the faith."* Even the Jesuits, on this occasion joined in doing him honour, and we have before us a copy of the gratulatory verses offered by one of their number, upon the day of his introduction to the see.

During the brief term of his episcopate, the bishop of Ypres is said to have discharged with zeal and ability his appropriate functions. But his attention was chiefly concentrated upon the great exposition of Augustin's tenets, which he left at his death. For more than twenty years he had been engaged in writing this book. His adversaries relate that he secretly endeavoured to provide the requisite materials for printing it, under the conviction that, if his intentions should transpire, he would be prevented; and they add, that he personally obtained the censor's imprimatur, and engaged John Caramuel, a theologian, under an oath of secrecy, to ensure its publication. The Jesuits further allege certain passages, not extant in the printed copies, which were suppressed by the editors, as being unwarrantably strong in opposition to the pope's authority. We reserve the more minute account of this work for the sequel of our remarks, and proceed to speak of the author's death. After having been bishop for about eighteen months, he was suddenly attacked by a pestilential disorder, and in May 1638, departed this life in the fifty-third year of his age.

When he was sensible of the approach of death, he solemnly charged those about him to see that his *Augustinus* was published. Especially did he enjoin this upon Fromond and Calenus, and on his chaplain, Reginald Lamaeus. Then, with tears and sobs he made confession of his sins, and receiving the viaticum and unction from Lamaeus, breathed his last. His testament is worthy of attention, as showing his relation to the church of Rome. It is as follows :

"I, Cornelius, by the grace of God and of the Apostolical See, bishop of Ypres, of my free will, give and present all my writings explanatory of St. Augustin, to my chaplain Reginald Lamaeus ; partly because he has with great labour written or dictated them, partly because they cannot be corrected without the

* V. Journal de St. Amour. p. 327. Leydeck. p. 115.

original copy. Nevertheless I make the donation, with this understanding, that he confer with those learned men, the magnificent lord Libertus Fromond, and the Reverend lord Henry Calenus, canon of Mechlin, and take order concerning the publication with the utmost fidelity. For I know that the alteration of any thing will be made with difficulty. Yet if the Roman see shall choose anything to be altered, I am an obedient son, and to that church in which I have always lived, even unto this bed of death, I am obedient. Such is my last will. Given May the sixth, 1638."

Such was the dying testimony of this eminent man, such his subjugation even in death to the decree of a fellow-mortal, and such is the inevitable tendency of that arch-heresy which substitutes a human rule for the divine standard of faith.

In pursuance of his last will, the friends therein named addressed themselves to the publication of the book, which accordingly appeared in 1640, from the press of Zeger, a printer of Louvain, with the formal license of the emperor and the Spanish king, and the imprimatur of the censors. Great care was used to prevent suspicion, and the whole work was struck off before any inkling of the design had reached the Jesuits. Nor would they have learned anything before its publication, if some few sheets, spread out to dry, had not been carried abroad by the wind, so as to come to the eye of the archdeacon of Cambray. The attempts to arrest the edition were however too late, and it was but a short time before the *Augustinus* was in rapid, extensive, alarming circulation.

It was undoubtedly a stroke of theological finesse in the wily bishop to project such a treatise with such a title. For he left to his followers the opportunity of saying, that they intended no disputation, but a mere statement of Augustin's sentiments.* This is precisely the apology made by the bishop of Ghent, as it is also the excuse of the author. "For," says he, "if such were certainly the opinions of this doctor, (Austin) let *himself* answer for their truth of falsity; let the prudent judge which is in error, he or the schoolmen; and let the church, by the weight of that authority so often pledged for his doctrine, make the discrimination. For my part, I am resolved, even till my last breath, to follow the same guide of my sentiments which from infancy I

* Schroeckh, Th. xv. p. 165. See also, on the Jesuitical side, Petavii, de Pelag. et Semipelag. dogm. histor. Paris 1644. Antwerp 1700. Petavius disagrees with his brother Jesuit Bellarmin, so far as to admit that Pelagius allowed some kind of internal grace.

have followed, namely, the church of Rome, and the successor of the most blessed Peter in the Roman see."*

The book called Augustinus may be thus analyzed. The first volume gives a history of the Pelagian heresy. The opinions of the Pelagians are stated upon the following topics. Free Will and the original state of man. Book II., Original Sin, and the condition of infants. Book III., of Sin, and its power and principles. Book IV., Pelagianism viewed as *Heathenism*, since it holds out bare nature under the false name of grace; then as *Judaism*, from its method of treating the law. Book V., Pelagianism viewed as *Christianity*, so far as it confesses grace, election, calling and justification: the origin of the heresy, and the philosophy, talents, life, and frauds of its founder. Book VI., relates the subdivisions of the sect, the history of semi-pelagianism, and of Faustus and Cassianus. Book VII., the doctrines of Marseilles, and those called Predestinatiani.

The second volume begins with an account of their principles of theologizing, and a condemnation of their irreverent exaltation of reason in matters pertaining to God; hence are brought into review, the Scriptures, councils, fathers, and the great oracle of the church, in all which the author shows himself a thorough Papist. The character of Augustin is then set forth, his authority vindicated, and his system applauded. After this proem, a single book is taken up with the state of man in innocency and of angels; the strength of free will, the aids of grace then needful, immortality and the other endowments of this condition. Four books follow, on original sin, its propagation, its penalty, the strength of free-will after sin, works wrought before grace, and the seeming virtues of the Gentiles. Next comes the doctrine of the Pelagians concerning a state of pure nature, as to soul and body; which after Augustin he explains and condemns. This part of the volume has much discussion respecting natural ignorance, concupiscence (in the well known theological sense,†) the pains of the human body; in which he animadverts on the Pelagians, and such of the school-men as followed them.

In the third volume he discourses at length, in ten books on the *Grace of Christ the Saviour.* B. I. The nature and excellence of this grace. B. II. *Gratia Voluntatis*, considered in its mode of operation; where the grace of the first man is distinguished from the grace of the fallen man; it is maintained that this grace must be efficacious in order to every habit, and every act. B. III. is taken up in refuting the doctrine of "suffi-

* Oper. Tom. II. Lib. Proem. c. 29.

† Compare Romans vii. 7. 8, 13, 14; Galatians v. 16. James i. 15.

cient grace," as held by the Jesuits. B. IV. The essence of this grace of Christ. B. V. The effects of this grace; faith, love, &c. Books VI. and VII. of Free Will, (Liberum Arbitrium) its nature, necessity of will, indifference of will, &c. Book VIII. of the concord between efficacious grace and Free Will. Book IX. of the Predestination which is held to be free, gratuitous, and previous to foresight of all works. Book X. of the true idea of Reprobation. Hereupon follows an appendix, which draws a parallel between the tenets of the Marseilles errorists, and those of the Jesuits, and shows their agreement in the following points. 1. In the doctrine of predestination; 2. In opposing efficacious grace; 3. In the same conception of that grace which is acknowledged by both; 4. In the objections which they urge, and the steps by which each declined into error. Such is a skeleton of Augustinus.*

In order to give a more clear conception of the Jansenian system, it becomes necessary to add a brief notice of some tenets with greater particularity. The most satisfactory document of an authentic character is the *Catechism of Grace*, published in 1650, from which the following statement is extracted.†

Grace, according to the Jansenists, is twofold; that which is given through Christ's merits, and that which is not: the former to men, the latter to angels and our innocent progenitors. Both angels and the first man were created in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness; for God at the same time formed their nature and endowed it with grace. Nor could they be created in any other state, since nothing proceeds from the creating hand of God which is not in its right order, and the true order of a rational creature is, that he should go forth towards God as his centre and original. In this, it is evident the Jansenists aimed at the Pelagians and the Jesuits, who, like many in our own day, maintained that man was constituted in a perfect equilibrium between good and evil, without sin, but also without holiness.‡

The *Grace of Christ* is further defined as an internal grace, which occupies the heart, breaks it into tenderness, frees it from its chains, gives it the conquest over the passions, and heals its wounds; which moreover effects that it both wills and does what is good and pleasing to God; not merely giving us the ability, but by its triumphant power and assistance causing us to will. They add, that this grace is always efficacious, and produces its effect, so as never to be rejected, inasmuch as it is of its very

* Vide *Augustinus*, 3 vols. fol. Leyd. de Dogm. Jans. lib. 1. c. v. p. 238.
† Elucidationes quarundam difficultatum de Gratia.
‡ Or as the schools significantly termed it, *in puris naturalibus*.

operation to remove the disposition to reject it, and to overcome all resistance. As to its converting effects, concupiscence is not wholly destroyed in this life, though it is gradually weakened; so that perfect love is not to be expected, on this side of heaven.

This grace does not vitiate our freedom, "for God is nearer to the will than the latter is to itself," perfectly knowing how to rule its nature and every thing in accordance with its nature. They argue thus: Liberty is not injured, because the will is never more free than when in act, since action is the very exercise of liberty itself, and when God causes it to will, he simply causes it to act. The subject is never more free than when he is most subject to his lawful prince, so the will is never more free than when it is subject to God. Liberty is not taken from the prisoner when his chains are broken, and his prison-doors thrown wide, so liberty is not taken from the will, but rather conferred on it, when it is freed from the dominion of concupiscence.

The Jansenists assert that this Grace of Christ is necessary in order to believing, and that it effects in us faith itself; that it is not common to all; that it is necessary to acceptable prayer, to every truly good work, and to the conquest over temptation. And they cite Augustin on these points.*

Of original sin, they teach, after the same great leader, that the sin of the first man passes over on all his posterity; that original sin consists in criminal *concupiscence*, which deprives man of grace, turns him from the Creator, binds him to the creature, and subjects him to certain miseries in this life, and to death as a penalty. They also follow Jansenius, who could not find the doctrine of Imputation among Augustin's tenets, in tracing the propagation of sin to natural generation. As the penalties of what is theologically called concupiscence, they name ignorance, error, difficulty of acting aright, and death itself, holding, that if man had never sinned he would have been immortal. They represent Predestination to be that divine act by which God infallibly frees whom he will from the eternal perdition to which all are obnoxious, in consequence of the first offence; so that he may, by infallible means, conduct them to eternal life. Or it is the one eternal divine purpose of choosing certain persons to eternal glory, together with certain means of their obtaining this glory; which means are faith, conversion, and perseverance. The Catechism adds, in answer to the question, whether Christ died for all men: "He died for all men, that he might give to the elect, glory, and to certain of the

* Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 32. de Corrept. et Gr. c. 12. de Bono Pers. c. 17.

reprobates, transitory graces; he died for the common nature of all; for sin, which is common to all; for men of all nations, ranks, ages, and conditions: not, however, with this end, that all and singular of the human race should attain the fruit of his death; but with this end, that he might offer the price of his blood for the saving of his elect, scattered among all places, states, and nations." They add, that God does not will the salvation of any other than the elect, because, otherwise, he, who doth all his pleasure in heaven and earth, would actually save all others. And they expound 1 Timothy, ii. 4, as including, not all and singular of the human race, but all the elect, who are of every age, sex, nation, and condition.* With such a scheme of doctrine, it must suggest itself to every reader, that Jansenius was very near the ground of the Reformed Church. Most warmly did his foes charge this, most deeply did he feel it, and most basely did he labour to avert the condemnation. With much of Protestantism as to doctrine, he had more of Popery as to rancour, and fanatical enmity. It seemed to be his favourite object to vilify the Calvinists, lest he should be ranked among them. The Reformed faith he declared to be nothing but a "sink of divers errors and sects, which had flourished of old, and were, with their authors, proscribed and condemned."† And such was his gentleness, that he wrote that "they ought not so much to complain of the severity of princes, as congratulate themselves on their clemency."‡ In the *Mars Gallicus*, he says of the Calvinists: "In what, save the name, are the Turks more hateful?"§ And he then declares that they surpass all heretics in "impiety," "unbelief," "impudence," "blasphemy," "obstinacy," and "cruelty"! In these calumnies we regret to say he was followed by his successors, so that even the Provincial Letters of the pious Pascal are blemished by the same intolerance.

We must now leave this subject with our readers; and in so doing we request their serious attention to the dissensions of which this history convicts the Roman Catholic Church; dissensions which will appear still more portentous, if we shall be permitted to resume our narrative, in a contemplated account of the disputes which ensued upon the death of Jansenius.‖

* Catech. chap. 7. Leyd. de Dogm. lib. i. c. 6.
† Spongia, c. 59.
‡ Ib. chap. 62.
§ Lib. ii. c. 27.
‖ The reader will perceive, if he takes the trouble of collation, that Leydecker's admirable work has been our principal authority. To the singularly learned, impartial, and profitable memoir of this theologian, Bayle acknowledges himself to have been mainly indebted, and later Protestant writers have usually contented

Art. V.—*Wolf's Anti-Homeric Theory, as applied to the Pentateuch.*

It was in 1795 that the accomplished humourist, Frederic Augustus Wolf, published his famous Prolegomena to Homer.* With a critical boldness, not to say effrontery, before unknown, he there assailed the genuineness, unity, and alleged antiquity of the Homeric writings; and as he afterwards sought to prove, that some of Cicero's orations were mere declamatory exercises by a later rhetorician, so now he pretended to demonstrate, that the Iliad and Odyssey were the patch-work product of a score of rhapsodists.

The Prolegomena produced a great sensation. The paradox was brilliant, and its very impudence ensured applause. After a few feeble efforts, on the part of older scholars, to suppress the infant heresy, it spread like wild-fire. Wolf took rank as the first philologian of the age, and even some of those who had opposed him tried to share his glory, by pretending to priority of invention. Among these was old Heyne, one of his teachers at Göttingen, who had excluded him from his lectures on Pindar, as an incorrigible idler, and was rewarded for the same with Wolf's perpetual contempt. In a short time after the Prolegomena appeared, men were ashamed to be suspected of believing in the exploded personality of Homer.

Had this phrenetic affection of the German mind been strictly a monomania, little mischief would have followed. But as Wolf's conclusions were deduced, with logical parade, from historical premises, and backed by a terrible array of learning, it was not long before the same artillery was turned upon other objects. Under the pretence of levelling the strong holds of prejudice, one venerable relic of antiquity after another was exposed to these assaults; and though the superstructure did not always fall, the foundations were always shaken. The general confidence in

themselves with the epitome of the latter. Other authorities have been named in the margin. To these we may add as sources of fact or corroboration, the historical works of Schroeck (Part 15,) J. G. Walch, Mosheim, Guerike, Buddeus, A. Turretine, Staeudlin, Twesten, J. Scott, &c. also the Conversations-Lexikon, Gerberon's Histoire Generale de Jansenisme.—There are few portions of Mosheim's works, as improved by Dr. Murdock, which are so complete in the accumulation of authorities as that which concerns the subject of this paper. The exact title of Leydecker's work is subjoined: *Melchioris Leydeckeri de Historia Jansenismi libri sex, quibus de Cornelii Jansenii Vita et Morte, necnon de ipsius et sequacium dogmatibus disseritur.* Utrecht, 1695. 8vo. pp. 667.

* See a biographical Sketch of Wolf in the *Conversations-Lexikon*, and from that in the *Encyclopaedia Americana*.

history began to be impaired, and skeptical criticism became the order of the day.

But even this extension of Wolf's doctrines was innocuous, compared with that which followed. The lights of classical literature and profane history were for a time eclipsed; but while the 'sure word of prophecy' continued to shine, it relieved the gloom of the surrounding darkness; nor was it till a mad attempt was made to quench the lamp of life with Wolf's extinguisher, that the darkness became visible.

It was not to be expected that the new devices, which had won such loud applause from classical philologians, would be suffered to lie unemployed by biblical empirics. The reign of piety in Germany was over. The simple, manly faith of the Reformers was forgotten; the pietism of Spener and his followers was extinct; and even formal orthodoxy was already out of vogue. Theologians had begun to court the phantom of renown by a display of spurious liberality. It was thought to be a proof of lofty spirit and unfettered intellect, to make large concessions in favour of infidelity, and to cavil at the Scriptures, even *ex cathedra*. The system of theology had been thrown into a chaos by the ingenious inconsistencies of John Solomon Semler. The current of opinion among youthful theologians had received a fatal bias from the lukewarm latitudinarianism of John David Michaelis. And the elements thus engendered had begun to be compounded into a coherent mass of infidelity, by the genius and learning of John Godfrey Eichhorn.

Still there was something wanted to consummate the catastrophe. Still it was apparent, that the Bible could not lose a tittle of its historical authority, without a revolution in the principles of criticism. So long as the classics held their place, the Scriptures held theirs too. If Homer wrote the Iliad, Moses wrote the Pentateuch. The chain of evidence was longer, but the links were just alike; or, the difference, if any, was in favour of the Bible. This obvious analogy marred the enemies' design; and though Semler's medley of discordant doubts, Michaelis' series of treacherous concessions, and Eichhorn's attempts to demonstrate falsehood, were continually spreading a thick mist around the subject, yet whenever sunshine got the better for a moment, the landmarks of the old world were distinctly visible, the monuments of Greece and Rome were still on terra firma, and as for the word of God, its defence was still the munition of rocks.

In such a juncture, it may well be supposed, that the shock which Wolf's invention gave to established principles, in matters of criticism, was welcome to many of the enemies of truth.

That the revolution had begun on classical and not on biblical ground, was a favourable circumstance; for it removed the appearance of its having been occasioned by hostility to the Scriptures. A new and specious theory was ready to their hands, and nothing more was wanted than a skilful application of it.

The ignoble praise of opening this assault upon the Scriptures, with a train of borrowed ordnance, belongs, we think, to Vater, who, in his Commentary on the Pentateuch, attempted to apply the arguments which Wolf had forged for Homer. The primary object was to prove from history, that the Pentateuch could not have been written in the time of Moses; and the particular field from which the proofs were gathered, was the history of the art of writing. Let us snatch some samples of this precious reasoning from its merited oblivion, for the purpose of showing how men will sometimes labour to believe a falsehood, rather than be contented with a simple obvious truth. Of skeptical critics, it may be said with emphasis, that they strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.

It is but just, however, to observe, that this critical hoax was far from gaining universal countenance or credence. It was too irrational for rationalists themselves. No one withstood it more decidedly than Eichhorn, who is above all suspicion of prejudice in favour of the Scriptures. Bertholdt, another theological free-thinker, declares that nothing but a strong desire to make the books of Moses spurious, could have led to the assertion of such doctrines. Most of the later assailants of the Pentateuch are compelled, by their own critical canons, to recognise some passages, at least, as the work of Moses: this cuts them off from any direct appeal to the Wolfish theory, which, even on its own ground, that of classical criticism, has fallen into contempt.* But the spirit of Wolf's reasoning still prevails, and the exploded imposture itself has been partially revived by Hartmann, of Rostock, in his late work on the Pentateuch. This absurd attempt to set the bones of a demolished sophism, has had the effect of calling forth to the defence of truth and Scripture, a redoubted champion, one who may compete with the first scholars of Germany, in point of erudition, and surpasses most of them in sobriety of judgment and an earnest love of truth. We refer to Professor Hengstenberg, whose excellent *Christologie* will shortly be completed, after which his attention will probably be given to a work upon the Pentateuch, for which he has

* For a refutation of Wolf's arguments founded on the history of the art of writing, see Nitzsch's *Historia Homeri.*

been long preparing, and for which he is pre-eminently qualified. Our strong desire to see such a work from such an author, is enhanced by a sort of foretaste, which he has afforded, in an article running through several numbers of a literary journal, edited at Halle by Professor Tholuck.* The first division of that article discusses the Wolfish theory, as applied by Vater and Hartmann to the Pentateuch, and is an admirable specimen of critical ratiocination. It is condensed, perspicuous, and conclusive. The substance of his argument we shall here endeavour to lay before our readers, with some change in the arrangement, and without servile adherence to the terms of the original.

The argument of Wolf, carried out to its full extent, and rigidly applied, would involve a flat denial, that writing was in use at all, so early as the time of Moses. This is a pitch of hardihood too bold for the assailants of the Pentateuch. Vater admits, that alphabetic writing was probably in use among the contemporaries of Moses; and Hartmann goes so far as to acknowledge, that the Phenicians were in possession of the art *long before* the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt.† For these concessions they deserve no praise, since they merely confess what is testified with one voice by all antiquity. The tradition of all nations agrees in referring the invention of this art to the first beginning of the human race. The Phenicians ascribed it to Thaaut;‡ the Chaldeans, as Berosus tells us, to Oannes; the Egyptians to Thot, or Memnon, or Hermes; all which goes to prove, that the invention of the art lay beyond the earliest period of authentic history. Well might Pliny, therefore, after citing some of these testimonies, add: *ex quo apparet aeternus literarum usus.*§ It was about the time of Moses, that Phenician emigrants, personified in history under the name of Cadmus, brought writing into Greece.‖

The anti-mosaic argument, modified as it must be by so ample a concession, takes this form: Alphabetic writing was known to the Phenicians in the days of Moses; but the Israelites had been slaves in Egypt for above four hundred years, and cannot therefore be supposed to have enjoyed the same advantage.

* Litterarischer Anzeiger für christliche Theologie und Wissenschaft überhaupt. 1833. Nos. 32, 33, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45.

† Vater, p. 542. Hartmann, p. 615.

‡ Sanchoniathon in Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 1. 9. We retain the authorities cited in the German article, for the sake of such as may be disposed to investigate the subject for themselves.

§ Hist. Nat. VII. 5, 6.

‖ Ewald, in his *Hebrew Grammar*, (p. 19) undertakes to prove, from the names of the letters, that the art of writing was far more ancient than the time of Moses. On the other side, see an article by Hupfeld, in the journal called *Hermes*, xxxi. 1. pp. 7, 8.

To this we answer by demanding, who can show that Jacob was not in possession of the art, when he descended into Egypt? True, it is not mentioned in the book of Genesis. But this, at furthest, only proves that it was not known to Abraham. For the only case in which we could expect it to be mentioned, is his negotiation with the sons of Heth.

So much for the negative. But we have positive ground for a presumption, that the art was known before the time of Moses, in the fact that there were officers called *Shoterim* among the children of Israel.* That this word primarily and properly means *writers*, is the judgment of the best modern critics,† and is proved by Professor Hengstenberg, beyond the reach of cavil or objection. He exposes the false reasoning and philology of Vater, who maintains that the original sense is *overseers, inspectors*. It is evident that the latter sense is easily deducible from that of *scribe* or *writer*, while an inverted derivation is impossible. The argument is strengthened by the analogy of the Arabic, in which the root denotes to *write*, and a remote derivative means an *overseer* or *manager*. Coincident precisely is the important testimony of the ancient versions, the word being rendered *scribes* both in the Septuagint and Peshito. No critical question of the least dubiety could be more satisfactorily and completely solved. For the minute details we must refer the learned reader to the original article.

As for any doubt about the acquisition of the art at so remote a period, let it be remembered that the ancient Hebrews were by no means slow or reluctant to adopt the improvements of their cultivated neighbours. Judah had a signet ring,‡ Joseph a dress of curious fabric,§ and many other examples of the same kind might be furnished. It is clear then, to say the least, that *the possession of the art of writing by the Israelites, before their descent to Egypt, cannot be disproved.*

But the advocates of truth can afford to make concessions, and to meet the enemy on his own ground. In condescension to the adversary's weakness, let us admit *pro forma*, that the Israelites were strangers to the art of writing when they entered Egypt. Why may they not have learned it there? Are we to be told, too, that the Egyptians could not write?

* Exod. v. 6. and elsewhere.

† Gesenius, for example, in his latest Hebrew Lexicon, defines the word in question: "Proprie *scriba*; dein, quoniam ars scribendi antiquissimo tempore maxime rei forensi adhibetatur, *magistratus, praefectus populi*." Lex. Man. Heb. & Chald. p. 997.

‡ Gen. xxxviii. 17.

§ Gen. xxxvii. 3.

Not at all, says Hartmann, but the only sort of writing which they could have learned in Egypt, was totally unfit for the notation of their language, and consequently useless. That is to say, if we understand his argument, the writing used in Egypt was hieroglyphical, whereas that of the Pentateuch is alphabetical. Every thing, therefore, which merely goes to prove, that there was an art of writing known to the Egyptians, is nothing to the purpose.*

This argument assumes as certain what is still a matter of dispute among the learned. The old doctrine was, that all the most ancient nations had the same alphabet. The classical writers all proceed upon this supposition, though they differ so widely with respect to the country where the art was first invented. Tychsen was the first who asserted, that the Egyptains had no alphabetic writing till they received it from the Phenicians, in the days of Psammetichus.† He was fully confuted by Zoega, who defended the antiquity of alphabetic writing, even among the Egyptians, and its original identity with that of other nations.‡ Jomard and Champollion have since essayed to prove, that the ancient Egyptains had no writing that was purely alphabetical, and that the common writing, which Herodotus calls *demotic*, and Clement, of Alexandria, *epistolographic*, was nothing more than the hieroglyphic writing, in a state of transition to the alphabetic form.§ But this assertion rests entirely on the very questionable assumption, that one part of the triple inscription on the Rosetta stone,‖ is in the *demotic* character, and not rather in a corrupted sort of hieroglyphics. Creuzer and Heeren¶ simply state the authorities, and decline a decision, while Spohn and Seiffarth, relying on a passage in Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*,** undertake to justify the old opinion, and to show that the *demotic* character consisted of the twenty-two Phenician letters.

We make this statement simply to show that Hartmann has, without sufficient evidence, assumed the fact on which his reasoning rests, to wit, that the Egyptians had no alphabetic writing when the Israelites resided there. We do not mean, however, to assume the contrary. We choose rather to allow him the advantage he affects, and to show, that even after this concession, we are still on higher ground.

* Hartmann, p. 587.

† Tychsen und Heeren's *Bibliothek fur alte Litteratur und Kunst.* VI. pp. 15. 42.

‡ Zoega *de obeliscis.* p. 567.

§ See Jomard's opinion stated, in Creuzer's *Comm. Herod.* p. 376, &c.

‖ See the article *Hieroglyphics* in the Encyclopaedia Americana. vol. VI. p. 314.

¶ Heeren's *Ideen* IV. p. 14.

** P. 374.

Be it so, then, (though without a jot of proof) that the Egyptains had no alphabetic writing, and that therefore the Israelites could not have acquired the art from them. May they not have learned it from some other people of Semitic origin and Semitic language, while they lived in Egypt? Be it remembered, that the existence of the art among some of the posterity of Shem, as for example the Phenicians, is explicitly admitted by Hartmann himself. Now, if these kindred nations had the art, may not the Hebrews have acquired it from them, while they abode in Egypt?

Hartmann answers in the negative, alleging as a reason, that the Hebrews, during this part of their history, had no intercourse with other nations of the Semitic family. This assertion rests upon the common notion, that Egypt was inaccessible to strangers, a notion which, in modern times, has undergone no little limitation and correction. How far it is from being true in reference to an earlier age, is evident from what we read in Genesis, of the Midianitish caravan which sold Joseph into Egypt, as well as from the fact, that in the case of extensive famine, Egypt was the granary of the adjacent countries. The same thing is clear from the readiness with which the king of Egypt received Joseph's family. And this historical testimony is strikingly confirmed by the language of the country which contains so many Phenician elements, and those so essential and inseparable, that the supposition of a close connexion between Egypt and Phenicia in the earliest times, is not to be avoided.*

From these proofs, it is clear enough, that the Hebrews might have come into contact with other Semitic nations, even in Egypt itself. It is also capable of proof, that such an intercourse might have existed without the Egyptian bounds. The territory inhabited by the Israelites in Egypt was contiguous to that of tribes whose language was Semitic; and that there was nothing to prevent their passing the frontier, appears from the incidental statement in the Chronicles, respecting Hebrew settlers in Arabia.† Moses surely did nothing unusual, when he removed to Midian, and then returned to Egypt. In addition to these facts, we need only hint at the procession into Canaan on the occasion of Jacob's burial. It may indeed be stated, in general terms, that among the nations of the remotest antiquity, even such as were farther apart than those in question, there was much more active intercourse than is commonly supposed.

* Professor Hengstenberg refers to an article by Hug, in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopedia, vol. III. p. 35.

† 1 Chr. v.

We have now, we think, made out that there were sources enough from which the Hebrews might have drawn a knowledge of the art of writing. "But," says Hartmann, "they were a rude, uncultivated, race of shepherds, separated from the remaining population of the country. How could they be expected to adopt an art, for which they had no use?"*

Admit for a moment, that the Hebrews were in the alleged condition, that circumstance alone could determine nothing, unless we were wholly destitute of historical data, and were left to argue simply from conjecture. The same course of reasoning would disprove the introduction of writing into Greece, at a time when the inhabitants were yet uncivilized. It would also disprove the notorious fact, that the Goths were indebted for the alphabet to Ulphilas. There is indeed a difference between the first invention, and the mere appropriation of an invented art. The latter is far from being beyond the capacity and necessities of an uncultivated people, so far, that when there is positive proof of its having taken place, better cause must needs be shown before we set that proof aside.

But our compassion yields too much to the unlucky sophist. The fact which we have admitted is a factitious one. The Hebrews were in no such condition as the adversary affirms. Their very position for four centuries in the midst of the most cultivated nation of antiquity, forbids the supposition that no influence was exercised at all by that nation on a people so susceptible of improvement, as the history of the Hebrews shows them to have been.

The fact is, that a large proportion of the Israelites had, before the time of Moses, left the pastoral mode of life, and mingled with the Egyptians on the friendliest footing, as inhabitants of towns. This is undeniably evident from Exodus, iii. 20—22, xi. 1—3, xii. 35, 36. According to the first of these passages, it was not unusual for an Israelitish landlord to have Egyptian lodgers. This proves the intercourse between the two nations. And as to our other proposition, that a great part of the Hebrews had exchanged the nomadic life for agriculture, it is very evident from Deuteronomy, xi. 10, where Egypt is described as a country which the Israelites had sown and watered with the bucket, "as a garden of herbs."

Does not all this show how easily Egyptian refinement might have been imparted to the Hebrews? It is vain to urge as an objection, that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, as recorded in Genesis xlvi. 34. Not foreigners, as such, were

* Hartmann, p. 590.

an abomination to them, nor even shepherds, who had settled habitations. What they disliked was the wandering or nomadic mode of life, which, as Heeren says, must have been in opposition to the designs and policy of the ruling *caste.** We need not wonder, therefore, if we find the arts and artifical products of the refined Egyptians in use among the Hebrews at the time of Moses, such as the finest Egyptian stuffs, various sorts of dressed leather, the art of casting and beating metals, and that of polishing and engraving precious stones. Indeed, a due attention to these facts will make it plain, that the Hebrews stood upon a higher point of culture in the time of Moses than in the days of the Judges, so that Hartmann makes a laughable mistake when he asserts, that the art of writing must have been introduced under the Judges, because the Mosaic age was not yet ripe for it! The force of the argument is just the other way. If writing was in use in so uncivilized a period, (comparatively speaking) as the period of the Judges, how much more in the enlightened age of Moses. That it was in use at the time of the Judges, is an admitted point. And that it was not a rare accomplishment peculiar to a few, may be inferred from Judges viii. 14, where one taken at random from among the people was found capable of writing.

We have now to meet the adverse argument in another form. Even supposing that the art of writing was not wholly unknown among the Hebrews, at the time of Moses, it is contended, that it was not in familiar, ordinary use; and that, according to historical analogy, there must have been a period of considerable length between the first introduction of the art and its application to the composition of books, or to any thing beyond the simple necessary uses of society, or to give it in the language of its advocates—"There is in the Pentateuch no trace at all of the art of writing having been employed in common life, at the time of Moses. We must therefore stick to the analogy of other nations, which shows, that the commencement of *authorship* is separated by long intervals of time from that of *writing:* and that nations must have been long acquainted with the art of writing, and accustomed to use it for necessary purposes, before they begin to use it for any other, or to write more than they must write."†

Admitting, for the moment, this alleged analogy, we dispute the broad assertion with respect to the diffusion of the art of writing in the days of Moses. It needs, at least, a great deal

* Heeren's Ideen, p. 150. See also Creuzer's Comm. Herod. p. 282, &c.
† Vater, p. 534.

of limitation. Inferior officers would not have been called *Shoterim* or scribes, if writing was a confined monopoly. Moses would not have spoken of God's *book of life*, unless written lists and muster-rolls had been long familiar. It is this alone which gives the figure all its force. The seventy elders are called *the Written* or *Enrolled.** The curses denounced upon the adulteress were to be reduced to writing.† It was usual to put inscriptions upon doorposts.‡ A man who put away his wife had to give her a writing of divorcement.§ Vater and Hartmann, it is true, deny that this enactment belongs to the Mosaic age. But why? Simply because they take for granted what they ought to prove, that the Hebrews were uncivilized and ignorant of writing. A high cultivation of the art, as well as a wide diffusion of it, is implied in the directions with respect to the inscription of the names of the tribes upon precious stones, and engraving upon other hard materials. To the same point go the passages where Moses is said to have recorded a law or an event. Nor was it at a much later date that Joshua sent three men to *write* or describe the land.‖ To all this add, that one of the Canaanitish cities, afterwards called Debir, bore the name of *Kirjath-sepher*, which the Septuagint renders Πόλις Γραμμάτων.¶

These proofs are so numerous, yet so undesigned and casual, so strongly confirmed by all that we know about the refinement of the people in other respects, and so entirely consistent with the known condition of the arts in Egypt,** that we must either admit that the art of writing was a common thing in the days of Moses, or reject the Pentateuch entirely as a historical authority. This last, however, we have no right to do, even on the supposition that these books were written in a later age. If we do reject them, it is plain that nothing can be argued either one way or the other, as to the fact in question, except by such as are disposed to argue at random.

But strong as the testimony is, in favour of a general acquaintance with the art of writing in the days of Moses, we can afford to yield the point, as we have yielded many others no less tenable, in order to evince the strength of our own cause, and our adversaries' weakness. Suppose, if you please, that this accom-

* Num. xi. 26.
† Num. v. 23.
‡ Deut. vi. 9. xi. 20.
§ Deut. xxiv. 1—4.
‖ Jos. xviii. 4.
¶ See Bertholdt's Researches with respect to the art of writing, in his *Theologische Wissenschafts Kunde*. Vol. I. p. 87.
** Hartmann's assertion, (p. 636) that in Egypt none except the priests were in possession of the art of writing, is so palpably false, that it deserves no refutation.

plishment was not a universal or a very common one. What then? Let a rationalist answer. "Whether," says Bertholdt, "the whole Pentateuch proceeded, just as it is, from the hand of Moses, or whether certain legislative passages alone were penned by him, these passages or the whole five books were evidently written, not for the purpose of being read by every body, but of being read to them in a public way, a practice commenced by Moses himself.* It was sufficient for this purpose, that a few besides himself should be acquainted with writing, and he would naturally introduce the plan of requiring the High Priests, the chiefs of the tribes, the elders, and the judges, to make this acquisition, in order to conduct ecclesiastical and civil affairs, according to his laws."

Thus it appears, that even on the lowest supposition which the skeptic would reduce it to, there is nothing in our assertions at all at variance with historical analogy, even as that analogy is stated by the assailants of the Pentateuch. Let us, however, look more closely at the analogy itself, and see what it is built upon. Those who make use of it, appeal in its behalf to the case of the Greeks and Romans. It so happens, however, that the latest results of the researches about Homer, render this analogy extremely doubtful, if they do not quite reverse it. But even if it were as strong as ever it was thought to be, history furnishes other cases far more striking, which lean just the other way. We might refer to the tradition of Phenicia and Egypt, which places the commencement, not of *writing* merely, but of composition, authorship, book-making, in the remotest antiquity. The Egyptians ascribed written laws to their earliest king, in which they are supported by internal evidence.† That composition began there very early, all accounts agree.‡ The Phenician tradition, preserved by Sanconiathon, makes the inventor of the alphabet to have been also the first author,§ and Sanconiathon himself belongs to a period not far removed from that of Moses.‖

Should these analogies, however, be objected to, as of a date anterior to authentic history, we have others which are quite beyond the reach of such a scruple. Ulphilas gave an alphabet to the Goths while yet wholly uncivilized, and with it a translation of the Holy Scriptures.¶ The same thing occurred among

* Exod. xxiv. 7.
† Diodorus Siculus. I. 106. Heeren's *Ideen*, p. 347.
‡ The proofs are given by Zoega *de Obeliscis*, p. 501, &c.
§ Eusebius. *Praep. Evang.* I. 9.
‖ Bertholdt's *Theolog. Wissenchafts Kunde*, p. 71.
¶ See Zahn's *Ulphilas*, p. 21.

the Ethiopians. But the most conclusive analogy of all is, that writing began among the Koreish, in Arabia, according to all testimony, a few years before Mohammed, and yet the Koran was reduced at once to writing from beginning to end!* So much for the doctrine, that the art of writing must be long in use, before it is applied to composition.

We dismiss this part of the subject by directing the attention of the reader to the fact, that Moses had the strongest motives to adopt the surest means, however difficult or rare, of perpetuating and securing from corruption, his inspired communications. He knew too well the want of harmony between his stern enactments and the heart of man, to rely for their observance, or prolonged existence, on the capricious fluctuations of tradition. What could be done he would do, however difficult he might have found it, to secure his object by a resort to writing. In point of fact it was not difficult at all.

But we have not yet quite dispatched the Wolfish theory. There is another ground on which it plants its batteries to assail the Pentateuch. We are told, that it could not have been written by Moses, because in his days there were no convenient materials for writing. Be it so. What then? The Koran, a much larger book than the Pentateuch, was written piecemeal on bits of leather or parchment, and even on palm leaves, white smooth stones, and bones.† This shows that the possession of *convenient* materials is by no means essential to the making of a book.

We say, be it so; but it is not so. The way in which it is attempted to demonstrate that materials were wanting, cannot fail to excite either laughter or indignation. Vater and Hartmann both deny that paper, byssus, or the skins of beasts, were then in use. Let us look at the matter a little. The preparation of paper from the papyrus-plant is a very simple process, requiring certainly as little art as the manufacture of the ark in which the infant Moses floated upon the Nile, and which was made of the same material. Nor is there even the appearance of a reason for assigning to this invention a later date than the Mosaic age. Varro's assertion‡ that it originated in the age of Alexander, is on all hands regarded as erroneous. It may even be refuted from Herodotus.§ The art is spoken of as having been in use much earlier, by

* See de Sacy's history of writing among the Arabs, in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, vol. 50. p. 307.

† See de Sacy's article already cited. *Memories de l'Academie des Inscr.* vol. 50. p. 307.

‡ Plinii. *Hist. Nat.* XIII. 11.

§ V. 58.

Cassius Nemina.* "At what time," says the judicious Zoega, "the Egyptians began to write on sheets made of the bark of the papyrus, is wholly unknown, and I think it labour lost to undertake to ascertain it by conjecture."† "Though it is impossible," says Heeren, "to determine the date of the invention; it can no longer be doubted, that the preparation of the papyrus from plants was very early in use, since so many rolls of papyrus have been found in the catacombs of Thebes." These leave no doubt, that the literature of Egypt was far richer than was formerly supposed.

Byssus is expressly mentioned in Genesis,‡ and the usage of embalming presupposes its existence. The garments of the priests, and the covering of the tabernacle were composed of this material. Now it scarcely needs proof, that if such a substance were in use at all, it would be used for writing in the absence of a better. And accordingly we find, that in other nations, not connected with the Egyptains, *libri lintei* were in common use. Hartmann says, indeed, that this material was unknown in the time of Moses, and that Vater has proved it. But how can that be proved for which there is not even the appearance of historical evidence? All that Vater himself undertook to show, was, that there were no proofs in favour of the use of cloth for writing at so remote a period. Positive historical evidence there is not, either on one side or the other. It is sufficient for our argument to show the possibility and probability of such a use; which has been done.

We come now to skins. There is reason to believe, that this material would have been preferred, supposing several known. The sacred books which were designed for all successive generations, would of course be inscribed upon the most durable of those substances which could conveniently be used. This is probable in itself, and is confirmed by the analogy of the ten commandments graven in stone. It is not on record what material was used either in the oldest or the latest books of Scripture. By far the most probable opinion is, that leather was employed. That it was used for this purpose in the days of Moses, appears very probable from Numbers, v. 23. There the priest is directed to record the curse against the adulteress in a book, and to wash out the writing with the water of bitterness. This presupposes a material for writing so strong, as not to go to pieces when dipped in water, which is not true of paper; yet of such a nature, that

* *Plin. H. N.* XIII.
† *De Obeliscis*, p. 550.
‡ Translated *fine linen*, and in the margin, *silk*, Gen xli. 42.

the ink could be easily washed out, which is not true of *byssus*; and of such a form as to admit the name *Sepher*, which excludes wood, stone, and other hard materials, upon which, moreover, we find no trace of writing with ink. The *modus scribendi* implied in this passage, was the same that is fully described in Jerem. xxxvi. 4—23, which passage Hartmann falsely represents, as the first containing any reference to ink.

That the artificial preparation of skins was not unusual in the Mosaic age, is plain, from the description of the tabernacle, where several sorts are mentioned. In other countries also the use of skins for writing was very ancient. Herodotus relates, that the Ionians, from a very early period, had made use of skins as a substitute for paper. "The Ionians from ancient times have called books, *skins*, because of old, when books were scarce, they wrote on the skins of sheep and goats."* Here he evidently represents the skins of beasts as the primitive material for writing with the Ionians, among whom the commencement of the art of writing was long anterior to the time of Moses. He adds, "many of the barbarians also wrote upon such skins." According to Diodorus, the Persian annals, from which Ctesias obtained his information were written upon skins† and the early mythologists ascribed a book to Jupiter, composed of skins, and containing a catalogue of the righteous and the wicked.‡

To all this Hartmann objects,§ that we cannot suppose the dressing of hides to have been practised by the Egyptians, who had so great a reverence for the brute creation, that even the touching of their skins would have made a priest unclean, and the trade of a tanner would have been thought a crime.

This objection rests upon an erroneous view of the worship of animals in Egypt. Among the larger domestic animals, the cow was the only one considered holy. The worship of the bull Apis extended only to an individual animal. Oxen were in common use for sacrifice and food.‖ The regard to ceremonial purity among the Egyptian priests would be in point, if the preparation of the hides had been their business. But the priests were not the curriers. In the ancient documents lately discovered in Upper Egypt, tanners are mentioned as a particular class of workmen. This sets the question at rest whether hides were dressed in Egypt.¶

* Herod v. 58.

† Diodor. ii. 35.

‡ See Schweighauser on Herodotus, and Wesseling on Diodorous Siculus and Hemsterhus on Pollux, v. 57.

§ P. 367.

‖ Heeren, p. 150, 363.

¶ Böckh's *Erklarung einer aegyptischen Urkunde. p.* 25. Heeren, p. 141.

Here Professor Hengstenberg concludes his argument, and we must say that we think it a triumphant one. We have given a sketch of it, not in the hope of doing it full justice, but in order to show, that the ingenuity and learning of the modern Germans is not entirely on the side of infidelity. Truth has always had its champions, even there; but for the most part they have not been able to cope with the assailants upon equal terms. The philological learning, and the dialectic subtilty employed by such men as Eichhorn and De Wette, took believers by surprise. The day seemed to be lost. The orthodox criticism of earlier times proceeded so much on the supposition of a belief in Christianity, that it was almost useless in this novel conflict. The weapons of war were to be formed anew. This threw the Christian party for a time behind their adversaries; and a whole generation of young Germans rose to manhood, with scarcely a doubt in favour of the Scriptures. But *tempora mutantur*. The time has come, when the foe is to be beaten on his chosen ground. His artillery is already turned against himself, and his defences totter. Professor Hengstenberg is showing to the world, that the modern improvements in philology and criticism, so far as they are real, all sustain the Bible, and that the deeper such researches go, the more resplendent does the lamp of life flame upward, while the taper of the skeptic is extinguished in its socket. The specimen which we have given of his ratiocination, while it exhibits all the erudition and acumen of the ablest rationalists, exhibits likewise what they always lack, consistency, sobriety, and candour.

We are happy to add that he is not alone. Besides many others who indirectly contribute to the same end, there is one distinguished scholar, who, without collusion, but with kindred spirit, is assaulting the same quarter of the enemies' entrenchments. This is John Leonard Hug, who has probably done more for the cause of truth, than any other Papist living. He has published dissertations on the art of writing, in relation to this controversy, which we have not seen. Rumour represents him to be now employed upon an introduction to the Old Testament, analogous to that which he has published to the New. We wish it may be no whit worse. When the leading principles asserted in his writings, free from adventitious weaknesses, shall come to be predominant among the theologians of his own sect and country, Germany will rejoice in the simultaneous downfall of Rationalism and Popery.

Charles Hodge

Art. VI.—*The Act and Testimony.*

The history of this document we understand to be as follows. The proceedings of the last General Assembly of our church being, in many cases, much disapproved of, by a large minority of that body, a meeting was called in Philadelphia, to which all those ministers and elders were invited, who sympathized with this minority in their opinions and feelings. Among other acts of this meeting, a committee was appointed to draft a public declaration to the churches of the views and wishes of those then present. The result of this appointment was the publication of a paper entitled an *Act and Testimony.* It is impossible for any man to read this document, without being deeply impressed with respect for its authors. It is pervaded by a tone of solemn earnestness, which carries to every heart the conviction of their sincerity, and of their sense of the importance, as well as the truth, of the sentiments which they advance. The fear of God, reverence for his truth, and love for his church seem clearly to have presided over the composition of this important document. In addition to these intrinsic claims to the respect of those to whom it is addressed, the fact that it has received the sanction of so large a number of the best ministers of our church, demands for it the most serious consideration. It is therefore natural that those, who feel the truth and weight of a great portion of the statements of this document, and yet withhold from it their signatures, should feel desirous of letting their brethren know the grounds on which they act. We believe that most of the sentiments of this Act and Testimony meet a ready and hearty response from the great majority both of our ministers and elders; and yet we presume it will not be signed by any thing like a moiety of either. Why is this? Is it because they fear to assume the responsibility of such an act? This is very easily said, but we believe that the number of those who are nervous enough to be influenced by such a consideration, is very small. There is often much more courage in not acting, than in acting; and still more frequently in moderation than in violence. It is generally easy and safe in cases of controversy, to take sides decidedly, and through good and evil, with one part or the other. If you are sure of decided opponents, you are equally certain of warm friends. The unfortunate individuals who belong to neither side, are cared for by neither, and blamed, if not abused, by both. Though there may be imbecility, indecision, and timidity, which prevent a man's knowing what to think, or saying

what he knows; there may also be firmness in standing alone, or in that unenviable position where neither sympathy nor approbation is to be expected. It is humbling to think of good men as being so deficient in the fear of God, and so sensitive to the opinions of their fellow men, that they withhold their approbation of the avowal of truth, from the base fear of man; we are therefore slow to attribute such a motive, or to believe in its extensive influence. There must be some other and better reason why such a document as the Act and Testimony has not received, and is not likely to receive the sanction of more than a small minority of our churches. We pretend not, of course, to know the reasons which have influenced the conduct of so many different individuals, but we know that the following considerations have had a decisive weight on the minds of many, and presume that these and similar views have influenced the course of others.

In the first place, this document has been perverted from its true and legitimate purpose, as a Testimony, into an invidious Test Act. This evil has resulted from two sources, partly from the form and nature of the Act itself, in some of its essential features; and partly from the use that has been made of it in some of our leading religious journals. It would seem to be a very obvious principle, that any individual member of a body has a right to address his fellow members on subjects affecting their common interests. If he thinks that errors and disorders are gaining ground among them, it is more than a right, it is a duty for him to say so, provided he has any hope of making his voice effectually heard. If such be the case with an individual, it is equally obvious that he may induce as many as he can to join him in his warnings and counsels, that they may come with the weight due to numbers acting in concert. Had the meeting in Philadelphia therefore been contented to send forth their solemn Testimony against error and disorder, and their earnest exhortation to increased fidelity to God and his truth, we are sure none could reasonably object. Their declaration would have been received with all the respect due to its intrinsic excellence, and to the source whence it proceeded. But when it is proposed to "number the people;" to request and urge the signing of this Tesmony as a test of orthodoxy, then its whole nature and design is at once altered. What was the exercise of an undoubted right, becomes an unauthorised assumption. What was before highly useful, or at least harmless, becomes fraught with injustice, discord, and division. What right have I to publish a declaration on truth and order to the churches, and call upon every one to sign it on pain of being denounced as a heretic or revolutionist?

Surely, many sound and good men may well take exception at some of my modes of expression, or demur at some of my recommendations, without forfeiting all claims to confidence. It may be said that no one is required to sign this Act and Testimony against his own will; and that there is no denunciation of those who decline. It ought, however, to be considered, that this is a necessary result of the call, on the part of the meeting, and in the body of the act itself,* for a general signing of this document, like a new League and Covenant, that it should act as a test. Such in fact, no doubt, was its design. The authors of this feature of the plan at least designed to make it the means of ascertaining the number and strength of those who thought with them, and of uniting them in a body capable of acting with concert. If such is the very nature and purport of the act, it necessarily follows, that refusing to submit to the test or to join the league, must be regarded as an act of hostility. The very design of the effort is to make neutrality impossible. And this design unfortunately it but too well attains. In a recent number of the Presbyterian the editor says, "We verily believe that every orthodox minister and elder, who refuses his signature under existing circumstances, will throw his weight into the opposite scale, and strengthen the hopes, and confirm the confidence of those who aim to revolutionize the church."† We are not surprised at such language; it is the natural result, as just stated, of the measure. Now, we say, no man, and no set of men, have the right thus to necessitate others of their own body to adopt *their* statements and recommendations, or be considered as the abettors of errorists and anarchists. Here is one of the most serious evils of the whole plan. It makes one a heretic, or an abettor of heresy, not for error in doctrine, not for unfaithfulness in discipline, but because he may be unable to adopt an extended document as expressing his own opinions on a multitude of facts, doctrines, and practical counsels. This is an assumption which ought not to be allowed. It is an act of gross injustice to multitudes of our soundest and best men; it is the most effectual means of splitting the church into mere fragments, and of alienating from each other men, who agree in doctrine, in views of order and discipline, and who differ in nothing, perhaps, but in opinion as to the wisdom of introducing this new League and Covenant. We confess we are more disheartened

* "We recommend that all ministers, elders, church sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, who approve of this Act and Testimony, give their public adherence thereto in such manner as they shall prefer, and communicate their names, and when a church court, a copy of their adhering act."

† Presbyterian for Aug. 21, 1834.

by the effects which this untoward step is likely to produce, than by any thing which has occurred for a long time in our church. If it is doubtful, as the friends of the Act and Testimony suppose, whether a majority of our ministers are faithful to our acknowledged standards, what proportion are likely to adhere to this extra-constitutional confession? Had the ingenuity of man been taxed for a plan to divide and weaken the friends of truth and order in our church, we question whether a happier or more effectual expedient could have been devised. Our first leading objection, then, to this document is, that it is not what it professes to be, a Testimony, but a Test. Had it been signed only by the chairman and secretary of the meeting by which it was issued, or by the individual members, its whole nature would have been different. As it is, it is a Test, and must operate unfairly and injuriously, subjecting some to unjust suspicions, and dividing those who, on every principle of duty, ought to be most intimately united.

But leaving this objection out of view, and admitting that it was right to adopt this extra-constitutional method of ascertaining and rallying the friends of truth, we think there are specific objections against this document, which show that it is unfit to answer this purpose. We have already said, and said sincerely, that it is impossible to read this Testimony without being deeply impressed by the seriousness of its tone, the weight and truth of the great part of its sentiments, and the decided ability and skill with which it is drawn up. It evinces in every line the hand of a man accustomed to legal precision and accuracy of phrase. Yet it was necessarily prepared in a hurry, probably at a single sitting, and read at a general meeting, in which the careful weighing of every clause was out of the question. Considering these circumstances, instead of being surprised that there are instances of unguarded statement, or unwise recommendations, our wonder is, that the blemishes of both classes are not tenfold more numerous. But is it not obvious that a document that was to be put forth, not only as a Testimony, but a Test, which the friends of truth were to be required to sign, or forfeit their character as such, and which was designed to rally as large a number as possible of those who were of the same heart and mind, should be most carefully and solemnly considered, and every thing avoided which might cause the well affected to hesitate or refuse? Were we ever so much in favour of such a measure, we are free to confess, that there are statements in this Act and Testimony, in which we could not concur, and recommendations of which we highly disapprove. Of course, however anxious we might be to join in this enterprise,

we should still be obliged to submit to have our names cast out as evil.

It is not our purpose to go over this document, and criticise its various parts. We shall merely refer to a few of the passages, which we think must be stumbling blocks in the way of all but the most determined.

The very first paragraph is sufficiently startling. It stands thus: "BRETHREN IN THE LORD:—In the solemn crisis to which our church has arrived, we are constrained to appeal to you in relation to the alarming errors which have hitherto been connived at, and now at length have been countenanced and sustained by the acts of the supreme judicatory of our church." The first question suggested by this paragraph is, whether in fact such a crisis has arrived in our church, as to justify such avowedly revolutionary measures, as the present document recommends? If such is the state of the church, desperate remedies may be justified, if in themselves wise and well directed. This point, however, we must at present waive. The statement to which we would now call the attention of our readers, and at which we should hesitate long, and sign at last, if sign we must, with a slow and shaking hand, is the declaration, that the highest judicatory of our church has at length countenanced and sustained alarming errors. These errors, of course, are those specified in the document itself. Is it then true, that the highest judicatory of our church has "countenanced and sustained" the doctrine, that we have no more to do with the sin of Adam than with the sins of any other parent—that there is no such thing as original sin—that man's regeneration is his own act—that Christ's sufferings are not truly and properly vicarious? How serious the responsibility of announcing to the world that such is the case! How clear and decisive should be the evidence of the fact, before the annunciation was made and ratified by the signatures of such a number of our best men. Surely something more than mere inference from acts of doubtful import, should be here required. We do not pretend to be privy to the grounds on which this serious charge is made; but we are sure that no conscientious man would set his name to it, without having evidence to produce the painful conviction that such was the fact. Such evidence ought to have been detailed. We do not know, and we suppose the churches generally do not know, what this evidence is. How then can they sign this document? How can they be expected to take the responsibility of one of the most serious annunciations ever made to the churches? We do not believe it to be true. We have not the least idea, that one tenth of the ministers of the Presbyterian

church would deliberately countenance and sustain the errors specified above. And if not done deliberately and of set purpose, it should not be announced as having been done at all. We may put upon acts an interpretation very different from what they were intended to bear, and thus be led to assert as fact what is very far from the truth.

We see that some, in adopting the Act and Testimony, apparently impressed with the solemnity of the step they were about to take in sanctioning this introductory paragraph, refer in justification of the charge which it involves, to the rejecting of a series of resolutions, calling upon the Assembly to denounce these and various other errors. But is the inference a necessary, or even a fair one, from declining to consider these resolutions, which required the Assembly to condemn certain errors, whether "held in or out of the Presbyterian church," to the sanctioning of these errors themselves? During the sessions of the last General Assembly in Scotland, a motion was made and rejected, relative to the devising of some measures for securing the better observance of the Sabbath. Must we infer from this rejection, that the body in question countenanced Sabbath-breaking?* A few years ago, when petitions were circulated in reference to Sunday mails, many, especially after the failure of the first attempt, refused to sign them. Are such persons to be regarded as in favour of the desecration of the Lord's day? The mere rejection, or rather refusal to entertain, the resolutions referred to, cannot of itself, therefore, afford evidence of the disposition of the Assembly to countenance these errors. We do not know the history of the case, but there may have been something in the circumstances under which they were introduced, to account for their being set aside. We have heard, indeed, the warmest friends and advocates of the Act and Testimony regret exceedingly the manner in which they were brought forward. As far as our informant, a leading member of the minority in the last Assembly, knew, it was without consultation, to any extent, either as to their form or mode of being presented. Yet, what more difficult and delicate task, than the framing of doctrinal propositions, to be affirmed or denied by the supreme judicatory of a church? If these resolutions were hastily prepared, carelessly arranged, or loosely expressed, this alone would be reason sufficient to account for the Assembly's passing them over. As they have been published in the religious papers, the churches may judge on this point. For ourselves, we are not surprised at their

* The rejection arose, we believe, from the wish to await the issue of the Parliamentary proceedings on the subject.

rejection. Instead of wondering that a majority of the Assembly did not vote for them, we wonder that any considerable number of voices was raised in their favour, so various are the errors they embrace, and so different in degree; some of them serious heresies, and others opinions (at least as we understand the resolutions) which were held and tolerated in the Synod of Dort, and in our own church from its very first organization. Is it to be expected that, at this time of the day, the Assembly would solemnly condemn all who do not hold the doctrine of a limited atonement? We do not believe that the penman of the Act and Testimony himself, whatever his private opinion on the doctrine may be, would vote for these resolutions. And it is too notorious that many of his most active and zealous cooperators deny this, and still more important points, to allow for a moment the supposition that they could intelligently have given such a vote. Surely then, the rejection of propositions, for which at no period of the history of the church, perhaps, a tenth of its ministers could have voted, is no adequate proof that the Assembly "countenanced the alarming errors" contained in this Act and Testimony. We are not now attempting to decide whether the Assembly did or did not countenance these errors, but we say, the evidence on which we could be induced to subscribe the solemn declaration that they did, must be very clear; and that no such evidence is exhibited to those who are called upon to join in the accusation. As before said, we do not believe that the errors quoted above from this document, or any others which it specifies, (unless it be that on the doctrine of imputation) are held or approved by one tenth of the ministers of the Presbyterian church. And we consider it a very serious affair to have the corruption of such a body of Christians asserted and proclaimed through both hemispheres.

As a proof of disregard of discipline, the Testimony refers to the treatment, by the Assembly, of a memorial sent up from several presbyteries, sessions and individual members. It may be supposed that the manner in which this paper was disposed of, furnishes evidence that the Assembly countenanced the errors abovementioned. This memorial, however, is not sufficiently known to make this the ground of a general signature of the Act and Testimony. We are very far from feeling called upon to justify all acts of the Assembly, or to apologize for them. Our feelings always, and our judgment generally, were with the minority in that body. There were things in the doings of the Assembly, which we disapprove of as much as any of the signers of this document. The manner in which this memorial was treated, is one of the acts which we think

much to be regretted. But the single point now is, whether this treatment furnishes evidence sufficient to authorize the authentication of the charge contained in the first paragraph of the Act and Testimony. Let any one look over this memorial, and ask, whether it was reasonable to expect the Assembly, in the present state of the church, to meet its demands. It is a long document, which concludes by requesting,

1. "That the plan of union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements" be wholly abrogated, &c.

2. That presbyteries be restrained from ordaining, licensing, or dismissing men, not to labour in their own bounds, but in the bounds of other presbyteries.

3. That the Assembly resume the sole direction of Missionary operations within the bounds of the Presbyterian church, to the exclusion of non-ecclesiastical associations.

4. That the Assembly bear solemn testimony against the many errors preached and published in the church.

5. That various points of order and discipline should be decided; as, 1. Whether one presbytery must admit a member coming from any other with clean papers. 2. Whether a judicatory may not examine and express an opinion of a book, without first commencing process against its author, when a member of their own body. 3. Whether in adopting the Confession of Faith as a system, the candidate "is at liberty to reject as many particular propositions as he pleases," &c.

6. That the Assembly disannul the act of the Assembly of 1832, dividing the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and disavow the principle that presbyteries may be founded on "the principles of elective affinity."*

Here is matter enough to occupy a deliberative assembly for months. That all these points should be taken up, and properly considered, was therefore not to be expected. And as many of these requests are in direct opposition to measures carried with the full concurrence and approbation of the prominent signers of the Act and Testimony, who now request the Assembly to undo, what they themselves have done—it was as little to be expected, that, if considered, they could be granted. Though we think that the number and weight of the signatures to this memorial were such, that the Assembly ought to have paid more attention to their plea, and granted many of their requests, we are far from being convinced that it was a desire to countenance or sustain the errors specified in the Act and Testimony, which

* For the sake of brevity we have not quoted these demands at length, but contented ourselves with giving the substance of each.

led to the course pursued. It is a very prevalent, and in itself a reasonable feeling, that church-courts should not legislate *in thesi*, or pronounce on doctrines in the abstract; that it is best to wait until the points come up for decision in the usual course of judicial proceedings. This feeling is so strong, in some of the soundest and best men in our church, as of itself to induce them to vote against many of the demands made in this memorial. It is not, however, possible to know the motives which influenced different individuals in taking the course which the Assembly pursued with this document. It is sufficient, that this course does not afford proof of the charge brought in the first paragraph of the Act and Testimony: and this point we think as clear as it can well be made. Were there no other reason, therefore, for not signing this document, the character of that paragraph we think sufficient.

There is another ground of serious objection to be found in the fifth of its eight recommendations to the churches. The signers say, "We would propose, that we consider the presbyterial existence and acts of any presbytery or synod formed upon the principles of elective affinity, as unconstitutional, and all ministers and churches voluntarily included in such bodies as having virtually departed from the standards of our church." This, it is to be observed, is not an expression of the opinion, that the existence and acts of such bodies are unconstitutional, but a recommendation that they be so considered, and of consequence, so treated. This is the only interpretation which we are able to put upon this passage. If this be its meaning, it must be seen at once, that it is a very serious step. For the members of any community, civil or ecclesiastical, to meet together, and recommend to their fellow members, to consider and treat the acts of the constituted authorities as unconstitutional and void, is an extreme proceeding, to be justified only by a necessity which authorizes the resolution of the society into its original elements. It is a deliberate renunciation of an authority which every member of the community has bound himself to respect. It is therefore the violation of a promise of obedience which can only be excused by proving that it is an extreme case, to which the promise was never intended to apply, and is not in its nature applicable. In civil governments this procedure is inceptive rebellion; in ecclesiastical governments it is the first step in schism. To take this step, is either a virtue, or a crime, according to the presence or absence of a justifying cause. That it must, however, be a very serious cause which will justify the disregard of obligations voluntarily assumed, and promises deliberately given, will of course be

admitted. That it is not competent for any individual, within the limits of the extreme cases just supposed, to judge for himself of the unconstitutionality or the constitutionality of the acts of the constituted authorities of the community to which he belongs, is too obvious to need remark. Every one sees that there would be an end of all government, if every member of a community were allowed to recognize or disregard a law at option; or by a simple assumption of its unconstitutionality to escape from the obligation to obedience. We cannot but regard, therefore, the recommendation of this document, that churches and ministers consider certain acts of the Assembly unconstitutional, as a recommendation to them to renounce their allegiance to the church, and to disregard their promises of obedience. Whether this recommendation be justifiable or not, depends of course on the exigency of the case. Those who do not think the act complained of, sufficiently heinous and destructive to dissolve the bonds of their allegiance, cannot sign this Act and Testimony; while those who regard it as a case of life or death, may feel at liberty to give the advice in question.

Though we are of the number of those who disapprove the plan of constituting presbyteries on the principle complained of, and think that it was, at least, never contemplated by the constitution, yet we are unable to discover so much evil in the measure as to justify the dissolution of the church, or the disregarding of the obligation we are all under to obedience. The plan recommended in this document necessitates a schism of the church, and perhaps was designed so to do. The Assembly have passed an act which these signers refuse to recognise. Either the Assembly must retract, or the signers must secede. One or the other of these results must take place, unless we are to have the confusion of two churches, with two sets of ministers and members, not recognizing each others acts or ecclesiastical standing, all included in the same body. How can such a state of things exist? The Assembly's second Presbytery of Philadelphia we will suppose, ordains a man to the ministry. As their constitutional existence is denied, the validity of this ordination, as a Presbyterial act, must also be denied. This leads to a denial of the candidate's ministerial acts, at least ecclesiastically considered. He is to those, who adopt this recommendation, a layman, and can do nothing which a layman may not perform. Will they recognise his baptisms? his introduction and dismission of church members? This evil may be bearable, while there are but two or three individuals in this situation; but it must increase every month or year, until the whole church is a chaos. Such seems the necessary result

of acting on the plan recommended, unless schism be at once resorted to. This result, indeed, seems to have been distinctly in view when the act was prepared. The signers say, "If the majority of our church are against us, they will, we suppose, in the end, either see the infatuation of their course, and retrace their steps, or they will, at last, attempt to cut us off." That is to say, 'we have assumed such a position that things cannot remain as they are; the Assembly must either retrace their steps, or the church be divided.' Division, then, is the end to which this enterprise leads, and at which, we doubt not it aims;* and division for what? As far as this document is concerned, it is division which is to result from not recognising the existence and acts of certain presbyteries and synods. This is the only effective provision in the whole act. All its other recommendations may be adopted, and no division occur; but if this be acted upon, division is inevitable. Is the church then prepared to divide, because one portion thinks that A. B. C. may lawfully be united into a presbytery, on the ground that they wish to be so united; and the other that A. B. C. and D. may be thus united, because they live within the same geographical lines? The motive for the wish, in the former case, does not affect the principle. It may be a corrupt motive, or a good one. Some individuals in Philadelphia wished to be set apart into a presbytery, it was said, because they differed from the standards to which the majority of their presbytery adhered. Other individuals in Cincinatti wished to be set apart in like manner, it was said, because they adhered to the standards, while the majority of their brethren were unsound. Admit both these suppositions to be correct, and both requests to have been granted, and we have two elective affinity presbyteries, the one formed from a desire to evade the operation of the constitution, and the other to give it its full force. We think the principle is a bad one; but it is clear that it may operate one way as well as the other, and that it is not to be viewed as a device designed to form a secure retreat for heresy. The fact is, that the members of our presbyteries are so much intermixed, especially in our cities, where not only ministers, but even churches frequently change their location, that the necessity of definite geographical limits has never been strenuously insisted upon. As the geographical is the obvious, and, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the most convenient principle of division, and the one which the constitution directs

* Since writing the above we see that this intention is denied, in the Presbyterian. We have heard other signers of the Act and Testimony, however, very distinctly avow their desire to effect a division of the church.

to be followed, it is clear that it ought to be adhered to. But can any one prevail upon himself to say, that the church must be split to pieces, because, in a single case, another principle has been adopted? The fact is, that this matter is, comparatively speaking, altogether insignificant; and it never would have attracted the least attention, were it not for the supposed motive which led to the adoption of the elective affinity principle. Had a Synod constituted twelve ministers, resident in one city, all of them equally distinguished for soundness of doctrine and purity of life, six into one presbytery, and six into another, simply because it had been so requested, would the whole church be agitated, when it was ascertained that the members of the one body were not separated geographically from those of the other? This, no one can believe. It is not therefore the simple principle in question, however generally admitted to be incorrect, that is the cause of this deep and extended feeling. If this be true, it ought not to be thrust forward as a test principle. The church ought not to be called upon to deny the constitutional existence of bodies constituted on this plan, and by this denial, render schism unavoidable. Brethren agreed in doctrine and views of order and discipline, united in heart and effort, ought not to be thrust asunder, because, on such a point as this, they cannot agree.

We can hardly persuade ourselves that reflecting men can consider this matter viewed as an abstract constitutional point, of sufficient importance to justify schism. Yet this is really the issue made and presented in the Act and Testimony. Refusal to retract on this point was the great offence of the last Assembly. As soon as this refusal was known, preparation was made for issuing this manifesto. We do not doubt, as already said, that the real ground of offence, the true cause of the present excitement, is not this insignificant question, but the impression as to the motive which governed the decision of the Assembly. Still this is the question as here presented. It is not pretended that the Assembly formally sanctioned the errors enumerated in this document. It countenanced and sustained them, by the erection of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, and by the refusal to consent to its dissolution. These are the acts, therefore, which are the grounds of complaint, and which the churches are called upon to disregard. The issue therefore is on a constitutional point of very minor importance.

Our second specific objection, then, to this Act and Testimony is, that it recommends a disregard of the regular authority of the church which we are bound to obey; and that the ground of this recommendation is, in our opinion, altogether insufficient. The consequence of adopting the proposed course, must be either

to divide the church on a constitutional question of little comparative moment, or to produce a state of the greatest confusion and difficulty. A third objection, and the only other of this kind we shall mention, is founded on the eighth and last recommendation, viz. "We do earnestly recommend, that on the second Thursday of May, 1835, a convention be held in the city of Pittsburg, to be composed of two delegates, a minister and ruling elder from each presbytery, or from the minority of any presbytery, who may concur in the sentiments of this act and testimony, to deliberate and consult on the present state of our church, and to adopt such measures as may be best suited to restore her prostrated standards." The objections to this recommendation are nearly the same urged against the one already considered. It is essentially a revolutionary proceeding. It is an appeal from the constitutional government, to the people in their primary bodies. When this is done, merely for the expression or formation of a public sentiment, which may exert its legitimate influence upon the regular authorities, there is no ground of complaint. Analogy is to be found to such a course in the public meetings and conventions under our civil government, which are perfectly consistent, both with the theory and regular action of our institutions But the case before us is very different. A large meeting first declare certain acts unconstitutional and resolve not to submit to them. They invite others to join in this refusal and to send delegates to meet in general convention to adopt ulterior measures. They first take a step which brings them necessarily into collision with the government, and then call on all of like mind to unite with them. The analogy is so complete between this case and that which recently convulsed our whole country, and threatened the existence of our political institutions, that none can fail to perceive it. There can, therefore, be no invidiousness in making the allusion. An act of the general government was pronounced, by thepeople of one of the States, to be unconstitutional and consequently void. They deliberately resolved to refuse to submit to it. Whether this was right or wrong, it was regarded by the country as creating a necessity for one of two things; either that the act should be repealed, or the union dissolved by secession or war. It was indeed, in itself, a conditional dissolution of the union. The condition was the repeal of the offensive act. If this was refused, the union was at an end. When under these circumstances, the State in question proposed to call a convention of all who agreed with her in opinion as to the grievance complained of, did not every one regard the proposal as a step in advance, as a measure designed and adapted to make the breach more certain and serious. Of this there can be no doubt. Public sen-

timent was overwhelmingly against the wisdom and lawfulness of the course of this aggrieved member of our union. The remedy, as extra-constitutional and revolutionary, was deemed disproportioned to the malady. Yet it was on all hands admitted that there might be evils, which, being intolerable, would justify this dissolution of political society, and the disruption of all existing bonds of political duty and allegiance. So in the case before us, if the evils complained of are such as justify the dissolution of the church, and the disregard of the solemn obligations by which we have bound ourselves together, then the case is made out. The propriety of the Act and Testimony is vindicated. The point now before us, however, is, the true nature of its recommendations. We say they are extra-constitutional and revolutionary, and should be opposed by all those who do not believe that the crisis demands the dissolution of the church. If such a crisis be made out, or assumed, then all the rest is a mere question of the ways and means.

We do not believe that any such crisis exists. That there has been much disorder of various kinds within our bounds, that there has been a good deal of erroneous doctrine preached and published, and that many judicatories have been criminally remiss in matters of discipline, we do not doubt. These are evils with regard to which the churches should be instructed and warned, and every constitutional means be employed for their correction. But what we maintain is, that there has been no such corruption of doctrine or remissness in discipline as to justify the division of the church, and consequently all measures having that design and tendency are wrong and ought to be avoided.

To exhibit fully the grounds of this opinion, would require us to review the origin and progress of the present difficulties, and consequently render it necessary for us to enter into historical details too extensive for our limits, and inconsistent with our present object. We must therefore be contented with the remark, that the burden of proof rests on those who assert that such a crisis does exist. This proof has not yet been exhibited. Until it is, we can only say, that we do not believe there is any call for the extreme measures proposed in the Act and Testimony.

We believe, indeed, that there are a number of men in our church, who hold doctrinal opinions, which ought to have precluded their admission, and who should now be visited by regular ecclesiastical process. But we believe this number to be comparatively small. We have never doubted that there was serious ground of apprehension for the purity of our church.

Considering the ease with which men are introduced into our communion, who, not being brought up among us, know nothing, and care nothing about Presbyterianism, it is very evident that we must have a constant accession of unsound, and even hostile men, if our judicatories are not faithful to their vows. We have often wondered, indeed, at the facility with which decided Congregationalists, so born and educated, become Presbyterians. We rejoice to see that there is a general Congregational Association formed in the State of New York. Those brethren who really prefer the Congregational system, may now indulge that preference, instead of being forced to submit to the painful necessity of joining a church, with whose distinctive organization they are unacquainted, or to which they are unfriendly. This is the main evil, which it requires nothing but honesty on the part of the presbyteries effectually to prevent. We are happy in knowing that at least one case has occurred, in which a presbytery, where there is not to our knowledge, a single adherent of the *old school*, has deliberately, and almost unanimously refused to ordain a candidate who held the popular errors on depravity and regeneration. There are not wanting other decisive and cheering intimations that the portentous union between the New Divinity and the New Measures, which threatened to desolate the church, has, at least for the present, done its worst. The latter, but scarcely the lesser, of this firm of evils is, to all appearance, dead. Its course doubtless will be marked by melancholy memorials for generations But as the great mass of the wisdom and piety of the country (we are speaking of the north and east) were found decidedly arrayed against it, we trust the church will be spared such another visitation. And even as to the other member of the firm, we hope the shout of victory from its advocates was rather a mistake. If we may credit what we hear, the novelty being over, the wonder is on the decline. It is said, that out of the immediate sphere of the origin of the theory, its friends are very few and very far between.

But let it be supposed that in all this we are mistaken, that the corruption in doctrine, and remissness in discipline, are far more extensive than we imagine. Let it even be admitted, that the General Assembly, after having long connived at alarming errors, has at length countenanced and sustained them. Let every thing be admitted which we have endeavoured to disprove. Still, the case of the Act and Testimony is not made out. The necessity or propriety of schism does not appear. Is Christ divided? If the head be one, should the body so easily be separated? Is not the visible union of the people of God, as

the expression of their spiritual union to each other and the Lord Jesus, a solemn obligation? To what a lamentable condition would the church be reduced, if on every occasion of disappointment or excitement, or even of serious mistake, injustice, or error, her members were to separate into distinct communions! We are not about to advocate a spurious liberality, or defend a spirit of compromise with remissness or error. We merely wish to state, that the division of a church of Jesus Christ is a very serious thing, expressly forbidden in the word of God,* and only to be justified by the most obvious necessity.

What then constitutes a necessity for schism, and makes that crime a virtue? We venture to answer, that no man is at liberty to labour for a division of the church to which he belongs, unless he and others are called upon either to profess what they think erroneous, or to do what they think wrong. As the duty of preserving the unity of the church is obvious and admitted, the seceders must make out that they are free from this solemn obligation. But what can free them from the obligation of duty, but the interference of some stronger obligation? So long as the standards of any church remain unaltered, its members profess the same faith which they avowed when they joined it. I do not profess to hold or to teach what A. B. or C. may be known to believe, but I profess to believe the confession of faith of the church to which I belong. It matters not, therefore, so far as this point is concerned, how corrupt a portion, or even the majority, of the church may be, provided I am not called upon to profess their errors. Instead of my mere ecclesiastical connexion with them being a countenancing of their errors, it may give me the best opportunity of constantly testifying against them. Who have done so much to render conspicuous and odious the errors and unfaithfulness of the clergy at Geneva, as the orthodox and pious portion of their number? The individuals who previously seceded, left the body in quietness behind them, and lost in a great measure their ability both to promote the truth and to oppose error. As another illustration, let us refer to the church of Scotland. Every one knows the long controversy between the Orthodox and the Moderate parties in that body. Had Dr. Witherspoon, and the faithful men who acted with him, lifted the standard of division, what would have been the present state of that church? In all probability it would be little better than that of Geneva. All the resources of the body, all its institutions, its corporate existence and privileges, would have been basely (shall we say?) delivered up to the enemy as a contribution to his means of

* 1 Cor. i. 10.

promoting and perpetuating error. By the faithful adherence of these men to their posts, after one defeat had followed another in rapid and long succession, the church has been saved. The pious and orthodox portion have gained the ascendency, and are now shaking off the trammels of patronage and other antiquated corruptions, and wielding the whole of her resources for the advancement of the truth. Blessings will rest for ever on the memory of Witherspoon, because he was not a preacher of secession. If others in that land of our ecclesiastical fathers had been equally wise; if the numerous body of evangelical men split up into the sects of Burghers, Anti-Burghers, &c. were now united with their former brethren, what an army would they form! Would any one be so infatuated as to urge the pious and devoted members of the Protestant church in France to secede from their brethren, and give up their institutions at Strasburg and Montauban, to be perpetual nurseries of error? Or would any one counsel the orthodox Germans to forsake their stations on the plain, where they can meet their enemies on equal terms, and go down into the deep and narrow valley of dissent?

What has become of the Morristown Presbytery? What has become of the True Reformed Dutch Church, which not only seceded from their highly respectable and orthodox brethren, but had well nigh excommunicated them? How completely has the wave of oblivion blotted them out! They have disappeared from the visible ranks, at least, of the hosts of the church. Are they doing more good, or preventing more evil now, than in their former connexion? We think their example should serve at once as a warning to any who are disposed to secede from among us, and as a rebuke to those who appear anxious to precipitate a similar crisis in our church.

We cannot see, then, how any thing is to be gained, for the cause of truth, by secession; but we see how much will be lost. We shall gain no advantage in opposing error; but only lose our facilities for promoting truth. Instead of manifesting fidelity to the cause of the Redeemer, we shall deliver up the post committed to our keeping. Until, therefore, the standards of the church are altered, or its members are in some way called upon to profess error, or to do wrong, their motto should be, "STAND FAST; HAVING ON THE WHOLE ARMOUR OF GOD."

We have now performed a painful, though, as we think, an imperative duty. We have come out openly against brethren in whose doctrinal views we coincide, whose persons we love, whose character and motives we respect, with whom we have ever been associated, and fondly hope ever to continue united The grounds on which we have felt constrained to bear this testimony, may be very briefly stated.

As we have already said, it is at all times the privilege, and often the duty, of the members of a community, to spread their views on important practical subjects before their fellow members. How constantly is this done in political matters. If such be the privilege of every individual, it is especially incumbent on those who are connected with the periodical press. The very end and object of that press is the diffusion of practical knowledge, and the discussion of important points of truth and duty. We confess, however, that we have had other motives for the course which has been taken. We, in common with that large class of our brethren who do not belong to the number against whom the Testimony is directed, and yet have not joined in the act, have felt annoyed by the urgency which has been used to obtain signatures, and the serious censure lavished on those who refuse their names. It was necessary, as a matter of self vindication, that the grounds of this refusal should be publicly stated. It should be known, that it was not fear for the consequences of the act, nor insensibility to the evils complained of, but disapprobation of the nature and tendency of the measure. It is with a sincere desire to cooperate in the prevention of the evils, which we think must ensue from the prosecution of the course proposed, that we have lifted up our voice against it. Let the facts and reasons here presented pass for what they are worth. Let brethren give them a candid consideration. Let them ask themselves, if when, as they suppose, error and disorder are coming in like a flood, they should turn their backs on the enemy, and leave a weakened and discouraged remnant to continue the battle. What if they are defeated, not once or twice, but many times? Constancy and truth always ultimately prevail. Let us only be careful that it is for truth we struggle, and that our weapons are not carnal, but spiritual; and there is no ground for apprehension. In every church there are fluctuations. Sometimes truth and piety predominate, at others, error and irreligion. When darkest, it is nearest light. In a church like ours, we think, there is no excuse for abandoning the regular constitutional methods of proceeding. Every man can free himself from responsibility for the errors of his brethren, if he cannot have them corrected. He has all the means that others have to secure predominance for his own views, and if they are correct, he may confidently hope for their success. Let but the friends of truth be humble, prayerful, faithful and active; let them adhere to each other and to the church, and then, whether in the majority or minority for the time being, they will be most effectually serving their Master and his cause.

Art. VII.—*The Church Establishment of England.*

In our last number, we exhibited to our readers, "THE CASE OF THE DISSENTERS," accompanied with a sketch of their history; we wish now to turn their attention to the nature of the union which subsists between church and state, in England; or to bring into view the prominent features of the church establishment which exists in that country. This will be necessary, in order to form an impartial judgment respecting the interesting question which is now so earnestly agitated in that enlightened and powerful nation, in regard to a separation between church and state.

As in our former article, we had the opportunity of presenting to the American public, the substance of a well written argument vindicating the claims of the Dissenters, from the pen of one of the estimable Dissenting ministers now on a tour of observation in this country; so now, we have it in our power to give notice of another discourse of a different kind, but intended to promote the same object, from the other of these highly respectable clergymen.* The design of this last mentioned pamphlet is, to convince the pious members of the Episcopal church of England, that the legal establishment of that church is exceedingly detrimental to its spiritual prosperity; and that they, above all others, ought to desire a complete dissolution of their connexion with the civil government. The writer also labours to convince them, that no reformation of the church can be expected, until its alliance with the state is dissolved. We hope to have room to give the substance of some of his forcible statements and reasonings, before we conclude. Our principal object in this article, however, is to furnish our readers with a concise but satisfactory view of the English church establishment; or to point out the nature of the alliance which subsists between the civil and ecclesiastical constitution in that country.

It is a remarkable fact, that in every country where Christianity has become the prevailing religion, it has been taken into union with the civil government, and has been established by law—its support being enforced by the power of the State—until the United States, upon becoming independent, determined to try the experiment of separating the civil and ecclesiastical governments; and of leaving religion to provide for itself. The

* Religious Reform of the Episcopal Communion impracticable, while it remains united with the State: An earnest appeal to pious members of the Established Church. By Rev. James Matheson, second edition, corrected.

reasons which induced Christians of former days to pursue the course which they did, are exceedingly obvious; and prior to the results which experience has brought forth, were plausible, and apparently conclusive. The church and state under the Mosaic dispensation were most intimately united. Indeed, they did not form two systems, but under the theocracy, were identical. From this scriptural example, it was confidently inferred, that when the rulers of any country became Christian, they ought to exercise the same care and government of the church, as did the kings of Judah and Israel, for it was not considered, that the theocracy ended with the destruction of the Jewish polity, and that Christ wisely ordained, that his kingdom should not be "of this world," or have any connexion with the civil authorities of the nations of the earth.

Again, when kings and emperors embraced Christianity, they felt it to be their duty to advance the kingdom of Christ, by all the means in their power, and as they could do much by suppressing idolatrous practices, and by affording support to the church, and comfortable subsistence to its ministers, they concluded that this was undoubtedly their duty, since kings as well as others, were bound to make the best of all the talents committed to them, for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

The principle assumed in this reasoning is good: all men ought to promote the glory of God, by the advancement of Christ's cause. The fallacy of the argument consists in this, that the kingdom of the Redeemer will be benefitted by the exertion of civil authority in its defence and support. Partial good may, doubtless, be effected by the power of the magistrate, exerted for the propagation and support of religion; but the experience of ages has taught, that this union of the state with the church, this interference of the civil power in spiritual matters, has been the fruitful source of innumerable evils; and has had greater influence in corrupting the church of Christ, than all other causes combined. It is right for all men to exert their influence to promote religion, but that influence must be one suited to the pure and spiritual nature of religion; which cannot endure, without injury, the unhallowed association with worldly institutions. The civil magistrate may have meant well in taking religion into his embraces, but he was not aware that a plant so delicate would be crushed by such an intimate contact with a body so diverse from itself. Another reason for the universal practice among Christian nations, of uniting church and state, was, that in all countries, the Pagan religions were intimately incorporated with

the civil government; so that, frequently, the highest civil and ecclesiastical offices were united in the same person.

Here, also, it is proper to remark, that this union of church and state never exhibited features of such deformity, as when the ecclesiastical power became predominant, and threatened to swallow up, or annihilate, all civil power, by the rise and extension of the Papal hierarchy. This system has furnished the completest example of unmixed tyranny, which has ever existed. But, happily, the exorbitant power of this ghostly dominion is exceedingly weakened; and the whole fabric, notwithstanding all the exertions of its friends to prop it up, is tottering to its fall. Its ruin is clearly predicted, and the time of its overthrow draws near.

During the time in which the Popish hierarchy was at its highest pitch of power, the kingdoms of Europe could hardly be said to be in alliance with the church; they were actually in a state of subjugation to the ecclesiastical power. But when the era of the blessed reformation arrived, those countries which renounced the authority of the Pope, considered it necessary to substitute something in the place of that dominion, which he, by his legates and emissaries had for ages been permitted to exercise: and the principles of religious liberty not having been understood, at that time, the Protestant kings and governments deemed it proper and necessary, to assume to themselves that authority over the church, which was now withdrawn from the Pope. Accordingly, as soon as Henry VIII. came to an open rupture with the court of Rome, he obtained from the parliament an act by which he was declared to be the head of the church; that is, of the English church, both in matters temporal and spiritual. The intention was, that the same power and authority which the Pope of Rome had for so many ages exercised in the English church, should be transferred to the legitimate sovereign; and, upon the accession of Elizabeth, the same headship over the church was asserted, and for a long period, it has been required of all persons receiving office, to take the oath of supremacy, in which the right of the sovereigns of England to be the head of the English church is asserted. This oath was peculiarly offensive to Papists, and also to Dissenters; and, indeed, to all the Reformed churches. Calvin and Knox, particularly, exposed the absurdity of making *a woman*, who was incapable of any ecclesiastical office, the head of the church.

The extent of the king's prerogative, as it relates to the church, has been very differently understood by different jurists and divines. By some, it has been so explained, as to mean no more than a denial of all authority in the Pope or any foreign

power over the realm of Great Britain; or, in other words, a renunciation of all allegiance to the Pope, and an acknowledgment of subjection to the rightful sovereign of the country.

But the union of church and state in England, does not consist in this or that particular enactment; the civil government claims the right of legislating for the church in all matters whatever. The parliament could, at once, change the whole structure and polity of the church; for as the present establishment owes its existence to acts of parliament, so the same power which has established, is competent to annul. If there is any constitutional obstacle in the way of such legislation, it must be in the king's coronation-oath, in which he swears to maintain the church as established by law, and the Protestant succession. But this goes no further, than to prevent the introduction of Popery. Suppose the parliament should enact a law, (as was once done,) to establish presbytery instead of episcopacy, there is nothing to hinder this being done; and if instead of the thirty-nine Calvinistic articles, now established by law, the civil government should choose to establish the dogmas of Socinus or the dreams of Swedenborg, there exists no constitutional obstacle. The fact is, therefore, that, properly speaking, there is not in England any union between the church and state, but that the church is in complete subjection to the state. As a body, the church has no power whatever. If all her ministers should, to-morrow, be convinced that their whole system was antichristian, they could not alter a single article of religion without an act of parliament. Formerly, the ministers of the church were permitted to meet in Convocation; the dignitaries in one house and the common clergy in another; but they had no power to establish ecclesiastical laws; they could only suggest to the governing powers what they wished to be done. The chief object of their meeting, however, was to grant subsidies to the king; but as it was apprehended that they might aim at an increase of power, they have not been permitted to meet since 1717. Except, therefore, the idle privilege of the bishops sitting in the House of Lords, the church of England possesses no ecclesiastical power, whatever. She is the mere creature of the state; dependent for her very existence on the civil authorities. In this respect, the church of Scotland, which is governed by her own general assembly, is in a far preferable condition.

The declaration that the king is the head of the church is comparatively a matter of insignificance: it extends merely to the appointment to ecclesiastical offices; but the power of parliament over the church, which extends to its very being and constitu-

tion, is a tremendous usurpation of the rights of Jesus Christ, the King of Zion.

Having considered that part of the British constitution which makes the king the head of the church, and gives to parliament a complete control of all her concerns, we will now take a view of that part of the establishment which is properly ecclesiastical. The archbishops and bishops are called "the lords spiritual." Of the former, there are two, and of the latter, twenty-four.* All these have a seat and vote in the House of Peers; and this is said to be in virtue of certain ancient baronies which they held, or were supposed to hold. Prior to the dissolution of the monasteries, by Henry VIII., there were twenty-six abbots who also had a seat among the lords, upon the same principle as the bishops. Before the reformation, therefore, the spiritual lords were equal in number to the secular peers; but since the monasteries were dissolved, no persons of this description are admitted into parliament. When convened in parliament, the spiritual lords possess no peculiar privileges, as ecclesiastical persons. They never act as a distinct body; nor have they, in their character as bishops, any negative on the acts of parliament; but are considered in all respects as the other peers; deliberating and voting on every subject which comes before them, as individual members of the body. It is, however, customary for the bishops to take but little part in the discussions of the house, unless in cases where the interests of the church are supposed to be directly or indirectly concerned. Every bishop in the House of Lords might vote against any bill, yet if there was a majority without them in its favour, it would pass into a law and be as valid as if they all voted in favour of it. In fact, as members of the House of Peers, the bishops are in no respect distinguished from an equal number of lay-members.

The clergy, on account of their office, and that they may devote themselves exclusively to the duties of their sacred vocation, enjoy many immunities. They cannot be compelled to serve on a jury, or to accept any temporal office. During their attendance on divine service they are exempt from arrests in civil suits. They have also their disabilities. No clergyman can be a member of the House of Commons, or farm any lands, or keep a tavern or brew-house; or engage in any manner of trade.

The election of archbishops and bishops is nominally in the chapter of the cathedral connected with the diocese; and in very early times, Blackstone says, "election was the usual mode of

* Since the union with Ireland, four bishops from that country have been added; so that now twenty-eight bishops have a seat in the House of Peers; which, with the two archbishops, make the whole number of spiritual lords, thirty.

elevation to the episcopal chair, throughout all Christendom, and this was promiscuously performed by the laity as well as the clergy;" but now, the right of appointing archbishops and bishops is in the hands of the king. Before the reformation, the Pope of Rome claimed the right of investiture to all ecclesiastical offices, and "Gregory VII. published a bull of excommunication against all princes who should dare to confer investitures, and against all prelates who should venture to receive them." This was a bold step towards rendering the clergy entirely independent of the civil authority; and long and eager contests were carried on for ages between the civil and Papal authority, in regard to this very matter. But when the Pope's authority ceased in the realm of England, as has been shown, all the customary authority, exercised by him, was claimed by the king, as the legitimate head of the church.

An archbishop is the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the church of England. To him appertains the oversight of the bishops within his province, as well as of the inferior clergy; and he may, by his own authority, deprive them of office, for "notorious cause." Besides this general superintendence, each of the archbishops has his own diocese, in which he exercises episcopal jurisdiction. Without the king's writ, however, the archbishop cannot convene the clergy of his province. Appeals are received by him in person from the decisions of the bishops; and from the episcopal courts of each diocese, to his archepiscopal court.

To the episcopal office, by the canons of the church, belongs the right of ordination exclusively, and also the power of confirmation. The bishop has also the right of visiting every part of his diocese, of rectifying abuses, and of administering censures. The bishop of a diocese has several courts under him, which are held by chancellors appointed by himself; they must be skilled in ecclesiastical law; as a security for which, they are required to have taken the degree of doctor of laws, in some university. A Dean and Chapter are the council of the bishop, to assist him with their advice, and to aid in managing the temporal concerns of the diocese. The name Dean, according to Blackstone, was derived from the circumstance, that originally they were superintendents of ten of the inferior clergy; for when the other clergy were settled in the villages and country, these were retained to perform divine service in the cathedral, and had under them canons and prebendaries. Deans can be elected only by a writ from the king, called, *conge d'elire;* the canons and prebendaries who make up the chapter, are sometimes appointed by the king; sometimes by the bishop; and sometimes by those

of their own order. The division of England into parishes, is placed by Camden as early as the beginning of the seventh century; but, according to other respectable authorities, this division did not take place until the twelfth century. The learned Selden is of opinion, that a medium between these two dates comes nearer to the truth than either of them.

In early times, there was no appropriation of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues to any particular church, but every man contributed to whatever priest or church he pleased; only it was necessary that he should contribute his due proportion somewhere; and if he made no appropriations himself, they were paid into the hands of the bishop, whose duty it was to distribute them among the clergy, and to other pious uses, according to his own discretion. As, however, Christianity spread, the lords began to build churches on their own land; and in order to have divine service regularly performed, obliged their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the officiating minister of the parish. The whole number of parishes in England and Wales is between ten and eleven thousand. Some of these, however, are very small and poor, only producing an ecclesiastical revenue of a few pounds: while others are very large, and the income amounts to several hundreds of pounds sterling. By the increase of population in some of the suburbs of London, there are parishes which contain more than thirty thousand souls. The clergyman who has full possession of all the rights of a parochial church, is called a parson, (persona,) "because he is in himself," says Blackstone, "a body corporate." He is sometimes called the rector, "but the appellation, *parson*, is the most legal, most appropriate, and most honourable title, that a parish-priest can enjoy." It is evident, however, that this name is improperly applied to clergymen in this country. When parishes were first established, the tithes of the parish were distributed into four parts, one for the use of the bishop, another for maintaining the fabric, the third for the poor, and the fourth for the officiating minister. When the revenues of the bishop became ample from other sources, the division was into three parts only; but the heads of religious houses continued to get a large portion of these funds, diverted from their proper object, and appropriated to the abbeys; which were all lost to the church, when these institutions were suppressed.

The difference between a parson and vicar is, that the former has a complete right to all the ecclesiastical dues of the parish; whereas, the latter has generally some one above him, entitled to the best part of the profits. There are four things necessary to one's becoming a parson or vicar. These are, ordination, pre-

sentation, institution, and induction. Ordination must be by a bishop; presentation is made by the patron, to whom this right belongs. The bishop may refuse to receive a clergyman on certain accounts, but if an action be brought by the patron, he must assign the cause. Institution is the investiture of the person presented, with the spiritual charge of the parish; and induction is performed by a mandate from the bishop to the archdeacon, who usually issues a precept to another clergyman, to perform it. It is done, by giving the parson "corporal possession of the church, by some ceremony, such as holding the ring of the door, tolling the bell, or the like."

According to the laws of England, the rector or parson of a parish has a right to a tithe of all productive property. This law granting tithes to the clergy has been in force for more than a thousand years, in England. "Tithes are of three kinds, first *praedial*, as of the productions of the earth, corn, grass, hops, wood, &c.: secondly, *mixed*, as of wool, milk, pigs, &c.; such things as are natural products, but nurtured by the care of man. Thirdly, *personal*, as of manual occupations, such as trades, fisheries, and such like." Of these last, only the tenth part of the clear gain is due. Every thing which yields an annual increase is subject to be tithed; but not that which belongs to the substance of the earth, as stone, chalk, lime, and the like. Nor is any tithe due for wild animals; but for all domestic animals and their wool or milk, tithes are due. The law requires, that tithes of the first and second sort, mentioned above, should be paid in kind.

However vexatious and impolitic the system of tithing may be, there is no injustice done by it to the landholder; for the right of the parson to his tithes is derived from the same source, as the right of the landlord to the soil. When a man buys land in England, he buys it subject to this incumbrance, and, of course, pays so much less for it; just as with us, when land is purchased, subject to a perpetual ground-rent.

We do not find that there is now, or ever has been, any tax laid upon the people for the support of the church. The clergy are supported entirely by church property and by tithes. All other fees are gratuitous. Now, it may be asked, since the right of the clergy to a tenth of the productions of the country, and to the avails of the property of the church, is held by the same tenure as any other property, what is the real connexion between the church and state? To which we answer, that this alliance, so far as it is capable of being defined, may be said to consist,

First, in the power of parliament to make ecclesiastical laws.

Secondly, in the constitutional right which the bishops have to a seat and vote in the British parliament.

Thirdly, in the supremacy which the king claims over the church, in virtue of which he has the right of appointing all bishops, &c.

Fourthly, patronage, or presentation, by the exercise of which, the right of the people to choose their own pastors is almost entirely taken away. According to the statement of the "APPEAL," herewith published, out of 10,891 parishes, only 64 retain the right of selecting their own ministers; and of the rest, only 3769 are in the hands of the church.

Fifthly, the Act of Uniformity was the greatest infringement of the religious liberties of the people. When Charles II. was restored to the throne of England, it was fully expected that religion would have been placed on such a footing, as that the establishment would comprehend, at least, all those who adopted the doctrines and discipline agreed upon by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Indeed, this monarch had repeatedly and solemnly promised to the commissioners of the Presbyterians, who were sent to negotiate with him at Breda, and other places, that he would comply with all their wishes, as it related to religion. But after his restoration, although he parleyed with them for a while, and still held out a prospect of a scheme of the church, which would comprehend them; yet, in the end, he broke all his engagements, and gave his sanction to an act, by which more than 2000 of the most able and evangelical ministers in England were deprived of their places. A more iniquitous law than this was never enacted; for while it cast upon the world, without the least provision for their support, so many godly ministers, there were scarcely any found to occupy their vacated places, who were comparable to them in qualifications for the office; and, indeed, many of the new incumbents were, both as it relates to moral character and intellectual furniture, entirely incompetent for the stations which they occupied.

The Act of Uniformity provided, that every minister before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, should publicly declare his assent and consent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, on pain of being, *ipso facto*, deprived of his living. A motion was made in parliament to allow the ejected ministers one-fifth of the profits of their livings; which was not carried. The declaration mentioned above was not only required of every beneficed minister, but of every fellow of a college, and even of every school-master. By this act, all the ceremonies were reinstated, and no indulgence was given to the least non-conformity, in any respect. The upper house, who were less bigotted than

the lower, inserted a proviso, that the king might dispense with the surplice and the sign of the cross in baptism, but this was struck out by the commons.

Another high church principle, never before introduced, was adopted, in regard to re-ordination. "It had been usual," says Hallam, "from the very beginning of our reformation, to admit ministers ordained in foreign Protestant churches, to benefices in England. No re-ordination had ever been practised with respect to those who had received the imposition of hands, in a regular church; and hence it appears, that the church of England did not consider the ordination of presbyters invalid." But now the divine right of episcopacy was for the first time avowed; "a theory," says the same author, "naturally more agreeable to arrogant and dogmatic ecclesiastics than that of Cranmer, who saw no intrinsic difference between bishops and priests; or of Hooker, who thought ecclesiastical superiorities, like civil, subject to variation; or of Stillingfleet, who had lately pointed out the impossibility of ascertaining, beyond doubtful conjecture, the real constitution of the apostolical church, from the scanty, inconclusive testimonies, that either Scripture or antiquity furnish. It was, therefore, enacted in the statute for uniformity, that no person should hold any preferment, in England, without having received episcopal ordination."*

It was at first believed by the dominant party, that the Presbyterian clergy would submit very quietly to the law, when they found all their clamour unavailing; but when two thousand beneficed ministers at once resigned their livings, instead of extorting praise from their bigotted enemies, it rather inflamed their resentment.

Rumours of conspiracy were industriously circulated, and the government, instead of mitigating the act of uniformity, went on to add to the burdens of dissenters by fresh enactments. In the year 1664, a law was passed for the suppression of seditious conventicles, which inflicted on all persons, above the age of sixteen, present at any religious meeting in other manner than is allowed by the practice of the church of England, where five or more persons, besides the household, should be present, a penalty of three months imprisonment for the first offence, of six for the second, and seven years transportation for the third. This act was rigidly executed; insomuch that jails were filled, not only with ministers, but with the laity, who attended these meetings; and what rendered the hardship more grievous was, that by reason of the ambiguity of the words of the act, it was left to a sin-

* See Hallam's Con. Hist. Eng. v. ii. p. 404.

gle magistrate, commonly adverse to the dissenter, to give what construction he pleased.

But this conventicle-act was not all. Persecutors seldom retrace their steps. In the ensuing year, 1665, it was enacted, that all persons in holy orders who had not subscribed the act of uniformity, should swear, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king—and that they would not, at any time, endeavour any alteration of the government in church or state. Those who refused this oath were not only made incapable of teaching in schools, but prohibited from coming within five miles of any city, corporate town, or borough sending members to parliament. Hallam properly calls this "an infamous statute," by which the Dissenting ministers were cut off from all those resources by which they might have acquired a comfortable subsistence; and involving principles utterly at war with that liberty which all Englishmen glory in as their birthright. The sufferings under these several acts were severe and of long continuance; but it does not fall within the compass of our plan to give any further account of them.

These laws remained in force, with the exception of the short indulgence granted by James the Second in favour to the Papists, in which, for the sake of appearances, the Dissenters were included, until the glorious era of the revolution in 1688. The acts already mentioned were directed expressly against the Dissenters; but they suffered also by some which were intended especially for the Papists; as for example, the test act.

But now, by the act of toleration, Dissenters were exempted from the penalties of existing statutes against separate conventicles, or absence from the established worship; provided they would take the oath of allegiance, subscribe the declaration against Popery, and the thirty-nine articles, with the exception of three, and a part of a fourth. Meeting-houses were required to be registered; and were protected from insult by a penalty. No part of this toleration is extended by the act to Papists, or to such as deny the Trinity. This was indeed a very meager measure of religious liberty; but the spirit of toleration began now to prevail. Some further attempts were made to comprehend the Presbyterian ministers in the church establishment, by making some alterations in the liturgy; and by saying nothing about re-ordination, but, as before, they utterly failed.

It will be remembered, that by the act of toleration, no more was done than to suspend the penalties of the acts against Dissenters, on certain conditions. These laws are not repealed to this day.

The "Earnest Appeal," already named in the margin, dif-

fers from all other essays on this subject, that we have seen; inasmuch as its object is not to complain of the grievances and disabilities of Dissenters; but to demonstrate the many evils which arise out of the religious establishment to the church of England itself. Especially, the author attempts to prove, that as it relates to spiritual edification, church purity, and the facilities of doing good, the ministers and members of the establishment labour under peculiar disadvantages. Our readers will judge for themselves of the force and justice of the remarks contained in this pamphlet. To us they appear, to say the least, very plausible. But, perhaps, none of these writers have sufficiently and impartially considered the consequences which would result from a sudden dissolution of the religious establishment of a country which already contains within itself so many seeds of irreligion, fanaticism, and dissension. We are of opinion, that no evil whatever would arise from denying to the bishops a right to a seat in the House of Peers. It is, in fact, an invidious privilege, which is of no service to the church. The influence of the bishops in parliament is inconsiderable; and, as the peers are generally members of the church of England, there would be little danger of any acts which would militate against the church. If the right of patronage were also done away, and the privilege of electing their own pastors restored to the people, it would, as far as we can judge, be attended with no evil, but with many advantages. But if all the benefices which now support the clergy should at once be withdrawn, the consequences would probably be extremely ruinous, and we do not see how this could be done consistently with the acknowledged principles of law and justice. For, while a few would contribute to the support of the Gospel, a large majority, unaccustomed to the maintenance of their own religious teachers, would give no assistance. The churches would soon be deserted and shut up. Confusion, fanaticism, and infidelity would prevail to an awful degree. We confess, therefore, that we should be afraid to pull down at once a fabric which has been extending and deepening its foundations for ages, lest, in the crash of its fall, the bonds of civil society, with which the ecclesiastical establishment is so intimately combined, should be ruptured, and the whole structure be precipitated into remediless ruin. The events of the French revolution speak to us on this subject with a monitory voice.

There might, however, be a complete separation between the church and state, without depriving the church of England of its property and funds; except the tithes, for in regard to these, it is certain, that they must soon be given up. The popular feeling against the exaction of tithes is too strong to be long re-

sisted. Indeed the government have had it under profound consideration for some time, to substitute some other provision for the clergy, in the place of tithes.

But it is now time that we should pay more particular attention to the cogent reasonings of the author of the pamphlet which we mentioned in the commencement of this article. After an appropriate introduction, the writer proceeds to the consideration of the subject of patronage, and as a specimen of his style and spirit we will give an extract of some length from this part of the dicourse.

"We shall, first, give a condensed view of the principal evils and dangers to which the religious interests of Diocesan Episcopacy are exposed, by its connexion with the state; and then endeavour to show, that the only security for the spiritual character of that denomination, is to be found in its release from the secularizing influence of the state alliance.

"Among the moral evils, which afflict the Episcopal communion, *patronage* may be considered as exposing its religious character to greater danger than almost any other. Even Churchmen who are not truly religious, admit this; and pious members of the establishment deeply lament what they see no means of curing.

"What is this evil? It is the legal right, which chancellors, bishops, nobility, gentry, and corporations possess, of presenting certain persons to the cure of souls, irrespective of the approbation or disapprobation of the people over whom they are placed. To this system may be traced nearly all the moral maladies of the established church. To this denial to the people of their inalienable rights, may be traced the abominations of pluralities —of non-residence—of extravagant incomes—and of miserable pittances! To this Episcopacy is indebted for sporting clergymen, in short, for thousands of blind leaders of the blind. We have no doubt, that had it been possible to restore to the people the power of choosing their own ministers, the church would, long ere this, have been placed in its legitimate position.

"How affecting is the consideration, that out of 10,891 livings in the National church, there are only sixty-four to which the people possess the right of appointing. Men of infidel principles —men who are ignorant of religion, and of the qualifications which religious teachers should possess—having livings in their gift, bestow them on relatives, or individuals recommended to them by some political or worldly consideration. There is reason to fear that this system has been the ruin of millions of immortal spirits; for men have been placed over thousands of

parishes, for generations past, who never, in their public discourses, directed their fellow-sinners to "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." There is an indifference, a criminal indifference to this evil, on the part of the pious clergy and laity of the established church, quite unaccountable. No voice has been raised against a system of oppression and injustice, as much greater than that of nomination boroughs, as the things of eternity exceed in value and importance those of time. Many churchmen protested against the interference of the nobility and gentry in returning members to the House of Commons; they spurned at the idea of allowing individuals to usurp the privileges of the people, and their remonstrances were successful: yet the very same persons who were zealous and determined advocates for civil liberty, tolerate a system of nomineeship in the affairs of eternity without a murmur, without a protest.* How can we account for the fact, that the same noble lord, who has been deprived of the power of appointing representatives in Parliament for a particular place, should still be allowed, without remonstrance, to place over its inhabitants, as their religious teacher—as their guide to heaven—a man unknown to them, and ignorant of them; without their consent being sought or obtained—without even the courtesy of previously informing them what are his qualifications for discharging the duties of his office? Are the affairs to be transacted by the British Legislature, of greater importance than those which relate to eternity? Are pecuniary interests more dear to Churchmen than the interests of their immortal spirits? Is the liberty of choosing a member of Parliament more to be desired than the liberty of choosing a teacher of religion—a guide to them and to their children in the way to heaven? Is it more essential, to ascertain the qualifications and the principles of a candidate for Parliamentary honours, than to examine the qualifications, and to ascertain the principles of a minister of religion? Who will assert that pious members of the Church of England are better able to judge of political qualities, than of moral and religious character? Must we then

* Does not the following list show the necessity for urgent remonstrance on the part of the laity?

Livings in the gift of the Nobility and Gentry	5033
——————of the Church	3769
——————of the Government	1014
——————of the Universities	814
——————of Public Bodies	197
——————of the Inhabitants	64!!
	10,891

conclude, that all those Churchmen who were zealous in seeking a reform in Parliament, are unbelievers, or ignorant of the Gospel of Christ, caring nothing about their own salvation or that of their children? We dare not suppose this, for we know the contrary. This indifference among evangelical members of the Episcopal communion, appears, to our view, an ominous circumstance. We are not surprised, when men of the world—when mere formalists, succumb to the despotism of a patron, and raise no voice against *his* choice of a pastor for them. *They* feel no interest in the subject—they act as their fathers did—and they would indeed wonder at any resistance to the exercise of a power like this. Religion presents no aspect of importance to them, and if the regular services of their church are performed, they are perfectly content. From such churchmen, their communion can have no hope, as it regards, real, efficient, enlightened help, in the hour of danger; they form the dead weight in that denomination, and would soon bring it to ruin, were there not numerous real Christians, who preserve the body from entire debasement. But is it not matter of equal surprise and regret, that the better portion of that communion should allow this state of things to continue? They cannot but see the injurious and destructive effects produced by the law of patronage. They must know, that there are thousands of clergymen in their church, utterly unfit for the sacred duties of their office; and who, but for the present system, would never have occupied a station among the professed ministers of Christ. They must also know—for the thing is not done in a corner—that even in those parishes where faithful ministers are placed, there is no security that, when they die, men of similar views will succeed them. The very persons who, under God, owe their conversion to these devoted men—who have been brought together to attend to divine ordinances, so far as the system will allow—may, on the death of their pastors, have men of opposite sentiments placed over them. What remedy have these injured people? They must either consent to receive the instructions of a man who preaches another gospel, or must *leave* the church, and hear the truth in an unconsecrated building, except it happen that a neighbouring parish is blessed with a clergyman who preaches the Gospel. Grievous as the result may be, the patron has only exercised his legal right, a right which *human* laws have given him. In most cases, the people who love the truth, must seek a teacher *beyond* the pale of a church, which, by this antichristian law, robs them of the provisions of the Gospel. Is there a man in the Episcopal denomination, valuing the Gospel more than he values the forms and ceremonies of any church, that can say, these Christian peo-

ple do wrong in becoming Dissenters, in circumstances like these?

"How long will members of the church of England continue to despise their birthright as Englishmen, and their liberties as Christians;—to forget the just claims of God and of conscience, and yield unwarrantable subjection to secular laws in religious matters? They boast of their apostolic, primitive form of Christianity: but surely no denomination, in which the people are excluded from the choice of their pastors, can be either apostolic or primitive. We might, indeed, if necessary, rest the question at issue between the established church and Dissenters on this single point, as alone sufficient to justify separation; for while the Episcopal denomination submits to this law, it must, of necessity, remain a corrupt community. This is a subject which loudly demands immediate attention, for the present condition of the vast majority of their congregations is most affecting. But the existing state of things would have been much worse had not certain means been employed to counteract the evil. There has been, for more than forty years, a fund, supplied by the voluntary contributions of evangelical churchmen, by which young men of piety have been supported at the universities, and curacies or small livings afterwards obtained for them;—a circumstance to which 'the church of England' owes a great portion of the evangelical preachers to be found among its clergy."

The next evil which the author mentions as weakening and endangering the Episcopal church, is "the indifference of the great mass of its nominal members to the spiritual character of their own communion." "They may," says he, "esteem themselves good churchmen, and despise others; but they have no desire to see their own denomination pure, zealous, and useful." This state of indifference he traces to the same source, the influence of patronage, in appointing ministers who do not preach the Gospel. Hence multitudes remain in ignorance of the nature and importance of true religion. From early years they are taught to frequent the parish church, whatever be the doctrines preached there, and to shun all other places of worship, though the Gospel of Christ may be faithfully proclaimed in them. People of this description, he informs us, chiefly complain of those abuses which are of a secular nature; such as inequalities in the value of livings, pluralities, non-residence, and cathedral sinecures. "But no desire is expressed by this class of Episcopalians, that the religious character of their clergy should be of a more elevated kind; that errors and imperfections in their formularies should be corrected; or that the discipline of the New

Testament should be practised among their members."—"If their clergy are merely not immoral, they boast of this negative character. High-toned piety—decided non-conformity to the world, are not generally expected, or even desired." This state of things is traced by the author of the "Earnest Appeal" to the unfaithful preaching and worldly lives of anti-evangelical ministers. This indifference is also strengthened by the fact that the people have no voice or influence in the appointment of their ministers; and of course feel no interest in the concerns of the church.

"Among the dangers to which the church of England is exposed," according to this author, "there is not one more alarming than the hostile attitude assumed by Dissenters towards the establishment." On this subject, he observes, there exists much misconception among Episcopalians. By them Dissenters are considered as the enemies of their church, and as being leagued with infidels to accomplish this object. The author here distinguishes between *the church* and *the establishment*. For, while he acknowledges that they do seek the abolition of the parliamentary sanction by which the church is now supported, he denies that they seek the ruin of Episcopacy as a distinct and important denomination of the Protestant church. "We wonder," says he, "that pious men can imagine, that the separation of episcopacy from the state is synonymous with its destruction."

In answer to the question, why do Dissenters attack the established church, he says, "why does that church continue to inflict penalties on Dissenters, because they separate from its communion?" "The established church is by many of its supporters declared to be the only true church of Christ within these realms. Its three orders of clergy are declared to be apostolic; and those who believe in the equality of Christian ministers are accused of heresy. The prelates of that church lay claim to the dignity of being the successors of the apostles; assert that they only have a right to ordain men to the work of the ministry; and that no sacrament can be valid, no soul can be secure, out of the national Episcopal church; that all other ministers are only *pretenders* to holy orders; and that, whatever be their characters or attainments, they are *intruders*, false shepherds, heretical teachers, and illiterate men."—"When our members are held up to the scorn and contempt of the nation by leading members of a religious denomination, which we believe to be the least spiritual of any in the land, is it wonderful that feelings of irritation should be produced?—We are, in fact, put on our defence by the lofty and exclusive pretensions of our accusers; and we should be acting unworthily, both as men and as Chris-

tians, if we did not, on proper occasions, and in a Christian spirit, show, that the haughty assumption of diocesan Episcopacy is unscriptural; and that the formularies of the established church contain many things opposed to Christian liberty, and to the word of God." The writer then goes on to observe, that if this religion was not sanctioned by the state, Dissenters would be much less disposed to make attacks upon it; but that its claims are such as cannot be granted by them, without being guilty of rebellion against Christ. He then proceeds in the following animated strain:

"When we see the great injury done to true religion, in our own country, and indirectly to the world, by the connexion between church and state; when we believe that the legislative establishment of a church, which acknowledges the king to be its head, is a direct interference with the prerogatives of Christ; when we see Christian liberty restrained, and civil liberty injured; when we behold multitudes of nominal churchmen without any suitable means of religious instruction being provided for them, though by a legal fiction this is supposed to be done for every parish in the kingdom; when we feel the injustice of the laws which still penally affect Dissenters, for acting according to the dictates of conscience; in short, when we can trace all these evils, and many more, to this connexion of a church with the state, what, we ask, is our duty? What would be the duty of Episcopalians, if they were placed in our circumstances, and held the same opinions respecting the nature of Christ's church, on the supposition that ours were to become the established church? Unquestionably it would then be *their* duty to seek a separation between our church and the state; but not to interfere with us, as a Christian denomination, in altering our forms or observances. This *is* now *our* duty, and as soon as this object is effected, we shall cease to have any controversy with diocesan Episcopacy as a denomination. Its high prelatical assumptions will then be comparatively disregarded, if they are not lowered, and all parties will have the privilege of going forward in their career of usefulness. The bitterness of party spirit, the irritation of mind, produced by the arrogant pretensions of a dominant sect, will be unknown; and harmony among all denominations may reasonably be expected. Our opposition, which, we repeat, is not to Episcopacy, but to its incorporation with the state, would then terminate. As a denomination, its own religious character and zeal would then have fair play, without injuring others; whereas, according to its present constitution, it cannot prosper, without treating others with injustice, and directly in-

terfering with that equality of civil privilege which ought to exist among Christian sects. Let not the nature of our hostility be mistaken. We unfeignedly love all that is unquestionably good in the Episcopal church—its great doctrines, and those of its members who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We shall rejoice in its augmented zeal, purity, and success in the wide field of a yet partially enlightened world; and we are persuaded that the real safety, honour, and usefulness of that denomination, can only be secured by *separation from the state.*"

The demands of this writer, as well as the author of the "Case of the Dissenters," are high and uncompromising; and they appear to represent a large portion of the English Dissenters. They no longer ask merely to have pluralities abolished, residence enforced, tithes commuted, bishops released from attendance in parliament—they will no longer be satisfied with exemption from penalties for non-conformity, and with the privilege of sending their sons to the two universities, of being buried in the public cemeteries, and having the marriages solemnized by their own ministers registered; but they insist on a complete separation of the Episcopal church from the state. They say, "We shall continue to seek this change, because it is just to others as well as ourselves; because the civil and religious liberties of our country can never be secure, while a prelatical hierarchy exercises authority in civil matters, and extends a baneful influence throughout the land: in short, because the interests of religion, both at home and abroad, are deeply injured by the present state of things. We must continue to seek this separation, because we are the servants of Jesus Christ, whose laws are violated, whose authority is usurped, and whose cause is retarded by the unholy alliance now subsisting."

The next evil affecting the Episcopal church which this writer notices, is the *sectarian* spirit of the establishment. Her claims to a tolerant spirit he utterly denies, and alleges, that history proves that the dominant sect has always been, more or less, bigotted and injurious. He represents the church of England as more sectarian than the church of Scotland. "The latter acknowledges other Protestant churches; but the former refuses to hold communion with any other Protestant denomination; even the sister establishment of Scotland she repudiates as schismatic and anti-apostolic, while she opens her arms to the church of Rome! The ordination of the latter she counts valid, while that of Presbyters is rejected. It cannot, therefore, be expected, that Protestant Dissenters can be viewed as worthy to be admitted to her communion."

Another evil which occasions great distress to many pious Episcopalians, is the total absence of discipline in their church. On this subject our author makes many forcible remarks; but as the fact is notorious and indefensible, we deem it unnecessary to enter into particulars.

The next evil, on which he remarks, is the *compulsory* mode by which the Episcopal church is supported; which he represents as "directly opposed to the rights of conscience, the great principles of justice, and the means prescribed by the Christian dispensation." Next, he combats the idea, entertained by many, that if the present plan of support were changed, and the voluntary system adopted, their church would fall. The result of such a measure would probably be disastrous for a time. It is proved by experience, in this country, that a people long compelled to contribute to the support of the Gospel, when this necessity is removed, and they are restored to perfect freedom, will generally do very little towards the support of the institutions of religion. A fair experiment of this kind was made in the state of Virginia, after the revolution; and the result has been, that the Gospel has not been supported; not only have not convenient houses of worship been erected, but most of those which existed, have been permitted to fall into irreparable ruin; and the wealthiest people pay nothing or very little towards the support of the Gospel, and among the poorer class, the opinion has been exceedingly prevalent, that it is wrong for ministers to receive salaries for their services. These facts, however, do not affect the principles which our author lays down. He says truly, "that the apostolic writers enforce on Christians the duty and privilege of giving temporal support to the ministers of the Gospel." If all were duly informed and rightly disposed in regard to this duty, there would be no difficulty; but when a community is only nominally Christian, and ardent in the pursuit of worldly gain, the obligation of this duty is feebly felt. He says again, "The Founder of the Christian religion has not given the civil power any right to demand from believers or unbelievers support for it." This, indeed, is the very hinge of the question, on both sides of which much much might be said in the way of argument that is plausible; but it is a question which we have neither space nor inclination to discuss. His next principle is a fact highly deserving our profound consideration. It is, "That the churches of the New Testament flourished, though they voluntarily supported their own worship; or if in any case they received foreign aid, it was freely sent." It may be laid down as a reasonable expectation that sincere Christians will be disposed to support their ministers; but people are not generally pious in

any country. It may be expected, therefore, that a majority of merely secular men will neglect this duty. The question then is, whether, when the people of any country generally neglect to support competent teachers, it is the duty of the civil authority to provide for the maintenance of religion by law. An experiment is now in progress in these United States, in relation to religion, on which the eyes of all considerate men in Europe are turned. The result of this grand experiment it would be premature to announce. We, who are in the midst of it, and witnesses of its progress, are waiting for its further developement. We, of course, wish it complete success, but awful forebodings alternate with our most sanguine hopes; at any rate, we must go forward. To talk of a union of church and state in this country, where so many conflicting sects exist, and where religious liberty is mingled, as it were, with every breath of the people, is more than weakness—it is folly in the extreme. No such event can possibly take place, until the country undergoes a revolution greater than has been experienced on this side the Atlantic. It is, however, a mere watchword for designing politicians, or envious sectarians. No such idea, we are sure, is entertained by any Protestant denomination.

Our author takes up and answers, briefly, but forcibly, the arguments of Warburton in favour of an alliance between church and state; and shows, convincingly, that, at present, the church is completely at the disposal of the civil power; not only in its temporalities, but also in its spiritual condition. The Parliament may lessen or increase the number of bishops; may decrease the number of parishes and clergy; may remove its formularies, creeds, and canons; may abolish subscription; may require new oaths; may sit in judgment on the thirty-nine articles, and discard the creed of Athanasius. "What freedom of thought," he asks, "can exist in a community thus enthralled? Even divine truth is weakened, when it comes to men under the authority of an Act of Parliament. The Episcopal church ought, unquestionably, to have retained the power of altering and amending its own religious forms; for no civil government ought to be permitted to control or interfere with sacred institutions; and till this power is restored there can be no safety. But the state will not surrender it until the compact be entirely broken, and the church give up the patronage of the state, and her exclusive demands, for the sake of obtaining her religious liberties."

The last evil arising to the church from the establishment, mentioned by this writer, is her inability to fulfil the commands of Christ, with reference to the spread of the Gospel, at home and abroad. We are not much struck with the pertinence or

cogency of this consideration. Such, indeed, may be the arrangements and usages of the English church, that her ministers are trammelled in their benevolent exertions; but we see nothing to hinder the pious members of this church from entering into associations for the propagation of the Gospel. And is it not a fact, that many of her ministers are active and influential members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has given so wonderful a diffusion to the word of God throughout the world? Some ministers of the establishment were also active and zealous founders or members of the London Missionary Society. But is it not also the fact, that societies of great energy and extensive benevolence exist in the bosom of the church of England, and consist entirely of her members, as the Society in Bartlett's buildings, of which most of the dignitaries of the church are members. The Church Missionary Society is also one of a more evangelical cast, and has manifested as much Christian enterprise, and has possessed as devoted Missionaries, as any other similar body. And if a king, or other rulers, were truly zealous for the spread of the Gospel, what is to hinder them from so exercising their power and employing their resources, as to facilitate the extension of the kingdom of the Redeemer? Is it not predicted that kings shall be nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers, to the church? There is, however, little reason to expect any valuable aid from the "powers that be," in schemes for evangelizing the world. But there have been royal personages who esteemed it an honour to use their influence to advance the cause of Christ; and prophecy assures us, there will be such hereafter. It is earnestly to be desired and hoped, that civil authorities will learn to keep within their own proper sphere, and not dare to usurp authority in the kingdom of Christ, which must be governed by his own laws and his own officers; for it is not of this world, and abhors that carnal policy by which secular men, and ecclesiastical men also, often endeavour to govern the church.

We are rather surprised, that this respectable writer should enumerate it among the evils of the establishment, that one minister is not permitted to go and preach the Gospel in the parish of his neighbour. This, indeed, may sometimes hinder the doing good; but in every well regulated church, the preservation of order, and the prevention of endless dissensions, require such a rule.

The remainder of this pamphlet is taken up in considering the method by which these specified evils, and others of like kind, can be removed, and the dangers averted. The writer asks, "Is there any reasonable prospect, that when the expected plan of church reform is brought into operation, this will be accomplish-

ed?" He then endeavours to show, that any *religious* reform in the Episcopal church is impracticable while it remains in alliance with the state. He insists, that the only hope of pious Episcopalians is in a complete separation of their church from the state. "From these evils and dangers," he says, "the state will not and cannot deliver them, except by leaving Episcopacy free, and on a level with other Christian sects." He then proceeds to inquire, whether a reformation can reasonably be expected from the three branches of the legislature, the king, lords, and commons, but determines, for plausible reasons, which he assigns, that no relief can be expected from that quarter. He next endeavours to show, that the desired deliverance from these evils cannot be reasonably expected from the bishops and clergy; or finally from the laity of the established church; and comes to the same conclusion in regard to them all: that no reformation of a *religious*, or thorough kind, can be reasonably hoped for from any of these sources.

"The chief hope for Episcopacy, is in the religious character and principles of the pious clergy and laity. If they remain indifferent, or if they are satisfied with a defective reform; if they do not use means to free their church from the evils above named, even though a separation from the state should be the consequence, they will be answerable for the result. Let the pious clergy especially do their duty; let them openly and candidly state their convictions; let them seek a spiritual character for their church, and try to close the door against the entrance of mere hirelings; let them use means to restore the rights of the members of their communion; let them be the guides and leaders in seeking relief from the despotism of patronage; let them demand, as an essential part of their office, the liberty of keeping persons of known irreligious character from the Lord's Table; and the happiest results will ensue.

"Surely there rest with the pious laity of the establishment, responsibilities of no common order. If their conviction is, that their church greatly needs a *religious* reform, let them state their conviction to their ministers; let them candidly examine the questions, which at present agitate the Christian church, respecting the nature of Christ's kingdom, and let truth have free course. If they should discover, that their ministers are afraid to act up to their convictions, let them attempt to inspire them with moral courage. Let them, above all, seek to be guided, in their reform of Episcopacy, by the New Testament. If the laws of Christ are recognized, as authoritative in this matter, we do not fear the result. Either the Episcopal communion will be *religiously* reformed, or its spiritual members, lay and clerical,

will separate from it, and form a distinct Episcopal denomination. A separation from the state, by promoting religious reform, might prevent the necessity for the latter; which we are quite ready to allow, must be a painful alternative. Many cannot bear the thought of being compelled to separate from a church with which all their early associations are connected. They love their own forms, they prefer their own liturgy; nor can they see any other existing denomination, with which they could cordially associate. We would say to such persons—let your decision be the result of conviction; take no step but what the Word of God and conscience sanction; but, at the same time, be careful that proper means are used to understand the subject, to enlighten the judgment, and to instruct the conscience. Take nothing for granted: let not early habit and strong attachment overcome plain, commanded duty. Let no principle of *expediency* supersede the authority of Christ. Let no fancied hope of being more useful in the established church, even in its corrupt condition, than if separated from it, tempt the pious clergy to do evil that good may come. Let not the serious laity suppose that this matter should be left to their teachers. They form the strength of Episcopacy—it could not exist as a denomination without them; and every individual, holding communion with that church, is bound to think and act, in a question like this, as if all the success of the attempt depended upon his individual exertion. This is the *crisis* in the *religious* character of Episcopacy. If the reform, which is expected from the government, only touch secular evils, Episcopalians may rest assured that the power of the state will be greater than ever over their church. It will make patronage and other evils worse than before, for it will *confirm*, in the nineteenth century, the usurpations and errors of the sixteenth.

"In seeking a *religious* reform, Episcopalians alone should be urgent and persevering. Dissenters do not wish to interfere with any alterations they may think necessary in their forms or ceremonies. Something must be done immediately by Episcopalians to secure a better change than a mere plausible and inefficient reform. If they wait to see the effects of the ministerial change, we fear they will only add to evils, which are already almost too great for remedy. The nature of Christ's kingdom will, ere long, be better understood by churchmen; they will be brought to the conclusion, that Christ is the only Head of the church. Already, a mighty advance has been made in the public mind on this subject; and it only requires the influence of good men, of all denominations, to secure Christian freedom for every section of the Christian church—freedom from state oppression, and liberty to obey all the commands of the Son of God."