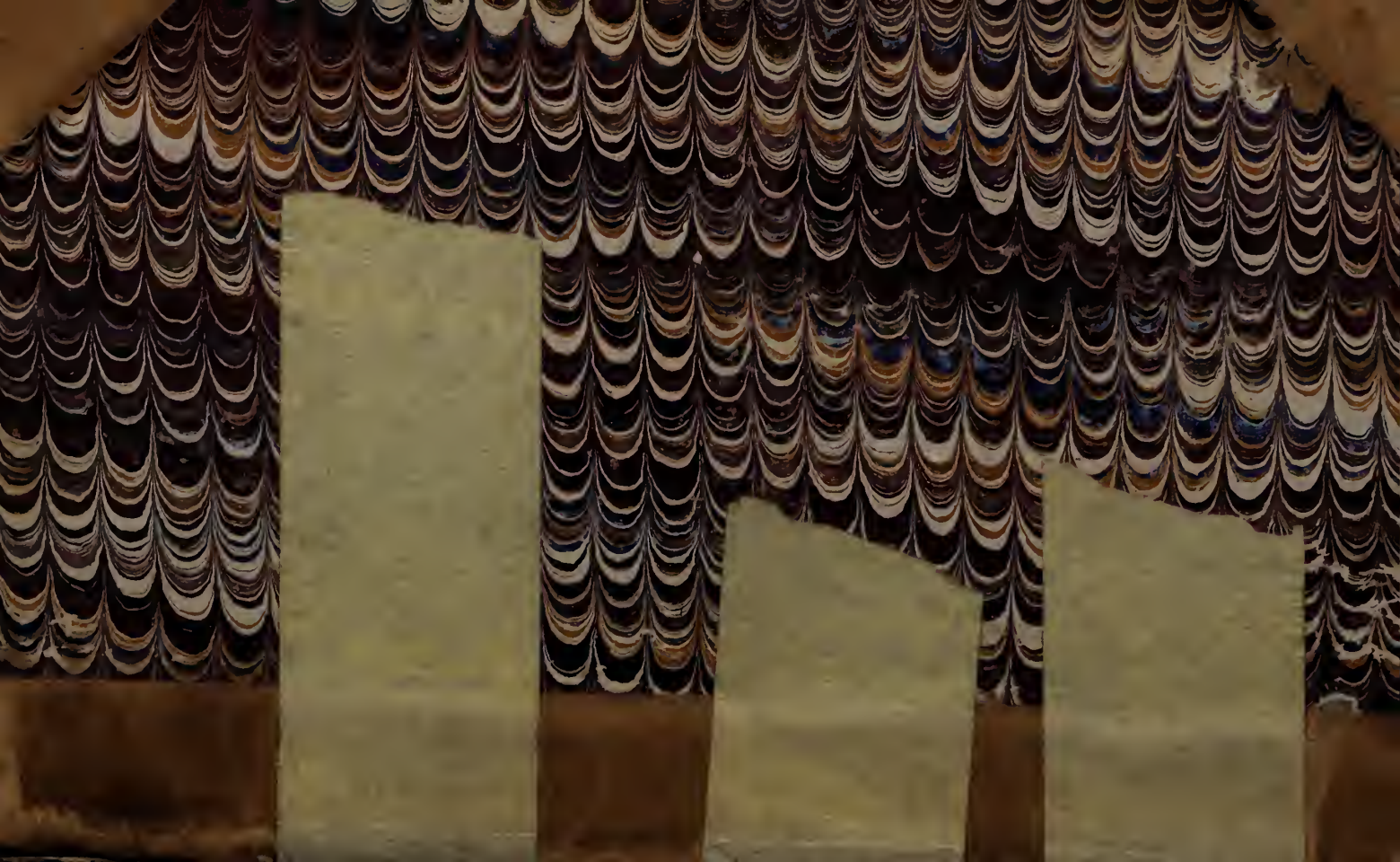

BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

THE

BIBLICAL REPERTORY

AND

PRINCETON REVIEW

FOR THE YEAR

1837.

VOL. IX.

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THE

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AND

PRINCETON REVIEW

Is published quarterly, in January, April, July, and October, (payable in advance) at *three dollars per annum, by*

JAMES A. PEABODY,

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☞According to the terms above, subscriptions to the present volume should have been paid by this time, yet but few have been received. The extra expense to which the Proprietor has been subjected in the endeavour to increase the circulation of the work, makes it desirable that the payment of subscriptions should be prompt. Remittances (post-paid for all sums under $10) may be made agreeably to the above direction.

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The Repertory has been in existence about ten years, and its great excellence is acknowledged. But although its patrons are increasing, it has not yet met that support which it deserves, and *needs*, in order that the objects of its publication may be secured. This circumstance is supposed to be owing to the fact that the attention of ministers and laymen of the Presbyterian Church has not been adequately called to the work. If the merits of the Repertory were known, and properly appreciated, it is believed that few, if any, intelligent clergymen or laymen would be willing to be without it. It is the only journal of the kind in this country whose aim is to defend and illustrate the doctrines and polity of the Presbyterian Church: that this has been done with ability, those will testify who have long been subscribers.

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As a review of the current literature of the day,—the purity of style, sprightliness of manner, and depth of research which characterize its various reviews, strongly commend it also to the *general* reader.

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addition to those who are accustomed to furnish matter for it, the aid of a still larger number of the ablest writers in the Church may be secured.

In order to promote unity of sentiment on topics of vital importance to the interests of the Presbyterian Church, and to present able discussions of subjects of *general* interest to Christians, the undersigned think that some such vehicle is needed, and will go far, if generally patronized, to allay the present difficulties of the Church. We therefore cheerfully recommend the Biblical Repertory to the Christian public.

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The names of persons recommending the Repertory, to an almost indefinite number, might be added to the preceding list, but it is unnecessary.

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THE

BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

JANUARY 1837.

No. I.

Joel Jones

Art. I.—*Protestantism.*

"Is the Protestant religion the religion of Christ?" This is a very common question. It is usually considered a fair question. Yet it seems to us that there is a fallacy involved in it, which is made the foundation of an argument by those who hold the negative. Protestantism is a principle, or, if you please, a *doctrine* of religion, not a religion; and the question should be, whether the principle of Protestantism is consistent with the gospel of Christ. It is the principle by which those who dissent from the doctrine of Papal supremacy in matters of religion, are distinguished from those who hold to that doctrine. The pope claims to be the vicar of Christ, and the supreme judge of controversies in matters of religion, doctrine and morals. This claim was asserted at the Reformation, and was denied by the Protestants. Proofs are abundant. But take the following: Martin Luther said, *Certum in manu Papae aut Ecclesiae non esse statuere articulos fidei—imo nec leges morum seu bonorum operum.* This proposition was condemned by Leo X., A. D. 1520, by the bull which begins, *Exsurge Domine*. Dr. Gregory Kurtz, in his *Theologia Sophistica* (published at Bamberg, A. D. 1736, more than two hundred years after

the fulmination of this bull), comments upon this proposition of Luther thus: *Utrumque esse in manu Papae vel Ecclesiae manifeste fluit ex eo quod in causis spiritualibus necessario admittendus aliquis supremus judex controversiarum aut Ecclesiae regula animata, sive dogmata fidei spectes sive leges morum;* (*translated thus,* that both are in the power of the pope, or of the church, manifestly flows from this, that in spiritual causes, some supreme judge of controversies or *living rule of faith* must necessarily be admitted, whether you regard the doctrines of faith or the laws of morals)—*hac tamen subintrante distinctione, quod articulos fidei non statuat de novo, sed ex principiis revelatis deducat et declarat,* (with this distinction, however, that as to articles of faith, he does not make them (*de novo*) originally, but deduces and declares them from revealed principles). *Quoad leges morum absoluta polleat auctoritate statuendi quae Ecclesiae disciplinam in melius excolendum concernunt,* (as to the laws of morals, his power of decreeing what concerns the better discipline of the church is absolute). Now the existence of these powers, in the hand of the pope (or in the church of which he was the head), evidently formed the grand question at the Reformation—all other questions were subordinate, or at least dependant upon it. For if the pope be the *supremus judex controversiarum*, the *regula animata fidei*, (the supreme judge of controversies, the living oracle of the church), having, as the successor of St. Peter, and as the vicar of Christ, the *exclusive* right of interpreting the Bible, and *absolute* power in all that concerns the discipline of the church and the laws of Christian morals, it follows that he only could perform the office of a Reformer. But if these pretensions were unfounded, a reformation might originate at Spire or at Wittemberg with Luther, as well as at Rome with Leo X.; and all who thought their faith erroneous, or their practice corrupt, might reform themselves without asking the leave of either. The *protest*, which has given name to Protestants, was an assertion of a right to this liberty, or, what is the same thing, a denial of the supremacy of the pope and of the Roman Catholic church in these matters. In Berti's *Eccl. Hist. Breviarium*, sect. xvi. c. iii. p. 203 (note), is the following passage: *Protestantium nomen inde ortum quod in comitiis Spirae Anno* 1529 quibusdam statutis quae hereticorum opponebantur libertati *illic XIV. imperii urbes exhibito scripto die* 19 *Aprilis protestatae sunt, nolle se usdem*

decretis obtemperare, ad Caesarem et ad concilium appellantes. Diende illud nomen, ad Lutheranos et Calvinistos omnes, pertransiit, ut quasi communi foedere adversus Ecclesiam pugnarent. (The name of Protestants arose from this, that at the diet at Spire, in the year 1529, *certain things having been decreed which were opposed to the liberty of the heretics*, fourteen imperial cities then protested in writing, on the 19th April, that they would not obey those decrees; appealing to the emperor and a council. Afterwards that name passed to all the Lutherans and Calvinists, as they fought against the church, as it were, by a *common league*). What these decrees were, which were opposed to the liberty of the heretics, may be learned from many authors. According to Mosheim (Ecc. Hist. Cent. XVI. ch. 2, § 24, 26), the matter briefly stated was this. At the diet of Spire, in 1526, after long and warm debates, it was agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor (note, reader, *not* to the *pope*) to assemble a general council without delay, and in the mean time the princes and states of the empire *should*, in their respective dominions, *be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think most expedient*, &c. In 1529, at another diet held at Spire, this decree of 1526 was, in effect, repealed. Against this repeal a portion of the diet protested. Louis Maimbourg, the Jesuit, in his History of Lutheranism (book 2, p. 128), gives the following account of the acts of these two diets. In reference to that of 1526, he says, the archduke (Ferdinand) had proposed two things on the part of the emperor—one concerning religion which it was proposed should be maintained by causing the edict of Worms to be observed; the other concerning the succour which Louis, king of Hungary, required instantly against Soliman, &c. As to the first of these points, *so far from being able to carry it*, the duke of Saxony and the Landgrave, joined to the deputies of the free towns, required *that ordinances should be made so contrary to all the* LAWS *of the* CHURCH, that, to avoid coming immediately to a civil war, they were obliged—relaxing a little on both sides—to make a decree, purporting that the emperor should be most humbly besought to procure the holding of a general, or at least of a national council, in Germany, within one year, to terminate the difference in religion; *and that until such a council should be held, each might act, within his state, so that he should be able to give a good account of his conduct to*

God and to the emperor. That precisely, says this author, was the *liberty of conscience* which the Lutherans pretend they obtained at this diet. The decree of the diet at Spire in 1529, he gives (at p. 166) as follows: that in the places where the edict of Worms, against Lutheranism, had been received, *no person should be permitted to change his belief*—that in those, where the new religion had been embraced, it might be persisted in until a council should be held *if the ancient religion could not be re-established without evident danger of sedition*—that the mass, however, should not be abolished there, nor the Catholics be hindered in the free exercise of religion, *nor should any one* of them *become a Lutheran—that the Sacramentarians should be banished the empire, and the Anabaptists be punished with death—that the preachers should not in any place preach the gospel, except in the sense approved by the church.* The author adds: this new decree of Spire *repaired the damage* which the first had caused, in leaving each *at liberty* to quit the ancient religion for the new.

Some account of the edict of Worms, mentioned in the first of these extracts, is given by Mosheim (Ecc. Hist. cent. 16, sect. 17,) and also by Maimbourg (Hist. Luth. book I. ad ann. 1521).

It is unnecessary further to elucidate or prove the state of the controversy at the epoch in question. The heretics, as Berti calls them, or the Lutherans, Reformers, Protestants, as they called themselves, found their liberties attacked by the decree at Spire in 1529, in many important particulars; they therefore protested, in full assembly, against the decree, which they would not obey, and thereupon appealed from it as before stated. The (*commune foedus*) common league which was soon formed between Lutherans and Calvinists, spoken of by Berti, was *union upon the question of liberty*, and indeed it is the common bond or principle of all who concur with the followers of Luther and Calvin in denying the supremacy of the pope in matters of religion.

The pope had for a long time previously, though not always, exercised the power of convoking the general councils of the church. The proceeding of the diet at Spire in 1526, was virtually a denial of his right to do so. The appeal of the protesting minority at Spire in 1529, was not, as the reader has observed, to his holiness, but to the emperor and to a general council, or, as Maimbourg states it, to a general or national council—to the emperor or any other

judge not suspected. This also was a virtual denial of the supremacy of the pope.

It is also important to remember, that these diets were political bodies; as truly so, as a parliament, a cortes or states general. At the diet of 1526, Ferdinand, the brother of the emperor, presided. The diet of 1529 was convened by the emperor himself. It was composed of princes, electors, and the representatives of imperial cities. The protest, therefore, was a *political* act—the assertion of a civil or political right, and Protestantism originating from that source, is an appropriate denomination only of the position or principle assumed by the protest, viz. that it was the civil or political right of themselves and of their constituents to be free from the domination of the pope in matters of religion; a principle, however, which necessarily involves a denial of the divine right pretended by the pope as before stated.

When therefore we are required to defend Protestantism, we are to defend this principle, not the entire faith of all those who concur with us in asserting it. The (*commune foedus*) common league between us and other denominations of Protestants, regards only this declaration of our independence of papal authority. An apposite illustration of the position occupied by the Protestants at Spire, and of those who afterward made common cause in the great work of the Reformation, is furnished by the political history of these United States. The North American Colonies in 1776, confederated to vindicate their right to be independent of the king of Great Britain. But when that object was accomplished they were at liberty to remain separately free and independent of the world and of each other: in fact they did not consolidate themselves into one community; they formed different constitutions and laws; and each is responsible only for such faults as may be found in its own. If we are, and of right ought to be, free in matters of religion, it follows that one Protestant cannot of right control another in the use which he shall make of his liberty. The "common" bond or "league" does not authorize any such control. Nay more, Protestantism is a disavowal of force, as an agent to effect unity or orthodoxy in opinions. Berti has accurately expressed the object of the confederacy—*ut adversus Ecclesiam pugnarent;* that is, it was a confederacy against the church of Rome—which in his opinion was the only church—and nothing more: her power being prostrated, the

object of the confederacy was accomplished; and the Protestants were at liberty to disband and enjoy the fruits of their success each in his own way, subject to an accountability to God alone. Thus we have shown, that Protestantism is essentially nothing more than a denial of the pope's supremacy and authority in matters of religion. Protestantism is liberty—the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. Popery is a yoke of bondage—spiritual despotism.

Having stated the principle of Protestantism, we proceed now to remark that it did not originate with the diet at Spire in 1529, but the important results of the formal assertion of it at that time, have made it one of those eminent events, which, in history, are commonly denominated *epochs.*

We consider this an important observation, not only in the general history of religious liberty, but also in respect of its bearings upon what may be called, in reference to the present time, the Catholic controversy. In England, so early as A. D. 1225, in the ninth year of king Henry the III. of England, we find the English church claiming her individuality, and stipulating for rights in that character. In France too, as early as 1268, St. Louis answered a decision of Clement IV. by an ordinance, known by the name of the *pragmatic sanction*, in which were asserted principles quite at variance with the pretensions of the court of Rome. In 1338 (see Pfeffel *ad annum*) the Germans also adopted what they too called a *pragmatic sanction*, upon the refusal of Benedict XII. to grant absolution to Louis of Bavaria; but this was aimed rather at the pretensions of that pope to temporal dominion in the empire during vacancies in the imperial throne, than to his pretensions in matters merely of religion. The diets however by this act forbade all to pay any regard to papal censures fulminated against the head of the empire, or to receive the bulls which emanated from Avignon, or to hold any correspondence with the papal court. But to return to the claims of the English churches. The statute which is commonly called *Magna Charta* contains the following clause—*Quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit et habeat omnia jura sua integra et libertates suas illaesas*, (that the Anglican church be free and have all her rights entire and her liberties unhurt). This language reminds us of the liberties of the Gallican church, so often asserted by the kings of France, but always resisted by the popes. In reference to the Anglican church, it would be easy to show, from occurrences in the reign of Henry II. of

England, and in that of king John, who signed a similar charter, that this clause was intended as a protection to that church from *papal* and not from *royal* oppression—that it was in fact a pledge by the king of the power of the monarchy, to defend that church against the encroachments of the popes. We shall, however, select our proofs from a subsequent period. John Wickliff, who lived in the reign of Edward III. of England, is commonly classed among the early reformers. Nineteen propositions advanced by him were condemned by Gregory XI. (in 1377) and forty-five by the Council of Constance (Sess. 8. A. D. 1415). Among these are several which deny, in very pointed language, the supremacy of the pope and the exclusive pretensions of the church of which he is the head. Three of the propositions condemned at Constance are as follows:

Licet alicui Diacono vel presbytero praedicare verbum Dei absque auctoritate sedis Apostolicae sive Episcopi catholici. (It is lawful for any deacon or presbyter to preach the word of God (*absque*) without ever having had the authority of the apostolical see or of a catholic bishop.) This proposition is understood to deny the supremacy of the church of Rome in the matter of ecclesiastical ordination.

Praelatus excommunicans clericum qui appellavit ad regem vel ad concilium regni eo ipso traditor est regis et regni. (A prelate excommunicating a clergyman, who has appealed to the king or to a council of the realm, is by that very act a traitor to the king and of the kingdom.) This proposition is understood to assert the superiority of the king and of a national council, to the canonical laws of the Roman church. These laws are said by Romanists to contain the divine laws. Be it so; they also contain other laws, the work of the hierarchy of that church, under pretence of divine right, and of course the work of man, which may be and in fact have been changed. Their tendency as a system is to centre and fix all civil and political, as well as spiritual powers in the pontifical throne. Interfering as they do with men of all ranks and employments, in all the details of social and secular life, they do not *profess* to rest upon the influence of persuasion; but, like other laws, depend for their effect upon those coercive means, which alone can destroy the eccentricities of individual action. The human portion of this code, forms the mass of it, and in reference to that, the proposition of Wickliff, as we understand it, purports,

that to yield obedience to a foreign legislature in opposition to the laws of the land is a treason.

The statutes of Premunire (see the Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani and Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, title Popery) were probably one result of this doctrine of Wickliff. Of these, ten were made between the 25th year of Edward III. and the 16th year of his successor, Richard II. These statutes assert, and some of them in very pointed language, the sovereignty of the laws of England over the the laws of the Apostolical see—as laws (that is, as acts of a majority), they were much more than the mere protest of the minority at the Diet of Spirc. But to proceed.

Post Urbanum VI. non est aliquis recipiendus in Papam, sed vividum est more Graecorum. (Since Urban VI. no one is to be received as pope, but, like the Greeks, each nation should live according to its proper laws). In this proposition, Wickliff made allusion to the schism which occurred in the Roman church upon the election of Clement VII. It is understood to assert that the patriarchal form of government, which prevailed in the Greek church; and not the monarchial *regime* of the Roman church, is, at least since that schism, the proper form of church government.

Let us attend now to dates. The reign of Edward III. commenced A. D. 1327. Richard II. succeeds him, A. D. 1377. During the reign of Edward III. *magna charta*, containing the clause mentioned, was confirmed, as historians inform us, at least six times, and four of the statutes of *premunire* were made. (See Burn's Ecc. Laws and the Codex.) Wickliff died in 1387, which was ten years after the commencement of the reign of Richard II. In 1392, about five years after the death of Wickliff, the last of these statutes of premunire was made. Add to these facts, the positive assertion of historians, both Catholic and Protestant, that Edward III. and his ministers, particularly John, duke of Lancaster, and Henry de Percy, favoured the principles of Wickliff, and gave him protection, and we shall not be likely to err in deciding, whether the usurpations of the pope or of the king of England were especially intended by the clause which we have cited from the great bulwark of British freedom.

Thus we have proven that the principle of Protestantism was many times asserted (not in its full import, it is true,) by the parliaments of England, before it was asserted by the

minority of the diet or parliament at Spire in 1529. In the nature of the thing, it would be as apt and as apposite to denote the *religion of Protestants*, (if we must needs have an epithet contradistinctive to the Roman Catholic religion,) from the acts of the kings of England, who granted and so often confirmed the great charter, or from the acts of the parliaments of England who enacted these laws against papal encroachments upon the sovereignty of the country and the rights of Englishmen, as from the protest of the minority of the diet at Spire in 1529. The immediate and wide-spreading and abiding results of the protest at Spire, upon the condition of Europe, were indeed very different from the effects of the others, and hence naturally and very properly the denomination. It is only important not to suffer the *name*, to be a lurking place of sophistry. Crafty disputants have often had the address to make it so. Hence we have in common use the phrase "Protestant religion," and we are gravely told that it is not yet 300 years old. Yet no man of common sense can doubt, that deists, Jews, believers in Christianity and men of no religion, may concur in the assertion of their civil rights—in *protesting*, or in enacting laws against the supremacy of the pope and his pretensions to secular or spiritual power, without blending or making common stock of all their notions concerning religion: and if so, where is the fairness or even the sense of the argument, that every Protestant, by his very profession, undertakes to justify and defend, under the name of the *Protestant religion*, all the opinions of all those who agree with him in believing and asserting this one thing, viz. that the pope of Rome has no rightful lordship over God's heritage?

It is not our object to give a compendium of the history of religious liberty. In truth, if we except the United States, there has been but very little of it in the world since the establishment of an universal spiritual monarchy was attempted by Hildebrand (who was pope Gregory VII.) with prodigious talent and with no mean success. We shall vouch facts until we have sufficiently proved the propositions advanced. The reader will then be left to his own researches for more full evidence if he desires it. Indeed we would commend our readers to a thorough investigation of these topics. They will find themselves richly repaid for all their efforts. The position of a Protestant gospel minister in these United States is unspeakably important to the best interests of man even in a temporal view. It seems to us, as if God,

in his providence, had connected in one design the three most important events which have occurred since the Christian era,—the invention of printing—the discovery of America—and the Reformation. The press enabled Luther to do what Wickliff could not; but even the press, as events show, has been insufficient to accomplish on European soil the work of emancipation from the overshadowing power of spiritual and political despotism. Hence this new world was disclosed and thrown open, upon which persecution might cast successive portions of the population of Europe, and in moderate masses, to be subjected to the benign influences of the liberty of the gospel. Here they are to be moulded and fashioned into new creatures, and fitted to react upon the inveterate evils of the old world, mostly the fruits of imperial and sacerdotal establishments. Our wish and our design is to excite, if we can, a just sense of the importance of this subject.

Premising these remarks, we ask the attention of our readers to some further observations upon the memorable protest of the minority at Spire in 1529.

It will be remembered that at the diet at Spire, in 1526, it was agreed to petition the emperor to convoke a council, and that in the meantime the princes and states of the empire should be at liberty *to manage* ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think most expedient, being accountable only to God *and the emperor.* This decree, while it repudiated the supremacy of the pope, conveys the idea of a state or national authority in matters of religion. The controversy, propounded in this form, presents not simply a denial of papal authority, but (impliedly at least) the double or comparative inquiry, whether the pope or the local political authority has the greater right in those matters. An American citizen, and a firm believer in the orthodoxy of the political constitutions of these United States, would cut the matter much shorter by saying that neither has any right at all, and this, doubtless, would be but the full assertion of the principle of Protestantism. Possibly the princes and states of the empire within their respective dominions, might have seen it proper, if they had been removed from the fear of aggression, and also had been left to themselves to place the rights of conscience upon this ground. But the condition of things, at that time, can hardly be imagined by American Protestants at the present day. Under some circumstances, it is much to gain a little. Besides, the canon

law, which the Roman Catholic church held and still holds to be of universal obligation, was in fact an encroachment upon the temporal and political rights of the states. It extended to matters of jurisdiction, titles, offices, benefices, &c. &c. By this the English statutes of premunire furnish some evidence. The pecuniary exactions of the see of Rome were intolerable, and they had wretchedly impoverished many of the states of Europe.

These considerations, doubtless, prevailed with some who did not much concern themselves about the purity of religion. It is true that the extension of the canon law to matters of civil government and secular interests, cannot properly be called an encroachment upon the rights of conscience, but rather upon the civil liberties of men. Still, in the papal forum, obedience to the pope in all matters within his asserted jurisdiction, is deemed a matter of faith and of conscience, and by being placed in that category, disobedience to the canons becomes heresy, and punishable as rebellion against the SPIRITUAL COMMONWEALTH. For proof, the reader is referred to the Defence of the Declaration of the Gallican Clergy, ascribed to Bossuet, (part II. lib. XI. c. 20.) *Concedimus in jure quidem Ecclesiastico, papam nihil non posse cum necessitas id postularit*, which Barruel interprets to signify that "nothing is above the power of St. Peter and his successors, the popes, when necessity requires them to develope their power in its full extent." Again, in the same defence, the author hesitates not to call St. Peter and every pope, the heir of his seat, not simply the interpreter—the prince; but the *creator* of the ecclesiastical canons (*canonum conditorem*), and this he places in that class of truths which it is not permitted to call in doubt without sinning against the faith. Suarez also upon this subject asserts *Dicendum est, hanc potestatem immediate datam esse Petro a Christo Domino, singulari et speciali modo. Haec assertio est de fide.* De legibus, lib. 4. c. 3. (It ought to be said that this power—viz. of enacting canonical laws—was immediately given to Peter by Christ the Lord in a singular and especial manner. *This assertion is of faith.*) See Barruel du Pape, vol. I. p. 90, 68. Now, such being the religion of the church, whose authority was questioned, involving and mixing things really and truly human, as well as things divine, under the name of religion, it is perhaps proper to interpret the claim of the states and princes *to manage ecclesiastical matters*, as having reference to this

undue extension of the canons—to the encroachment of the canonical or ecclesiastical laws upon their civil and political rights. It must be confessed, however, that if the protesting minority at Spire had adopted a style of declaration similar to that of the American congress of 1776, the cause of liberty would have been more speedily and more effectually vindicated. So at least it seems to us, at this distance of time. They would then have placed their controversy upon their natural and inalienable rights. The position actually taken was followed by some unfortunate results: thus, when Henry VIII. of England sundered the tie of allegiance to the pope, he still maintained, after the example of the protest at Spire, the idea of management and authority in matters of religion. England still had her religious establishment, and she has maintained it in spite of two revolutions (as the reader need not be informed) to this day. Her parliaments made severe laws against dissenters, non-conformists, and conventicles, and these, or some of them, were in full force so late as the reign of Charles II.—more than a century after the memorable protest at Spire. These laws peopled the wilds of America with men, who in one breath, denied all right of domination in matters of conscience, by any earthly power—by kings as well as by popes. And even these men, at least some of them, have been frequently accused of acting upon the same imperfect views of their own principles. It may be so. Truth, as it respects the human mind, has its dawning as well as the day. Or perhaps we may say, with Jean Jacques Rousseau, whom no one will vehemently suspect of puritanism, "that there is a profession of faith purely civil, the articles of which it belongs to the sovereign to fix—not as *dogmas* of religion, but as *sentiments* of sociability, without which, it is impossible to be either a good citizen or a faithful subject: without power to oblige a person to believe them, he (the sovereign) can banish him (the dissenter) as *insociable*,—not as impious—as incapable of sincerely loving the laws and justice, and of sacrificing his life to his duty;" (Contrat Social, liv. 4, ch. 8.) We are very far from admiring Rousseau as a man or as a philosopher, nor are we sure by any means that this sentiment of his is just. But if it ever was just in any case, the first settlers of this only truly Protestant country could urge much in defence of their adopting it. They were few and feeble; emigrants to a wilderness; surrounded by dangers; fugitives from intolerance, if not from the stake. They

came in communities, incurring perils by sea, perils on land, and perils from the savages, for the sake of liberty in religion; and if any people could rightfully prescribe as a matter of temporary precaution and of self-protection during the infancy of their establishments, a civil profession of faith as one of the terms of compact or sociability, it would seem that they were justifiable in doing so. (See Franklin's Works, vol. 2, p. 112, &c. edit. 1836. Boston.) But it is not our design to vindicate the early legislation of these colonies in matters of religion. We do not justify it. The reader must form his own judgment upon that matter. Our object is to maintain the principle of protestantism, rightly understood. This principle was not asserted at Spire in its just extent. The Protestants stopped short of the true ground, namely, that taken in the American constitutions. By so doing they exposed themselves unnecessarily to attack by the advocates of the absolutism of the holy Roman see. It has given them occasion to say, in the case of England, for example, that the establishment of the church in that country rests upon the personal character of Henry VIII., the arbitrary conduct of Elizabeth, &c. &c. The intolerance of the laws of England towards dissenters and catholics, has been, and even now is, a subject of just retort and rebuke upon the *so called* Protestantism of that country. But let the principle be read in the American constitutions, and it is intuitively seen that these and the like assertions are without force, or even pertinency, when applied to the true state of the question.

It is necessary to be particular in this part of our subject, because nothing is more easy than to misapprehend when the interests of a controversy require it. We therefore repeat that it is not intended by any thing which has been advanced to assert that England was protestant in the *received* sense of the word, before the time of Henry VIII. Nor is it intended to admit that England is even now protestant in the true sense of the word, and in the full sense of the principle. In fact, France is as much entitled to call herself protestant as England. We do not speak of *purity* in doctrine. In that respect the church of England differs widely from the Gallican church. What we mean is that England was protestant in respect to many of the pretensions of the Roman pontiff in spiritual as well as secular matters long before the time of Luther, although her doctrines were not purified from

papal corruptions until after the organization of the church according to the present establishment.

As one of our objects is to show that the principle of Protestantism was first fully promulgated and established, by a public act, in the American constitution, it will be useful to take a brief review of the religious condition of England, from the introduction of Christianity into it. We shall state the results only of considerable investigation, chiefly through the works of non-conformists; having verified as far as we had the means, the accuracy of their statements. Many of these authors were men of great learning, not only in theology, but in the laws and constitutions of their country. Many of them were men of the most serious piety, as well as ardent and determined defenders of civil and religious liberty. If the reader will take the trouble to refer to Neal's History of the Puritans (Vol. 5, p. 282, London edition), he will find some remarks upon the subject of religious liberty, which are strikingly coincident with the spirit of the American constitutions. But to resume.

From the introduction of Christianity into England until the conquest by William (in 1066), the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction was lodged in the crown, not however as a personal prerogative, but as a power which could be exercised only in parliament. The king was the head of the church, just as he was the head of the state. He governed both by laws which were made by the same authority, viz. by parliaments, witenagemotes, or councils composed of the nobility, the clergy and the people, and all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, were administered by the same tribunals. The whole fabric of the British and Saxon churches was built upon acts of parliament, and nothing was, in those times, considered obligatory upon the people, whether it concerned articles of faith, discipline, ceremonies, or any religious observances, unless it was enacted and established by such a parliament.

This statement may perhaps remind the reader of the state of things in the Puritan colonies of New England. And it is not improbable that the Puritan churches were, in some respects, modeled upon the Saxon churches. It was natural to search for a model of their church establishment in the past history of their country, and in so doing, where should they rest, unless upon this portion of it, in which religious liberty, though not placed upon its proper basis, was the least re-

strained? But the reader will put such value as he pleases upon this observation. We will add a few references applicable to this first period of the Anglican church. Beda Hist. Gent. Angl. lib. 1, c. 17. Spelman's Councils, Tom. I. pp. 63, 64. Beda Hist. &c. lib. 2, c. 13. Henry of Huntingdon, lib. 3, p. 188. Math. West. 122, 123. Spelman's Councils, Vol. I. pp. 152, 153, 182, 183, 189, 190, 194, 242, 291, 292. Laws of Ina, king of the West Saxons. These, it is presumed, are some of the authentic histories and chronicles referred to in the act of the parliament of England in the 24th year of Henry VIII., by which the English reformation from popery was commenced. It will appear by these authors that the same body of men (among whom were *duces*, *principes*, *satrapae*, *populus terrae*), which made the temporal laws, made laws also for the government of the church. We will not pretend to say what precisely was the character of these *duces*, *principes*, *satrapae*, but certainly they were laymen, and that is enough for our purpose. This state of things was altogether repugnant to the idea of the supremacy which was afterwards claimed and exercised by the Roman pontiffs in England and throughout a great part of Europe. It was not however such a state of things as a rightly informed conscience can approve. The true principle of Protestantism, as it has been explained, denies to every man and body of men, and to every authority, lay as well as ecclesiastical, the right to interfere with the liberty of conscience in matters of worship. The rights of conscience and of worship are personal and indefeasible, and therefore not the subject of legislation. A parliament, therefore, has no more right to control, or direct, or coerce in matters of worship or of conscience than the pope. We will add an example illustrative of this state of things.

In the year 448, says Beda (*Ecc. Hist. Gent. Angl.* lib. 1, c. 17), *Germanus* and *Lupus*, two learned bishops, were sent from France into England to suppress the Pelagian heresy. A synod or council upon that occasion was assembled at *Verolam* (St. Albans). *Aderat populus, expectabatur futurus judex. Adstabant partes*, &c. After a long debate, *populus abiter vix manus continet, judicium clamore contestando*, &c. So that the laity as well as the clergy had decisive votes in this council in determining points of doctrine. It was really a parliament, or witenagemot, and their act, an act of legislation. Pelagianism is, no doubt, a heresy: but to put it down by a law of the land, though a majority of

all the orders of the nation should concur in making the law, is not consistent with the liberty of Protestantism nor with the gospel of Christ. But to proceed.

Between the time of William I. of England and the reign of Henry VIII., a different state of things occurred. The reader will find ample proof of this proposition in Lord Lyttelton's History of the life of Henry II., and the sources from which that history is derived. During this period, the popes acquired greater influence and power in England. The affair of Henry II. with Becket, and the humiliation of king John, are sufficient to show that the arm of the foreign priest was at that time neither short nor weak. The statutes of premunire, and the frequent confirmations of *magna charta*, before mentioned, also show that it was necessary for the civil power to be upon the alert, in order to check the encroachments of the Romish priesthood. Gregory VII. was cotemporary with William I.; king John lived during the pontificate of Innocent III. It is said that Gregory VII., as soon as he saw William established on the throne of England, required him to render homage for his kingdom to the apostolical see. It was rather premature to make so bold a requisition of such a sovereign. The pretext for making it, was an *alms*, which the English had, for a considerable time, paid to the church of Rome, under the name of *Peter's pence.* The conqueror answered, that the alms would, perhaps, be continued, but that there was an inconsistency in demanding homage from those of whom they received charity. At the same time William forbade the English to go to Rome or acknowledge any one as pope, whom he did not approve of. (See Fleury Eccl. Hist. l. LXII. n. 63.) Lord Lyttelton says (Hist. Hen. II. vol. I. p. 64.) William answered, "that he had never promised to take any such oath, and that he could not find it had ever been taken by any of his predecessors nor should it by him." But what could not then be obtained by power was made easy by a course of policy, and the introduction of the canon law. The step which led to the introduction of the canon law, was the separation of the civil from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and giving the bishops a court of their own for the sole trial of spiritual matters. "The Saxon bishops and earls," (says Lyttelton, Hist. Hen. II. vol. I. p. 61,) "had jointly exercised both their jurisdictions in the county courts. This separation, although made under the *specious* pretence of reformation, proved, in its consequences, a great cause of the corruption

of the clergy and of the advancement of their power beyond its due bounds. For, besides the partiality with which they proceeded, on being thus left to themselves, they soon extended their judicature much farther than the legislature designed, including many causes, that in their own nature, were purely *civil*, under the notion of spiritual matters. The king had indeed reformed the Episcopal laws, with the advice of the parliament; and by these laws, so reformed, the spiritual court was to judge. But the pope, not the king, was really sovereign there; and in process of time, it came to pass, that whatever canons he authorized, the bishops received, and proceeded upon them in this new jurisdiction, which could never have happened if they had continued, as formerly, in the lay courts." "The tearing of the ecclesiastical power from the temporal power," says the author of Observations upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the kings of England, "was the cursed root of the kingdom of antichrist. It was that that mounted the papacy. Those powers never were distinct in England, nor in most other nations, till that see got the ascendant." This observation is fully verified by history. The reason or policy of this separation is obvious. The laity have always been more numerous than the clergy; and they acknowledged their *king* as their head. The popes feared, therefore, that if the two jurisdictions continued united, so that the same bodies which enacted and enforced the secular laws, should continue to enact and enforce the ecclesiastical laws, the ecclesiastical state would be absorbed in the political state. Hence the effort of Gregory VII., in the 11th century, to separate the ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the lay; not only in England, but in France and Germany. How this contributed to the power of the popes, has been stated from Lyttelton. The reader is also referred to Selden's notes on Eadmerus, in which is contained the diploma or statute of William I. for separating the ecclesiastical from the civil tribunals. We should like to pursue this subject, but we must pass on.

The wonderful effects of this policy are strikingly seen in the reign of king John, which was cotemporaneous with the pontificate of Innocent III. This has been already alluded to; but the power of the popes afterwards, and particularly during the reign of Edward III., suffered a slight relapse. Yet, in the year 1400, the second of the reign of Henry IV. of England, the clergy had influence enough to procure an act of parliament asserting the orthodoxy of the faith of the

church of England, and making provision against the oppugners of the same, and also for the punishment of heretics. This statute is referred to in the *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* of the bishop of London. The reader will also find in that work a great number of English law books, and law cases, cited and referred to, showing, as the Lord Bishop says after the Lord Coke, "how the temporal and ecclesiastal law conjoin together, in the due administration of justice, and are so coupled and interwoven, that the one cannot subsist without the other." Although this kind of reading is not very congenial with the pursuits of an American protestant clergyman, yet if necessity should require the attention of any such, to the foundation of religious establishments, he will find many sources of inquiry there opened and pointed out which he would not be likely elsewhere to discover.

This act of parliament is written in Latin, (the canonical dialect) probably because that language was most familiar to the persons who penned it. We are informed that all the other laws of that reign were written in French. Cotton says—"This statute was the first statute and butcher's knife that the impeaching prelates procured or had against the poor preachers of Christ's gospel." The bishop of London, whose learning and research may be relied on, in his Codex, informs us, that it is the origin of the writ for burning heretics, (called writ *de hacretico comburendo*). It serves, at least, to mark the progress of the papal power in England, and shows with great emphasis the spirit and the means by which the *fidem catholicam, et determinationem Ecclesiae Sacrosanctae*, was maintained. The *Codex* of the bishop of London, at page 796, cites one case (out of Hobart's Reports, pages 140, 146, 147, called "The Commendam case") which shows that some of the judges in Henry IVth's reign, displayed an obsequiousness to the papal power, which a jesuit might emulate. One of these judges said, (perhaps we should say, decided,) *Papa omnia potest* (the pope can do all things). Another, that the pope was *haut et grand sovcraign* (the high and great sovereign) from whom all ecclesiastical persons have their power. Another called him *an apostle.* This then, was the tone of the judges of Henry IV. seven years after the passing of the law just referred to, and only twenty years after the death of John Wickliff.

These proofs are sufficient to show the nature and the extent of the change in the religious condition of England after the conquest. During this period the only remedies against

abuses, was the right of prohibitions and of appeal to the crown, (Lytt. Hist. vol. I. p. 62,) and the *premunires* against purchasing bulls or other instruments from Rome or elsewhere, in derogation of the crown and regalty. But these were soon disputed by the clergy, and with what success the reader has, in some measure, seen. In France the same sort of remedies were adopted, as is shown by the *pragmatic sanction* of St. Louis, and for a time with better success. These prohibitions, premunires, and pragmatics, and this allowing of appeals in spiritual causes (so called) to the crown, were so many denials of the asserted authority of the pope, and of his claim to be, as Dr. Kurtz expresses it, the *supremus judex controversiarum in causis spiritualibus.* They were assertions of the principle of Protestantism, imperfectly understood. More than this, could not, perhaps, be expected from the laity of those times. They were too ignorant to investigate the foundations of the papal pretensions, and too superstitious to venture upon such an attempt with that independence of mind which the successful investigation of truth requires.

We come now to the reign of Henry VIII. A statute made in the 24th year of this king's reign, forms another epoch in the religious condition of England. The effect of this statute, and of others which soon followed it, was to divest the popes of the usurpations of nearly five centuries. But they did not restore the ancient condition. They restored to the nation its supremacy, and gave new powers to its government, some of which were vested in Henry VIII. personally, and some in him and in his successors. The language of this act is striking and peculiar, and is a proof that in 1533, however it may be now, the pope was deemed a *foreign prince and potentate*, and not merely an *ecclesiastic*, and that too in reference to *appeals in ecclesiastical causes.* But these statutes were far from giving liberty of conscience and of worship to Englishmen. According to the notions of the judges and doctors in the ecclesiastical law of the kingdom, they operated as a transfer to the king, of the power, which the pope had *in fact* exercised. For example, they tell us, that the king could grant dispensations,—where authority was not given by an act of parliament to the archbishop,—*because all the authority which the pope used, is given to the crown.* Again they tell us, that because the pope, as supreme head by the canon law used to grant commissions after a definitive sentence to review it,

the king might do so. *For such authority as the pope had,* claiming as supreme head, *doth of right belong to the crown*, and is of right annexed thereto, by the statute of 26 Henry VIII., chapter I., and the 1st of Elizabeth, chapter I. (See *Codex Juris Anglicani*, and Moor's book of Reports, p. 542, and the fourth Institute of Lord Coke, p. 341, and the Commendam case contained in Hobart's Reports, p. 146.)

We are aware that during the struggles, which succeeded between the church of England, as established by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and the dissenters from it, a different interpretation of these statutes was claimed by the latter. But the fact is, that *that measure* of power *was* exercised to the utter destruction of all semblance of religious liberty. It would require volumes to write out fully the history of *Protestant* oppressions; we mean of course such Protestantism as England has enjoyed. If the reader will consult the non-conformists of England, during the 17th century, he will see how keenly their oppressions were felt, and if he will consult the history of that period, he will see how stoutly they were resisted. Or if he has not the leisure or the inclination for an extended investigation, he may find enough to satisfy him on this head in Orme's life of Richard Baxter.

These oppressions of *Protestant* England peopled the wildernesses of America, as we have remarked. Even so late as 1611, in the reign of James I. two persons were burned for heresy under the statute *de haeretico comburendo*—one at London and the other at Litchfield, and this statute was not repealed till 1677, that is, in the 29th year of Charles II. (see the Codex, Title XVI.) In the earlier editions of the Bible (prior to 1679) we find the contents of the 149th Psalm thus given: "*The prophet exhorteth to praise God for that* POWER *he hath given to the church* TO RULE THE CONSCIENCES *of men.*" The hand of the prelacy is visible in this.

As England has receded from the times of Henry VIII. (who came out of the bosom of the holy mother church with the title of *Defender of the faith*), a more benignant spirit has prevailed, and it has become fashionable of late, with certain classes in that country, to commend the *moderation* of the established church, as if she, or the king, or the parliment had of right the power to control in matters of conscience or of religious worship. We regard the establishment and all their laws which have been passed to maintain it, and to compel dissenters and non-conformists to attend upon its ordinances or contribute to its support, as of

a piece with popery. The distance between *such protestantism* and that of the American constitutions is heaven-wide. God grant reformation to every sect whose principles allow the profane hand of political power to be put forth in its support. His curse upon establishments from the days of Constantine, has been visible in the corruption and venality of the clergy—in the ignorance and superstition of the common people—the heartless formality and infidelity of the educated, and of the persons in high places,—the effects, the fruits which such establishments have always produced in copious profusion. And we are of the number of those who believe that what God has thus cursed, he will ultimately extirpate, in order that his kingdom which consists not of meat and drink, nor of tithes, nor of benefices, nor of bishopricks, but of righteousness and peace, may come in the hearts of men. We do not intend to say that many pious men, and pious ministers, and pious prelates too, have not existed in establishments. We firmly believe the contrary. Our sentiments upon this subject were recently expressed in an article in this work upon the Perpetuity of the Church (Vol. VIII. p. 362.) But we do mean, that all establishments like those to which we have referred, are the work of the Man of Sin, and one of the most significant tokens, by which he has been revealed. We intended in this place to give some account of the past and present condition of the Gallican church, but it would make this article quite too long. The reader has doubtless heard, and perhaps read, of the liberties of the Gallican church. The struggles by which those liberties have been maintained against the power and policy of the court of Rome, form one of the most interesting studies in any department of history. But the power of the monarchy, at least until the reign of Louis XVI. was, with few exceptions, continually exerted, and often to its utmost, in their defence. Since the reign of Louis XIV. it is said the most intrepid defenders of religious liberty have been the parliaments and the Jansenists. It should be observed, however, that the opposition has been directed chiefly to that part of the pontifical policy which has for its object the acquisition of temporal power and wealth within the kingdom of France, under pretence of spiritual jurisdiction. As to the dogmas, the rites, ceremonies, and superstitions of popery, the Gallican church has admitted the principle of the pope's supremacy in its full length and breadth. But in discussing the pretensions of the pope to temporal power, the French theologians

and politicians have furnished ample proofs, that the system of popery, in all its parts, is a fabrication. This fact may, in part, explain the reason of the opinions which prevail at Rome on the subject of French politics and religion. In De Pradt's History of Jesuitism (p. 431) is an extract from the Journal at Rome, published in August 1825, in which it is said that the *Journal des debats* (a Paris Gazette), is the Journal which has done most evil in France since 1815. "Not that this Journal has erected itself into an adversary of religion, and an apologist of anarchy, as other Journals have often done, and yet too often do. The *judicious* Journal *des debats* has always shown itself, on the contrary, an ardent defender of monarchy and of Christianity. But we understand it well—of the monarchy of the *charte*, and of Christianity according to the principles of Bossuet, that is to say, of monarchy such as the revolution has made it, and of Christianity such as heresy *would* make it. A *constitutional* monarchy is nothing less than monarchy (that is, any thing but a monarchy), and *Gallican* Christianity nothing less than Christianity (i. e. any thing but Christianity)." This Gazette was published under the papal sanction, and of course speaks the sentiments of the papal court. The reader should recollect that the charte of Louis XVIII. referred to in this passage, contains, in its fifth article, the following provision, viz. "that every one may profess his religion with *equal* liberty and have the *same protection* for his worship." This article, which is Protestanism, and one of the fruits of the French revolution (perhaps one may also say, a result of the American revolution), pledged the power of the crown to purposes infinitely more important than the defence of the liberties of the Gallican church. Luther himself could scarcely be more obnoxious than the proposition contained in that article. We shall conclude this portion of our subject with an extract from a work published in Paris 1818, upon the power and pretensions of the Roman see.

"That the power of the popes has no limits; that at their feet all the dignities of the church and empire, all the wills of the people and of sovereigns must bend—such is the result of all that Gregory VII. said, wrote and did. Nothing is so simple as such a system, and however monstrous it may appear, it is the *unalterable doctrine of the holy see.* It is found, as we have said, in the decree of Gratian, one of the most remarkable monuments of the 12th century: in the 13th century, Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. proclaim

and develope it: in the 14th century, John XXII. and Clement VI. employ it against Louis of Bavaria: in the 15th century, even after the schism of Avignon, and notwithstanding the decrees of two great councils, it still is in vogue and is more accredited in Italy than ever: in the 16th century Julius II. maintains it, with arms in hand: it presided at his counsels and those of his successors: in the 17th century the popes dared to treat, as heretical, the four propositions" (of the Gallican church in 1682, the first of which allows them power as the successors of St. Peter, and as the vicars of Christ, in things spiritual, though it denies them power in things which concern the temporal, or to dispense subjects from their oaths of allegiance,) " which contradict it; and by force of intrigue they succeeded in making them ineffectual: in the 18th century they (the popes) decreed solemn homages to Gregory VII., and gave divine honours to his bold attacks upon imperial authority; and the 19th century, which has but just commenced, already also presents the spectacle of the most ridiculous attempts to re-establish the theocracy."

Such is popery. Protestantism is its opposite in all its pretensions and designs, whether they respect the spiritual or the temporal. In the good providence of Almighty God, an era commenced at the American revolution, which we devoutly hope will be consummated in the universal emancipation of the human race from arbitrary and despotic power in every form, and from their concomitants, ignorance, superstition and vice.

The concluding topic of this article is the Protestant principle, as it is expressed in the American constitutions.

It has been more than once stated, that the true principle of Protestantism, was never adopted as a principle of the social compact, until it was established by the American constitutions; and some proofs have been offered in support of that proposition. The reader cannot fail to reflect how slow men are to learn their rights and fully to appreciate them. The period from the year 1529 to the American revolution (nearly two centuries and a half,) would seem (if experience had not taught otherwise,) much larger than is necessary to educate men in the true principles of the social compact, as taught by natural and revealed religion, especially as it is a matter which so nearly concerns their happiness. The facts which have been stated show how prone mankind are to follow that which has been established, with-

out inquiring when or why it was established. Church and state had become so firmly united, in the time of the emperor Theodosius the younger (*circ. ann.* 438), that offences against religion were made public crimes. (*Ac primum quod volumus esse publicum crimen, quia quod in religione divina committitur in omnium fertur injuriam.* L. 40. Cod. Theod. de haeret). Justinian (circ. anns. 535, 559,) in the sixth of the *Novellae Constitutiones,* (*in praef,*) enumerates the priesthood and the throne, (*sacerdotium et imperium,*) among the greatest gifts of God to men; and in the forty-second of the same collection, (*in praef,*) he speaks of the symphony (συμφωνιαν, *consonantiam*, see the *Corpus Juris civilis,*) between the empire and the priesthood. This *symphony* continued until near the middle of the 8th century, when the voice of imperial power waned, by degrees, became indistinct in the deeper and increasingly dominant tones of the priesthood, and finally, during the pontificate of Innocent III., was drowned in the thunders of the Vatican. This pope, in one year, gave with plenary effect three crowns, and signalized his power yet more frequently by his anathemas against Venice, France, England, the emperors and all the chief potentates of Europe. At this period the *symphony*, so much admired by the emperor Justinian, could not have been discovered by the most delicate and discriminating ear. A pope, (said Innocent III.) a vicar of Christ, if he be inferior to God, is superior to man. (*Minor Deo, major homine*). He is the light of day. The civil authority is but the pale star of night. It was Innocent III. who discovered in the first chapter of Genesis this celestial theory of the two powers. (See *Inn. III. s. m. de concecr. pontific. Op. t. I. p.* 180.)

Again, this sketch, imperfect as it is, shows that it is a fearful thing to debase men so much, that superstitious fears may be made the means of voluntary servitude. It shows also how strong are the shackles of power when applied to subjects prepared for it by an ungoodly priesthood. Yet such was the condition of Christendom for ages, and such now is the condition of many parts of it. Had a Luther never lived, we have no reason to conclude, as it has been well observed, that the American constitutions would have contained the article which guarantees the rights of conscience. Nay more, it is probable that these constitutions never would have existed. Spanish America was settled at an earlier period than the United States. Yet their revolu-

tions did not occur till many years after our own. And that they occurred at all is owing to the influence of the United States. The moral effect of these United States and of American principles upon the world is well understood in Europe. But after all, what have the revolutions in Spanish America effected? The people of those countries are not free. The rights of conscience are not there placed upon the same footing, as in the United States. The people are incapable of enjoying the liberty which we enjoy. Their spirit is enslaved by the priesthood. The Roman pontiff is there, the lord of the mind and of the conscience—the spiritual, the better, the nobler part of man. Ignorance, superstition, and their concomitant vices, must be eradicated from the republics of the south; men must there be educated in their rights; conscience must follow the guidance of intelligence rather than the guidance of the priest, and use that freedom in action which God has given it, before the South Americans can be freemen. A republic may be independent in its political capacity of foreign domination, but its citizens cannot be free till they can be taught to see and made to feel the manhood of nature, and the franchise which the God of nature and of the bible has annexed to that condition. When we contrast the condition of these United States with that of other republics, *so called*, and the causes which, under God, have made us to differ, we cannot but regard Martin Luther as the forerunner of George Washington in the great cause of civil and religious liberty. And it also seems to us that the protest of the minority at Spire in 1529, was the germ—the imperfect, the embryo formation—of the Protestantism of the American constitutions. Men do not always connect effects with their true causes. They sometimes lie so remotely from each other, that history and philosophy must be invoked to show their connexion. In this point of view, the reformation begun in Germany by Martin Luther, and consummated on the eastern shores of North America, (in respect of a portion of Christendom,) should form a principal chapter in the studies of an American patriot. And surely this is no profane study, nor is it foreign to the pursuits of our clergy. Its theological bearings are the most prominent. Are our constitutions heretical and false, when they declare the rights of worship and of conscience to be natural and indefeasible? If so, God forbid that we should directly or impliedly teach men any such doctrine. We ought to obey God rather than man. Or is it true that the

pope of Rome is the viear of the Lord Jesus, having by divine appointment the exelusive power of interpreting the bible and absolute power to decree whatever in his judgment concerns the better description of the whole church of Christ? Then let us cease, and teach men to cease inquiring the will of God at the written oracles of God, and humbly reeeive the interpretations and commands transmitted to us by the (*regula animata fidei*) living oracle, through patriarchs, archbishops, bishops and priests, from the pontifical chair. Was that church typified by the ark which Noah built, and must all be overwhelmed in the deluge of the wrath of Almighty God who are out of it, or in other words who are not in communion with its pontiff? Then let us flee, and warn others to flee to that communion; and let all our church edifices be consecrated anew, with fastings, and vigils, and chantings before relicts; with canonical benedictions and aspersions; with water and salt, and oil and ashes, and incense and mural unctions. But if, on the contrary, our religious liberty is a *natural* right, then the God of nature has given it; and he has not taken it away by the gospel dispensation. If it is an indefeasible right, then God does not intend that it shall be renounced or be divested by power. Then it is true, that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him. (Acts 10: 35.) Then also it is true, that they who worship God in spirit and in truth, worship him aeceptably, whether they worship in this or in that mountain, or in this or that visible communion. (John 4: 21—24.) And such is the theology of the American constitutions. It is the characteristic principle of all denominations among us, with one exception. It is established by our most solemn acts of legislation. If it be properly called "a religion," then the Protestant religion is the established religion of the United States. But if it be merely a *principle* or *a doctrine of religion*, then we have as theologians only to show that it is according to the mind and will of Christ, as revealed in the New Testament. That done, the controversy between Roman Catholics and Protestants every where, and between *American* Protestants and all religious establishments, by whatever authority they have been erected, is decided.

It was our purpose still further to explain this principle, by an exegesis of the articles on religion in the constitutions of the several states, but this must be deferred. We may do it hereafter, unless it shall be fitly done in the mean time by

another hand. We think it a proper subject for a special treatise, and we suggest it to our readers as such. For convenience of our readers, we annex some of these articles.

The following extracts express the *Protestantism* of the American constitutions, in the order in which they were adopted.

Virginia, June 12th, 1776.—"That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other."

Maryland, Aug. 14th, 1776.—"As it is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to him, all persons professing the Christian religion are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty; wherefore, no person ought by any law to be molested in his person or estate, on account of his religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practice; unless, under colour of religion, any man shall disturb the good order, peace, or safety of the state, or shall infringe the laws of morality, or injure others in their natural, civil, or religious rights: nor ought any person to be compelled to frequent, or maintain, or contribute, unless on contract, to maintain any particular place of worship or any particular ministry."

North Carolina, Dec. 18th, 1776.—"That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of their own conscience."

Massachusetts, 1779.—"It is the right, as well as the duty, of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the Great Creator and Preserver of the Universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and seasons most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or for his religious profession or sentiments; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship."

Pennsylvania, 1790.—"That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences: and no man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or

interfere with the rights of conscience: and that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishments or modes of worship."

South Carolina, 1790.—"The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall, for ever hereafter, be allowed within this state to all mankind: Provided, that the liberty of conscience thereby declared, shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State."

New Hampshire, 1792.—"Among the natural rights, some are in their very nature unalienable, because no equivalent can be given or received for them. Of this kind are the *rights of conscience.*

"Every individual has a natural and unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and reason: and no person shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession, sentiments, or persuasion; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or disturb others in their religious worship."

Vermont, 1793.—Similar to New Hampshire.

Tennessee, 1796.—"That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience; that no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support, any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that no preference shall be given by law to any religious establishments or modes of worship.

"That no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under this state."

Georgia, 1798.—"No person within this state shall, upon any pretence, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping God in a manner agreeable to his own conscience, nor be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall he ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rate, for the building or repairing any place of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or hath voluntarily engaged to do. No one religious society shall ever be established in this state, in preference to any

other; nor shall any person be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles."

Kentucky, 1799.—Similar to Tennessee.

Ohio, 1802.—Similar to Kentucky.

Maine, 1819.—Similar to Tennessee.

Missouri, 1820.—"That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences: that no man can be compelled to erect, support, or attend any place of worship, or to maintain any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion, that no human authority can control or interfere with the rights of conscience; that no person can ever be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his religious profession, or sentiments, if he do not disturb others in their religious worship.

"That no person, on account of his religious opinions, can be rendered ineligible to any office of trust or profit under this state; that no preference can ever be given by law to any sect or mode of worship; and that no religious corporation can ever be established in this state"

The above may suffice as specimens of the whole.

Art. II.—1. *The Life of John Calvin, the great Reformer. By* Paul Henry, *Pastor of the French Church at Berlin.* Volume I. 1835.*

2. *Joannis Calvini, Theod. Bezae, Henrici IV. Regis, aliorumque illius aevi hominum Literae quaedam nondum editae. In memoriam sacrorum Genevensium ante tria saecula emendatorum ex autographis in Bibliotheca Ducali Gothana, edidit* Car. Gottl. Bretschneider, Th. et Ph. D. etc. Lipsiae, 1835. 8vo. pp. 228.

In our first number for the past year we announced our expectation of a forthcoming biography of Calvin. The first volume of this work lies before us, and we are happy to say that it fulfils our highest expectations. The history of the church, and more particularly the history of the reformation, have always received a prominent place in our journal,

* Das Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators; von Paul Henry, Prediger an der Französisch-Freidrichstädtischen Kirche zu Berlin. Erster Band. Mit einem Bildnisse und einem *Fac simile* der Handschrift Calvins. Hamburg. 1835. pp. 624.

and we shall regard it as an inauspicious token, if we ever see this field of knowledge left untrodden by the theologians of our country. The author of this work is the Rev. Mr. Henry, the pious and learned pastor of a French Reformed church at Berlin. His labour of preparation has been indefatigable, as these results evince. For the grand excellence of the biography is that it has been constructed from original sources, existing chiefly in manuscript, in various European collections. The nature of these sources may be learned from what follows.

In addition to the numerous historical and biographical works, by friends and enemies, and other publications relative to the life and times of the Reformer, M. Henry informs us that he has spared no pains to gain access to the unexplored treasures of the great libraries. The reader may be surprised to learn, that, notwithstanding the repeated publication of Calvin's correspondence, there are hundreds of his letters which have never seen the light. Those of which Beza was the editor were a mere selection, and indeed a selection made on a principle which shuts us out from all the more interesting traits of the writer's character, because the publisher seems carefully to have winnowed out every thing of a domestic and personal nature. "I have therefore," says M. Henry, "obtained the use of the still unpublished letters which are in the library of Geneva, and have had them wholly and exactly transcribed by the assiduous labour of the Rev. Mr. Doudiet, who was freely admitted to the library by M. Diodati the librarian, and who from singular love for Calvin's memory devoted himself to the undertaking. Their number amounts to 554, of which there are 436 in Latin and 118 in French. Here is a biographical treasure; they may be looked upon as a diary of this great man; for he recorded the smallest occurrences for his friends and associates, almost daily, with his remarks, thus maintaining a close connexion with them. The autographs of those heretofore printed are very widely scattered, and few remain at Geneva."

The biographer further mentions as a surprising fact, that a large collection of Calvin's autograph epistles exists in Germany. This is the origin of the second work named at the head of this article. The great collection to which M. Henry has resorted, and which may be found at Geneva, consists of five volumes, folio. The first is almost entirely filled with autographs, with a few ancient copies; 196 in all. The

second contains later copies, among which are duplicates of those just mentioned. The third comprises autographs of various writings, and a number of dictated letters in other hands, often with autograph corrections and postscripts. The fourth, later copies, in number 132. The fifth, French letters, some autograph, but mostly copied, with autograph additions or emendations. As it regards the condition of the autographs, the paper is coarse; originally white, but made somewhat yellow by time; in folio, uncut, quite well preserved, and with a spacious margin on the left. The seal is in almost all cases despoiled of its wax, yet the impression is distinguishable.

Besides these there are at Geneva many autograph letters to Calvin from distinguished men, but without his replies. The latter may be hereafter discovered in different libraries. A great number are missing from the period between 1530 and 1537. The Geneva library contains 2023 of Calvin's sermons, from 1549 to 1560, scarcely any of which have been printed. These were taken down from his lips by various Scribes, and fill forty-four volumes. M. Henry states—upon the authority of Mr. M'Crie, who as we have heretofore said is completing for the press the biography of Calvin by his lamented father—that almost all the documents relative to the trial of Servetus have disappeared from the archives of Geneva.

The libraries at Gotha and Zurich furnished our author with many valuable sources of information. At this last place there are preserved 150 folio volumes of the reformer's writings. The state-registers of Geneva have also been consulted with pleasing and unexpected results.

Mere diligence and mere accuracy would be a great merit in such a work; M. Henry displays more. The portion before us, comprising a little more than thirty years of the reformer's life, is well planned and ably executed. In his style we discern no German convolutions, in his sentiments no mystical fog, in his opinions no neological error. He makes Calvin tell his own history, by using his own language; and in the articulations and connectives necessarily furnished by the biographer, he is so far from giving us jejune annals that we are constantly charmed and refreshed by the scenes which he suddenly throws in from cotemporary history. It is a beautiful specimen of what may be called Comparative Biography. We have not merely Calvin raised before our eyes, in the vivid colours of truth, but each of his

great compeers in turn. There is a gratifying absence of washy comment. In a word, we believe the whole protestant church has cause to thank M. Henry for his labours. We rejoice to know that a French version is in the course of preparation; and we shall await with anxiety the second volume, which is probably now in the press. Some collectanea from M. Henry's results will constitute all that we have to add upon the work.

It may serve a useful purpose to remark, that Calvin's extraordinary influence in the reformation began about the year 1530. He was born in 1509. One year earlier Luther, then twenty-five years of age, was established at Wittenberg. It will at once appear, that at the dawn of the reformation, in 1517, Calvin was eight years old, and that he was but ten, when Charles the Fifth was elected emperor. The family name was Cauvin, or Chauvin, and the Latin form Calvinus was fixed by the publication of his earliest work.

The reformer's father was Gerard Cauvin, *procureur fiscal* of the county of Noyon in Picardy, and secretary of the diocess. His grandfather is said to have been a cooper in the village of Pont l'Evêque, where Calvin had a number of relations, who in token of their zeal for the church, afterwards abandoned the name. From earliest infancy Calvin was trained to devotion, according to the rites and tenets of Romanism. It was his practice often to pray in the open air. In the preface to his commentary on the Psalms, he says that his father had dedicated him from his infancy to the church.*

Drelincourt gives us other particulars. "Calvin," says he, "was born at Noyon, at the place where now stands the House of the Stag, and was baptized in the church of St. Godobert. In his early youth he studied at the College *des Capettes*. Some have said that he was one of the singing-boys of the choir, others that he was a canon of Noyon, but I have been unable to learn that he was either. I have fully ascertained, however, that he was chaplain and curate, and that he obtained a benefice."† He was educated in company with the young Mommors, or Montmors, children of a noble family, indeed the most distinguished in that country. In recollection of this privilege, he dedicated his first work, which was a commentary on Seneca, to one of these early

* Theologiae me pater tenellum adhuc puerum destinaverat.

† Drel. Défense de Calvin, p. 158.

associates, Hangest abbot of St. Eloi. With these youth Calvin was sent by his father to the high school of Paris. Here he found Cordier, regent of the college *de la Marche*, a learned and pious instructer, who afterwards renounced popery and resided in Geneva, where he died in the same year with his pupil, at the age of eighty-six. In this good man many a reader will be pleased to recognise the acquaintance of his schoolboy days, *Maturinus Corderius;* whose simple but pious and fascinating colloquies convey the soundest principles in the purest Latinity, and have never yet been surpassed as a first book for children.

From the college de la Marche, he went to the collège Montaigu, and there enjoyed the instructions of a very acute Spaniard, who taught scholastic theology. In the dialectic exercises of this seminary he already evinced the perspicacity and judgment which distinguished him for life. "Unlike Luther," observes Henry, "who had naturally a more lively imagination, and who seems to have had a tendency towards enthusiasm, Calvin evinced a repose and earnestness of mind which were the fruits of thorough discipline, and converse with excellent teachers."

Our author laments that his researches have failed to discover any letters or records of this interesting period. "In his eighteenth year the living of Marteville was conferred on him; but irregularly, as he was then only in minor orders, having merely received the tonsure. He exchanged this benefice for that of Pont l'Evêque. In the extracts of Jacques Desmay, from the acts of the Chapter of Noyon, it is said: "He was received as curate of Pont l'Evêque, a parish where his grandfather resided, and where Gerard, son of the latter, was baptized. Thus were the sheep given in charge to the wolf." It seems that his father made use of his influence with the bishop, to obtain the means of giving his distinguished son an education. He was presented to the cure by Messire Claude de Hangest, abbot of St. Eloi. The juvenile pride which he felt in his promotion is expressed by his saying, 'I was made a pastor by a single disputation;' and though he was not ordained he preached a number of times to the people of this village. Of any ordination there is no trace in his history."*

* Henry, p. 34. Calvin (says Bayle) was never a priest, and entered the ecclesiastical state simply by means of the tonsure.—Quo loco (says Beza) constat J. ipsum Calvinum, antequam Gallia excederet, nullis alioqui *pontificiis*

It would be pleasant if we could from any authentic documents gain an insight into the university life of Calvin. But of the period between his 18th and 22d year, our reports are but fragmentary. He tells us in the preface above cited, that his father, who probably had some presentiment of the church troubles, and who observed the opulence acquired by the lawyers, recalled the young scholar from philosophy to jurisprudence. The works of Calvin show very plainly that he turned his legal studies to excellent account in his subsequent labours.

The earliest autograph of Calvin bears date May 6, 1528, when he was about 18 or 19 years old. It is a letter written to a friend, Nicholas Cheminus, from Noyon, whither he had returned from Paris or Orleans. As a curiosity we insert a translation:

"The promise which I made you at parting, that I would soon rejoin you, has kept me in a state of suspense, for while I was meditating a return, I have been detained by the illness of my father. But since the physicians held out the hope that he might be restored to health, I saw nothing else in my delay, except that my desire to see you, which was strong before, was greatly increased by the interval of a few days. But day after day has passed, until at length there remains no hope of life, and there is undoubted danger of death. Whatever may be the result, I will see you again. Salute in my name, Francis Daniel, Philip, and all your fellow-lodgers. Have you yet given your name to the professors of literature? Do not let your diffidence make you negligent. Farewell, Cheminus, my friend, dearer to me than life."

Beza relates that Gerard Cauvin died when the son, aged 23, was studying at Bourges. Up to this time the young man had no knowledge of either Greek or Hebrew. He first became acquainted with the Bible in the translation of his relative Robert Olivetan. As soon as he came to understand the errors of the papists, he renounced his benefice. When it was determined that he should study law, he went from Paris to the university of Orleans, and placed himself under Pierre de l'Etoile, or Petrus Stella, president of the

ordinibus unquam initiatum aliquot ad populum conciones habuisse.—An undue importance has been given to this statement. Beza does not say that Calvin was never ordained; he merely denies that, at a certain time, he had received *popish* orders. By protestants and papists, he is repeatedly called a *Presbyter*.

parliament of Paris, the acutest jurist in France;* and afterwards at Bourges under the famous André Alciat. But in the midst of laborious studies he felt his soul drawn towards the Scriptures. In this state of mind he received benefit from an excellent man whom he fell in with at Bourges. This was Melchior Wolmar, a German, who instructed him in Greek, and made such an impression on his mind, in confirmation of his evangelical principles, that he began to broach the new doctrines in sermons. In his preface to the second epistle to the Corinthians, he records his grateful recollection of this preceptor, whom he regarded as a great instrument towards his conversion.

But as our purpose is to give anecdotes rather than history, we shall interrupt the narrative, and content ourselves with saying, that while at Orleans, he frequently read lectures, during the absence of the professors, and that the degree of Doctor was conferred on him without the ordinary fees. It was his custom, after a frugal supper, to sit up half the night, and the next morning, as he lay in bed, to reconsider all that he had been learning. These vigils increased his erudition, but they probably contributed to his constant diseases and premature death. After the conclusion of his university course he remained a short time in Paris.

With respect to the great change in his religious sentiments, he has recorded that such was his attachment to popish superstitions, that he was with difficulty extricated from the mire, and that God subdued his mind to docility by a sudden conversion.† His early experience was less clouded by melancholy and alarm than was that of Luther. Yet he was not entirely exempt from such trials. He declares that during these first conflicts, while he was still in some degree entangled with superstitious observances, as often as he descended into himself, or raised his heart to God, he was seized with extreme horror, which no purifications or satisfactions could relieve. And the more he examined his case, the greater was the goading of his conscience, so that his only solace was an illusive self-forgetfulness. The genuineness of the work of which he was at this time the subject is manifest in the zeal with which, in a time of peril, he preached the gospel through France, and in the unequalled works which he produced but a short time after. The faith which

* Le plus aigu jurisconsulte de France.

† Animum meum, subita conversione ad docilitatem subegit. Pr. ad Psal.

he depicts is the assured persuasion of primitive times. The device of his seal is characteristic; it represents a hand stretching forth a burning heart, and expresses the total surrender of his powers, which was always his ruling principle. If we may credit his own testimony, the indomitable courage which marked his course, and which his enemies called ferocity, was the result of Christian faith. For in various connexions he represents his natural disposition as fearful and shrinking. The same statement he repeated on his death-bed. "I confess myself to be by nature of a timid, soft, and shrinking mind." And elsewhere he says: "Being naturally rustic and shamefaced, and always loving repose and tranquillity, I began to look for some retreat, and some way of escape from the crowd; but I was so far from accomplishing my wish that on the contrary all my hiding places became like public schools."* Accordingly in the year 1532, while as yet the reformed Christians in Paris held all their meetings very secretly, Calvin felt himself constrained to give up all other pursuits, and to devote himself entirely to the propagation of the gospel. He preached in the little assemblies, constantly closing his addresses with the words "If God be for us, who can be against us?" Concerning these labours, Pasquier, a contemporary and a catholic thus writes. "In the midst of his books and studies he was in the highest degree on the alert for the advancement of his sect. We have seen our prisons overflowing with poor persecuted creatures, whom without ceasing he exhorted, consoled, and strengthened by letters; and messengers were never wanting, to whom the doors were open, notwithstanding every precaution of the gaolers. These were the measures which he employed at the outset, and by these he gained over, foot by foot, a portion of our territory."†

We pass over the first publication of Calvin, the Commentary upon Seneca de Clementia, with the remark that it bears date April 4, 1532, and that it was meant to awaken in the mind of Francis I. sentiments of humanity towards the persecuted protestants. The effort was as fruitless as that of Seneca himself to conciliate Nero. In that very year Fran-

* De mon coté d'autant qu'estant d'un naturel un pen sauvage et honteux j'ai tonjours aime requoi et tranquillité, je commençai a chercher quelque cachette, et moyen de me retirer des gens. Pref. aux Ps.

† Pasquier, Recherches de la France, L. 8. p. 769.

cis bound himself to the pope by a new league. A letter written to Bucer from Noyon, shows that at this early date Calvin began to have connexions with Strasburg, and also that his reforming zeal was ardent. In reference to a fugitive who was charged with being an Anabaptist, he says: "If my prayers, if my tears avail any thing, I beseech thee, Bucer, lend him thy aid. In his distress he betakes him to thee. Thou wilt be the orphan's helper. Suffer him not to fall into the extreme of misery," &c.

The year 1533, with the two following, was a season of change and of danger. A daring procedure of Calvin brought him into collision with the theological rulers at Paris. Nicholas Cop, the newly elected rector of the Sorbonne, pronounced on All Saint's day, a public discourse. To the astonishment of every body it contained a defence of the gospel and of justification by faith. Upon inquiry it was discovered that the real author was John Calvin. Information was laid before the parliament, the rector was arrested, and sergeants were sent to take Calvin, from the college de Forneret, where he then lived. But being forewarned he escaped, according to some in a basket let down from the window, and according to others in the disguise of a vine-dresser. By the seizure of his papers many of his friends were placed in jeopardy. He fled to the queen of Navarre, who received him affectionately, pacified the king, and protracted the truce. Under her auspices he went into Saintonge, and employed himself in writing short sermons to be delivered on Sundays by the curates. Soon after this we find him at Nerac, the residence of the queen of Navarre. Here he became acquainted with Lefevre d'Estaples, Stapulensis, who had fled from the rage of the Sorbonne. This aged man predicted the future eminence of the young reformer. During his short residence in Angoulême, and while under the roof of Louis du Tillet, he made the first sketch of his Institutes. In 1533 he returned to Paris, notwithstanding the persecution; but the fury manifested against the reformed was so great, that he resolved to leave his native country; which he did soon after the publication of his Psychopannychia, in 1534. Hastening from Paris to Orleans he proceeded to Basle, where about the beginning of August 1535 he is supposed to have published the first edition of the Institutes, concerning which bibliography has raised so many doubts. Into Basle he entered in a state of abject destitution, having on the way been robbed

of every thing by his servants or guides. He now became known to some of the German reformers. They loved him at once for his earnestness, cordiality of temper and remarkable conscientiousness. Among the valuable friends whom he found at Basle may be named Simon Grynaens, a philologist and divine, who lectured on the classics and the Scriptures; and Wolfgang Capito, who had begun the reformation in this city and was now engaged in the profound study of the Hebrew tongue.

The Institutes of Calvin were expressly dedicated to the king of France. The author's grand aim was to present to this prejudiced and fanatical prince a complete vindication of the reformed, and if possible to be instrumental in bringing him to the truth. Beza relates, that the influence of his sister the queen of Navarre had extended so far that Francis had at one time determined to send for Philip Melancthon, and to hear his defence of the faith. But about the end of 1534 all this was frustrated by the indiscreet zeal of certain persons, who had indulged in bitterness of invective.* Francis was always anxious to show himself a devout catholic, and he chose the most effectual method for doing so when he bared his arm for persecution. A number of indecorous pasquinades against the mummeries of the papists were printed, and even thrown into the palace at Blois. Here was a pretext. There were at Paris a number of Calvin's friends and hearers who were fit subjects of persecuting cruelty. The narrative given by our author, in the fourth chapter, of the life and death of several humble holy men is peculiarly interesting, and should be here inserted if space allowed. While Farel was thundering at Geneva, there were several preachers labouring at Paris, such as Girard Roux, Coraud and Berthaud. They were forbidden to preach, and changed their method for that of private instruction. The Sorbonnists forbade this also. Girard was thrown into prison and Coraud confined in the bishop's house. The printed tracts, which they next used as their last resort, were deemed a pollution to the city, and on the 29th of January 1535, the king joined in a solemn lustration carrying in procession the idol of St. Genevieve, the tutelary goddess of the Parisians. To complete the pleasing ceremony six men were burnt alive. Their constancy was unbroken. Of these men M. Henry gives interesting bio-

* Beza. Hist. eccles. p. 15.

graphical notices. This was but the prelude to the tragedy which soon ensued. M. Henry justly observes that in our days of peace we are almost incredulous as to the cannibal fury of Romish persecutors. During the whole reign of Francis and that of his successor, the executions continued. Such was the emergency when Calvin, having for this purpose expatriated himself, directed his Institutes to the bloody and hypocritical monarch. On the celebrated Dedication which precedes the work he laid out all his strength. It is a masterpiece of argument, courage and address, and for its style might be cited as a classic. By our author it is well said that it will remain for ages among the jewels of the Christian church. It takes ranks by the side of the early apologies, and is an irrefragable defence of the evangelical church. Our author gives it almost entirely in a version, but no one who has even a smattering of Latin or French should read it in any other language. In the world of letters there have been, it is said, only three truly great Prefaces; that of Thuanus to his History—that of Casaubon to his Polybius—and that of Calvin to his Institutes. The last is, as a French author well observes, a tribute worthy of so great a king, a vestibule worthy of so great an edifice, and a composition worthy of more than than a single perusal.* It moved the heart of Francis quite as little as the confession penned by Melancthon moved the heart of Charles. For we scarcely credit Beza's surmise that the king never read it. His confidence in the queen of Navarre forbids such a supposition. The time of his visitation passed, and he knew not the things that belonged to his peace. Soon after his death arose the two great parties which rent the kingdom—then followed the domination of Catharine of Medicis—the Bartholomew's day—and the fanatical wars of the League.

The "Institutes of the Christian religion," when first published, was but the germ of the great work which we now possess. It was a small octavo of some five hundred pages.† Whether first written in French or Latin is a vexed question in bibliography. We are convinced by Mr. Henry's argument that it was originally in French. According to Beza it appeared in 1535, while the author resided at Basle. It is believed however that no man living has beheld this edition.

* Morus, Panegerique, p. 108. Inst. ed. Icard. Mélange critique de feu M. Ancillon. Basle 1689. T. 2. p. 65.

† Neque enim densum hoc et laboriosum opus, quale nunc exstat, sed breve duntaxat enchiridion tunc in lucem prodiit. Pr. ad Psalm.

The edition always cited is that of 1536. To those who regard this as the first, it is a sufficient reply that Calvin declares that the first was anonymous, whereas this of 1536 has his name. The edition of 1536 was extant, according to Gerdes, at Brunswick, and Geneva, but the first forty-two pages were wanting in the Geneva copy; which moreover is no longer to be found. There are complete copies at Berne and Zurich. It would seem that the primary edition was seized and suppressed. This may explain a remark of Samarthanus, a professor at Poitou, when he says to Calvin, April 1527, "I lament that while you are snatched from us, the other instructer Calvin, I mean your Institutions, has not reached us. I envy Germany for possessing what we cannot obtain." Bayle does not consider the Basle edition, *per Thomam Platerum et Balthasarem Latium*, as the first, and also opposes Moreri who speaks of an edition of 1534. M. Henry's explanation is this. The events which occasioned the work occurred towards the end of 1534, the persecution about the beginning of 1535. As every part of the work, except the elaborate preface, was prepared with an almost impatient rapidity, and as the exigency was urgent, we can scarcely believe that the ardent writer would have delayed the publication a whole year. He may have laboured upon it in February, March and April; carried it through the press in May, June, and July ; and issued it in August. But still more conclusively. The edition extant at Zurich has the author's name in three places. At the end is the date *Mense Martio anno* 1536, which does not tally with the date of the dedication 10 *Cal. Sept.*, or August 23, but without the year. The prefatory address to Francis, which was a principal part, points to the prior edition, which might have appeared in August 1535. It was natural for Calvin to address the king in his vernacular tongue, and as it was his principle to publish all his works in both languages, we conclude that he did not begin with the Latin.

"In a French edition of 1566," says our author, "I have in fact found the Preface to Francis I., in Calvin's ancient style, with the subscription—*Basle le Premier d'Aout* 1535; so that this epistle must necessarily be of that year. In the old Latin copies, as in that of 1561, printed during Calvin's lifetime, and which now lies before me, the date is 1536; the later French copies refer to 1535, the later Latin to 1536. The date of the day varies. This French edition is now lost, and the Latin which I have before me is a trans-

lation, which appeared in 1536, and which as it thrice names the author, cannot be the original."

This incomparable work, at once Calvin's first and last, as M. Henry remarks, was received with an ardour for which the author thus expresses his gratitude in his French preface to the edition of 1559. "As I had no expectation that the first edition of this book would have had so favourable a reception, as God in his inestimable goodness has given it, I prepared it with some carelessness, and sought nothing so much as brevity. But finding in process of time that it enjoyed a popularity, which so far from expecting, I had not even ventured to desire, I felt myself so much the rather obliged to discharge myself more ably and fully towards such as accepted my doctrine with affection; for it were ungrateful in me not to comply with their desire according to my limited capacity. Hence I have not only endeavoured to do my duty when the said book was first reprinted, but at each successive edition I have enlarged and enriched it. And though I have no cause to repent of the labour then employed, I confess that I never satisfied myself, until I had digested it in the order which you here behold, and which I trust you will approve. And in truth I may allege in order to your approbation that in serving the church of God I have not spared to make use of all my powers. For last winter when a quartan ague threatened to take me out of this world, the more my disease pressed me, the less I spared myself, that I might complete this book, which surviving after my death might evince how much I had desired to requite those who had already been profited by it." In allusion to those who threatened and calumniated him, he further says: "Now the devil, with all his band, deceives himself if he thinks to discourage or crush me by the charge of such frivolous falsehoods."*

In the history of Calvin's mind nothing is more remarkable than the uniform consistency of his opinions through life. The alterations of which he speaks above are not changes in doctrine. The tenets of his first humble volume were the tenets of his life; and his system, Minerva-like, sprang from his powerful intellect symmetrical and full armed. The original work contained the massy and compacted framework of the whole; it was produced in exile, in trouhlous

* Or le diable et toute sa bande se trompe fort, s'il cuide m'abbatre ou descourager en me chargeant de mensonges si frivoles.

times, at the risk of life itself, and by a young man of twenty-five years. "True to the doctrine which he first delivered to us," says Beza, "he never altered any thing; and this can be said of few theologians within our memory."—"He formed no retractations," says Joseph Scaliger; "though he wrote so much; this is wonderful. I leave you to judge whether he was a great man."*

A most pleasing episode in this history is that which relates to Renata duchess of Ferrara. Upon this we can merely touch. This magnanimous lady was all her life a defender of Protestants, and a friend of Calvin. She was the daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Bretagne, and was born the same year with Calvin. Hercules II. duke of Ferrara, her husband, was a weak and vicious prince. The duchess had become acquainted with literature at the French court, and at Ferrara she devoted herself entirely to the study of geometry, philosophy, astronomy and the languages, and collected around her learned men, among whom was the distinguished Morati, who had embraced the reformed religion. She was unwilling to leave her church precipitately, and therefore made theology her special study. At first her attachments were strong in favour of Luther; she afterwards adhered to Calvin, as did most of the Italian protestants, perhaps chiefly in consequence of their ignorance of German. The duchess Renata was not favoured with an attractive person, but was eminent for every accomplishment of mind. The intelligence had reached Calvin that free opinions enjoyed a sanctuary beyond the Alps, and he was ready to believe that a door was here opened for the introduction of the gospel. About the end of March 1536, as is supposed, having completed the publication of his Institutes in Latin, he proceeded to carry it into Italy. "Either invited by the liberal-minded duchess, or merely judging it necessary to confirm her faith, he found this visit effectual in gaining her over to his views. She now attached herself not to the Lutheran but the Reformed party. He travelled under the assumed name of Monsieur Charles d'Espeville, which he used through life in his letters, in cases where his proper name would have endangered his correspondents. His great plan for Italian reformation was frustrated, and he dared not prolong his visit. The inquisition soon pursued him. To use his own words,

* Nullas contexit retractationes, tam multa tamen scripsit, mirum illud est. Arbitrio vestro an vir magnus fuerit judicium permitto. Scaligeriana secunda.

he saw the frontiers of Italy only to bid them farewell. Of this journey we have scarcely any memorials, but we have some accounts from Ferrara, where it is interesting to see the celebrated young man introduced to a polished circle of accomplished spirits. Here he met with Madame de Soumise, her daughter Anne de Parthenai, and her son, who was afterwards one of the leaders of the reformed in France. In later years he was a correspondent of Calvin. Here he found also the poet Clement Marot, who like himself had been forced to fly from France, after having been harboured sometime at Bearne by the queen of Navarre. Introduced by Madame de Soumise he became secretary to the duchess. It is not easy to determine what protestant teachers were in Ferrara, at the time of Calvin's visit, but it is known that the reformed doctrine was diffused by the men of talent whom the duchess summoned around her. The university possessed liberal scholars, such as Celio Calcagnini, Lelio Giraldi, Marco Flaminio, and there is a statement that even in 1528 a number of preachers proclaimed the truth at Ferrara. Calvin found therefore a field prepared to his hand. But in 1536 the duke of Ferrara entered into a treaty with the pope, a secret article of which engaged him to exclude all Frenchmen from his court; the duchess was constrained to part with Madame de Soumise and her family. Marot fled to Venice. It is probable that it was this cause which likewise drove Calvin from Ferrara."*

Upon his return he made up his mind to take a final leave of his native land. Hastening for the last time to the beloved Noyon, he greeted the place of his birth, sold his little patrimony, arranged the domestic affairs, and with his brother and sister, Antony and Marie, proceeded through Savoy on his way towards Germany. This retreat was not a cold or heartless expatriation. In his flight he thus addresses a friend: "I am driven out of the land of my birth. Every footstep to the borders costs me tears. But since the truth may not dwell in France, neither may I. Her destiny will I share." Providence was thus leading him to a retreat whence he might with impunity cast the weapons of truth over the battlements of France. As he passed on his way he came to Geneva, intending to remain there but a single night. He called to see the preacher Viret. "It was my purpose," says Calvin, "to stay but a night, for every thing

* Henry, p. 155.

was in disorder, and the city was rent by hateful factions. But I was discovered by a man who afterwards went back to popery (du Tillet) and by Farel, who was inflamed with an incredible zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and who exerted all his powers to retain me." Calvin replied, in the spirit of a youthful missionary, that he "was unwilling to tie himself to any single church, but wished to serve all, wherever he might go. If he remained he should have no time for study, and he was not one of those who could be always giving out, and never taking in." Upon which Farel answered: "Now in the name of Almighty God, do I delare to you, since you make your studies a pretext, that unless you address yourself with us to this work, the curse of God will rest upon you, for seeking your own honour, rather than that of Christ." As the voice near Damascus, says our biographer, thundered through the heart of Saul, so did these words penetrate the conscience of Calvin, so that he never forgot them. As late as 1557 he says, "I was at last retained at Geneva, by Master William Farel, not so much by counsel and exhortation as by an awful adjuration, as if God from on high had stretched out his very hand to arrest me. Under the terror of which I desisted from my purposed journey, yet in such a manner that, conscious of my diffidence and timidity, I declined any fixed charge."*

In looking back through three centuries, we must acknowledge this as the great epoch in the life of Calvin, and in the history of the Reformed Church.

He was now elected preacher and teacher of theology. At first he accepted the latter only. In the following year the magistracy pressed upon him the pastoral charge; for Farel in his burning zeal embraced this occasion to fly to the relief of the Neûchatel church. Calvin was at this time twenty-seven years of age; he laboured in Geneva twenty-eight years. He came thither poor, and seems at first to have had no regular stipend. It is only in February of the year following that we find a minute of the council, that he should receive six golden crowns.† In 1549, in a letter to Bullinger, he says: "Had I regarded my own life or private ends, I should

* Lequel mot m'espouvanta et esbranla tellement, que je me desistai du voyage que j'avois entrepris, en sorte toutefois que sentant ma honte et ma timidité, je ne voulus point m'obliger à exercer quelque certaine charge. Pr. ad Ps.

† Registres du 13 Fevr. 1537. On donne six ecus au soleil à Cauvin soit Calvin, vû qu'il n'a encore guères reçu.

instantly depart. But when I consider, *of what moment this corner is*, with respect to the spread of the gospel, I am with reason absorbed in the care of this." The sagacious glance of Calvin descried from the first the vantage ground afforded by this field; *quantum hic angulus momenti habeat.*"*

From this moment we must regard Calvin as united in a sacred triumvirate with Farel and Viret, men of God who differed quite as much from one another as from their great leader and associate. And here we would gladly insert the whole of M. Henry's admirable comparative delineation of the three. Indeed it is an excellency of his animated biography that it presents us scarcely any thing in a state of absolute insulation, but throws into the back ground of every picture a gratifying view of those portraits which relieve and illustrate the central figure. We have in former articles dwelt long and largely on William Farel, the scourge of popery, the learned, eloquent, heroic, impetuous, overwhelming founder of the Genevan church. Of Peter Viret, we may take space to say, that he was the gentler personification of the same evangelical zeal. He was born at Orbe in 1511. He studied at Paris, where he became acquainted with Farel, and soon appeared as a reformer among the Swiss. The deputies of Bern sent him to Geneva as a co-worker, and here he joined with Farel in opposing the catholic Furbity. He left Geneva, but returned in 1536. He was afterwards called to Lausanne where he filled the first pastoral office. Except a short residence at Geneva during Calvin's absence, he spent the whole time until 1558 at Lausanne. Persecuted for his disciplinary innovations he then retired to Geneva, and afterwards for his health to the south of France. The church at Nismes elected him pastor, as in 1563 did the church of Lyons, where he presided in the synod. Thence he repaired to the queen of Navarre at Orthez, where after teaching theology he died in 1571; about seven years after Calvin. He published a Commentary on the Gospel of John, in 1553; the work is rare.

In this connexion may be named Theodore Beza, a man of great learning, taste, eloquence and piety; "howbeit he attained not unto the first three." Of a softer temperament

* It is needless for us to record the history of Farel's labours in opening a way for the reformation at Geneva, as we have already furnished our readers, in two articles, with the details of his life. See *Biblical Repertory* for 1833, page 145; and for 1834, page 214.

than Calvin, he nevertheless was one with him in opinion and in heart. He was endowed with great sensibility, poetic genius, ready elocution, address, and external grace.

The classical epigram of Beza is familiar, but will bear frequent repetition:

> Gallica mirata est Calvinum ecclesia nuper,
> Quo nemo docuit doctius:
> Est quoque te nuper mirata, Farelle, tonantem,
> Quo nemo tonuit fortius:
> Et miratur adhuc fundentem mellea Viretum,
> Quo nemo fatur dulcius.
> Scilicet aut tribus his servabere testibus olim,
> Aut interibis Gallia!

In such men Calvin found an unspeakable solace in times which tried men's souls. In the beginning of the Commentary on Titus, he records his affection. "Inasmuch as in relation to you (Farel and Viret) I sustain a relation resembling that which St. Paul held to Titus, this similitude has seemed to lead me to choose you above all others, to whom to dedicate these my labours. At any rate it will afford our contemporaries, and perhaps those who come after us, some monument of our holy friendship and alliance. Never, I suppose, have two friends in the common relations of life lived together in so close a friendship, as we have enjoyed in our ministry. I have discharged the functions of a pastor with you both; yet so far from any appearance of envy, it seemed as if you and myself had been one."*

This friendship endured until death. When Calvin lay on his dying bed in 1564, Farel in a letter to a friend reverts to this earliest interview with Calvin. Though I have received no certain tidings of the decease of our most dear and intimate friend Calvin, yet the rumours I hear, as well as the condition in which I left him, oppress me greatly. O that I could be taken in his stead, and that a spirit so useful might be spared long to serve in health the churches of our Lord! And blessed and praised be He who of his grace brought me to meet him where I had never thought of such a thing, there arrested him, and made use of him, contrary to all his previous purposes; and that especially by my instrumentality, since in the name of God I constrained him to undertake labours which were worse than death (les affaires

* Tant s'en faut qu'il y eut aucune apparence d'envie qu'il me sembloit que Vous et moi n'étions q'un.

qui estoient plus dures que la mort); although he repeatedly besought us in God's name to have pity on him, and leave him to serve God with zeal as he had ever done."

The same Farel, then aged eighty years, did not forbear to go on foot from Neûchatel to Geneva to embrace his dying friend; although he had received from Calvin the following affecting lines: "Fare thee well, my best and dearest brother! As it is the will of God that you should survive me, be mindful of our friendship, which has been a blessing to the church of God, and will bring forth fruit for us in heaven. My breath is feeble—I am every moment looking for my dissolution; content to live and die in Christ, who in life and in death is his people's gain. Farewell, once more, to you and all the brethren!" Let the reader pause and ask if this dying saint is that steeled and heartless dogmatist whom his enemies have portrayed. For Beza's account of this remarkable friendship, we refer to his memoir of Calvin.*

"One may almost wonder," says M. Henry, "that the happiness of such attachments should be the lot of a man so rigid in his opinions, firm almost to impenetrability, and prone to the excess of indignation. It shows that his character had other aspects, developed in private relations, and which were less apparent in his public acts; such as overflowing confidence and affection towards his friends. The highest reverence must be excited by his whole course of life, which was little else than a sacrifice, and complete forgetfulness of self. Even his excesses were mostly the result of an extraordinary conscientiousness; and these foibles were easily forgiven by those who knew him."

By the people of Geneva he was welcomed with enthusiasm. After his first sermon crowds hastened to his lodgings, testified their satisfaction, and exacted a promise that he would again preach on the day following. He immediately sat down to labour with his brethren, in laying the basis of that discipline which has since become noted, and in preparing catechisms and other works for the instruction of the people. In November 1536, he received a letter from Bucer, who, as it would seem, had already discerned his lofty genius, and his competency to the work of pacification. The solidity, distinctness and moderation, which he manifested in his works had established his reputation in France

* See Beza's Life of Calvin, prefixed to the Halle edition of Calvin's Commentaries, p. 13.

and Germany. The theological tenets of the two countries had their distinguishing features, yet there was a family likeness among these children of God, and the traits were strongly similar, *quales decet esse sororum.* Bucer exalts Calvin in his encomiums, and with profound respect invites him to a correspondence on the matters of difference. He declares that the Lord had set him apart to be of great advantage to the church. It well became him to promote unity. He presses on him the example of Paul, whose sacred conferences tended to this harmony, and who journeyed over land and sea to bind the churches in concord. He asks Calvin to name the place where they may meet, at Basle, Berne, or even Geneva, "that we may conscientiously examine the truths, in which you indeed may be established, but concerning which, by reason of our weakness, we stand in need of explanations."

We pass to the memorable year 1537. It dawned in perfect serenity, but before the lapse of many months storms arose from several quarters. The Anabaptists came in and made an uproar. "I" says Calvin, "who am, I acknowledge, of a weak and timorous nature, have nevertheless been forced to make my first acquaintance with these tempestuous waves." Then appeared once more the notorious Caroli, a preacher of loose morals and ungovernable animosities, who afterwards returned to the church of Rome.* This fanatical man charged the Genevan ministers with Arianism. The only colourable pretence for this was the omission of the words *Trinity* and *Person* in their symbolical formulary. The first inquiry took place at Lausanne. The accused ministers demanded a synod, which was held at Berne. Large correspondence ensued between the churches. At the synod Calvin adduced the catechism of Geneva. But this did not satisfy Caroli. "He declared us suspected persons," says Calvin, "so long as we declined subscription to the Athanasian creed. I replied that it was not my custom to receive any thing as the word of God, before I had well considered it." At this synod there were present a hundred ministers from Berne, twenty from Neûchatel, and the three from Geneva. Calvin pronounced an elaborate defence. The Genevan confession was presented without the words above cited. "Caroli insisted on the subscription of the three early creeds, the apostolic, the Athanasian and the Nicene.

* See *Biblical Repertory*, for 1833, page 161; and for 1834, page 214.

This they declined, lest their example might introduce to the church a tyrannical precedent, by which any one might be charged with heresy, who would not speak in the words, or according to the pleasure of another. The synod recognised the Genevan confession upon the Trinity and the sacraments as *sancta et catholica*."*

Caroli was deposed and banished; he afterwards made peace with the protestants, but ended by going to Rome. His calumnies, however unfounded, produced some distrust among the Swiss and German churches. On the part of Calvin it was merely a contest for liberty. In his Institutes he admits that the use of the terms *Trinity* and *Person* is necessary. In the first edition he had himself employed the word *Trinity*.† The reason why he did not simply adduce this work as in exculpation, is that he generously chose to make common cause with his colleagues. As a further vindication he published a Latin version of the Geneva catechism. In the preface he laments that "no innocence, no sincerity is safe from such imputations."‡

Other works were written and issued by him during the same year. In all of these is shown the excellence which Beza commemorates. "Among other excellent virtues with which the Lord had liberally endowed this holy man, there were two relating to matters of dispute, which are remarkable; namely, a marvellous dexterity of mind in apprehending at once the precise difficulty of the question (le nœud de la matière) and suddenly resolving it; and with this, such an integrity of conscience as led him to shun all vain and sophistical subtletics and all ambitious ostentation, and ever to seek the pure and simple truth."

From Calvin's vicinity to France he could not but live under a constant and lively impression of the wrongs suffered by the protestants of that kingdom, many of whom were put to death. And on the other side he was rendered anxious lest the whole cause of evangelical reform should suffer from the pertinacity with which the German brethren insisted upon consubstantiation. His disquietude is expressed in a letter to Bucer, which our author obtained from the Berne archives, and which he gives at length. In this he complains

* Calvin's words are notable. "Tantum nolebamus hoc tyrannidis exemplum in ecclesiam induci, ut is haereticus haberetur, qui non ad alterius praescriptum loqueretur."

† Inst. L. 1. c. 13. 2—5.

‡ Nulla innocentia, nulla simplicitas a suspicionibus satis tuta.

of Luther's violent temper, and of the temporising policy of Bucer himself, whom he warns with brotherly candour. "If Luther," says he, "can embrace us with our confession, nothing could be more grateful to me; yet he is by no means the only member of Christ's church who is to be regarded. We should be cruel and barbarous to an extreme, if we could overlook the thousands who are trampled on under the pretext of that union. Though I have the fullest persuasion of Luther's piety, I scarcely know what to think of him; and I would fain disbelieve what is said of him by some who are his friends in other respects, I mean that his firmness is not without a mixture of obstinacy." He laments his pertinacity, and says: "Nothing can be safe so long as this desire of pre-eminence rages. The past must all be forgotten. For not only has he been delinquent as it regards contemptuous vituperation, but also in the grossest ignorance and error. How absurdly did he meet us in the outset, when he said that the bread was the body itself! And if now he holds that the body of Christ is involved in the bread, I judge him still to be in the foulest error. What say the other adherents of this doctrine? Are they not even worse than Marcion in their opinion of Christ's body? Therefore if you avail any thing with Martin, either by favour or influence, cause him to seek the subjugation of those with whom he has hitherto waged a warfare so inauspicious, to Christ rather than to himself, and also to submit to that truth against which he has clearly offended."—"If then you demand of the Swiss that they lay aside their obstinacy, do your own part by influencing Luther to be less imperious."—"I am aware of your ordinary plea for moderation, and that you will say that the minds of the simple must not be alienated from religion by contentious disputes; and that we may employ every means consistent with piety to win such persons. Let me reply in my wonted manner: 'Si vis omnibus facere Christum plausibilem, tibi non esse fabricandum evangelium.'"

With Bucer Calvin always stood on the best terms of friendly confidence, believing him to be an eminent follower of Christ, though he regarded him as too much disposed to sacrifice truth for the sake of tranquillity. Seventeen years after these events he says of him in a letter to Peter Martyr: "In his desire to assuage the fierceness of Luther and his friends he humbled himself to a degree of servility, so that he was perplexed at every word. Another necessity drove him to tergiversation because he wished to conceal the dis-

honour of his former unskilfulness, about which I often rebuked him. For there was no one, I think, who more freely or sharply remonstrated with him in this respect, urging that he would dare with more simplicity to avow what he believed. Such however was his anxiety to conciliate the Saxons, that he never came forth to open day."

The first attempt at reformation in Geneva took place in August 1535: there was a more solemn recognition of the truth in May 1536, before Calvin's arrival. The council of 200 in November of the same year ratified the confession offered by Farel and Calvin. A third sanction, by the council and assembled people, occurred in July 1537. Yet it was in many only an outward change, and for twenty years the council and the higher classes were involved in a storm of war against licentiousness and anarchy. The ministers had a strict notion of moral discipline. The magistrates forbade every amusement which had a vicious tendency. Some cases were extreme. Thus a milliner was put under arrest during three days for having fitted out a bride with too much luxury. The mother and two female friends, who had accompanied the bridal party to church were also punished. A gambler was exposed in the pillory with his pack of cards hung about his neck. An adulterer was banished for a year, and with his partner in crime was driven by the hangman through the whole city. Yet we find in 1537 a syndic re-elected, although he had previously been deposed for incontinence, and three days imprisoned. He was elected six times afterwards. Such influence had the Libertine party, who conjointly with those called the Independents, conflicted with the government. The movement-party looked with an evil eye on the ministers, who brandished over them the rod of discipline. "Our duty," says Calvin, "seemed to us to extend beyond the mere preaching of the word. Still greater assiduity must be employed towards those whose blood, if they perish, will be required at our hands. And if these cares gave us solicitude, we were filled with anguish as often as the seasons of communion occurred; because, although we doubted of the faith of many, all without exception came forward. And these ate and drank God's wrath rather than the sacrament of life." The same faction which opposed strict discipline, was equally zealous against the abrogation of unscriptural ceremonies. They demanded of the council the adoption of certain resolutions passed by a synod at Lausanne, which enjoined festivals such as Christmas and Ascen-

sion, and the use of fonts and of unleavened bread at the eucharist. The object of this new zeal was to find an occasion against the pastors. During the agitation of these questions Farel and Calvin indulged in some political remarks; this was forbidden by the council.* Coraud, an aged preacher from Paris, inveighed against the order, and was silenced by the magistracy. Feeble and blind, but full of his youthful zeal, he caused himself to be led to the pulpit, and thundered against these oppressions. He was imprisoned and his friends tried in vain to obtain his enlargement.

The city was in an uproar; pacifying measures availed nothing with the Libertines who were now in the ascendant. Calvin, Farel, and Coraud declared that so long as they were debarred from the due exercise of discipline they would not administer the Lord's Supper. This determination is closely connected with the whole texture of Calvin's discipline, as his principle was, that those should be excluded from ordinances who by the proper church authorities were deemed unworthy. The syndics availed themselves of these circumstances to collect the people, and by the influence of their partizans to expel from the city the three faithful ministers of Christ. These were ordered to leave the city within three days. When Calvin received the order he said, "If I had served men I should now be a great loser; but it is well that I have served him who always bestows on his servants what he hath promised." After some wanderings Calvin repaired to Basle, and Farel to Neufchatel. The following extracts from a letter of Calvin to Farel will prove interesting in this connexion. "I easily augur, from the prelude we have witnessed, what our opposers will eventually attempt. As they have by their passion precluded every semblance of peace, they will consider it good policy to render us (already lacerated in public and private) as hateful as possible to all good people. But if we are only persuaded that they cannot curse us unless God will, we can never doubt as to the divine intention. Let us therefore abase ourselves, lest we be found fighting against God to our further abasement. In the meantime will we wait upon God, for soon does the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim become a fading flower. I desire that you would give yourself less anxiety for me. From Bucer's letter you will see what he thinks. He has

*The minute in the register is: On defend aux prédicatuers et en particulier à Farel et à Calvin de se mêler de politique.

also written to Grynaeus, but the contents of the epistle I have not yet learned. Yet I augur that he grows more manful as he supposes that I am coming to him, which however I shall not do unless under the pressure of some greater necessity. Grynaeus salutes you most kindly, and asks your indulgence of his silence, as he is much occupied. Since I began I have seen the letter from Bucer, in which he says, that we must carefully avoid coming together, since he suspects that we would mutually incite each other to a line of conduct which each of us is too ready to pursue. And he desires that I should go to no place where this irritable mind would be in danger from much disquietude."

M. Henry makes some observations on this whole affair, which have a special interest to us as Americans. "In all this difficult transaction Calvin demeaned himself aright. Even at the outset he would not recognise the authority of the council to exclude the pastors from their right of deciding on spiritual matters. Indeed this is one of the greatest mistakes of the reformation, which is not yet amended. The secular authorities in other countries, like the council in Geneva, made encroachments, in order that the church might be subject to the state, as before the reformation the state had been subject to the church. From one extreme point they went to its opposite. In other matters, the forms and worship which the ministers then established have been continued in the Reformed churches, after the Geneva model. This, for instance, accounts for the use of unleavened bread in our church; for when Calvin was reinstated he declined all further controversy on this point. Before his first arrival Farel had abrogated all festivals, except Sunday. He was zealous for his early arrangements. On these indifferent things Calvin laid no stress; but he was proportionally more tenacious of ministerial prerogatives. He justly attributed his banishment to the hostility of the people, council, and clergy to church discipline, without which it was his most sincere opinion, no church could exist. 'They charge us,' said he, 'with a desire to bring in a new popery, and to tyrannise over the free church.'"

We next find Calvin at Strasburg, which had received the principles of the Reformation in 1525. The academy there was at this time flourishing under the auspices of Sturmius. The chief labourers were Sturmius, Bucer, Capito, Hedio, and Niger. Calvin was received with open arms, and honoured with municipal privileges. During two or three

years which he spent in Strasburg he began his exegetical works, and continued to enrich his Institutes. All his correspondence shows that his theological views were becoming more extensive, while his piety had a correspondent increase. He forgave his enemies, and cultivated an humble mind. By here founding the French church, which became a model, and by enlarging his circle of friends, especially among the Lutherans, he had a door opened during this period of rest for wider influence. It had been his desire to go into private life: "When," says he, "I was first relieved from my official labours, I meant to rest; but that distinguished servant of God, Martin Bucer, as Farel had done before him, adjured me in the name of God, to undertake a new station. He adduced the case of Jonah, which so terrified me that I assumed anew the office of a teacher. And though I was still the same man as before, shunning publicity as much as possible, I was carried to the imperial diet, and, nolens volens, was presented to the view of a multitude."

In all his letters he shows the absence of malevolence towards his antagonists, and of jealousy towards his successors; still looking with paternal and unalterable affection on his flock, and sending them every counsel which could promote the discipline he had at heart. He writes to Farel: "We have in our little church solemnized the Lord's Supper for the first time after the custom of the place, and have determined to do so once a month. Capito and Bucer desire me to greet you and our brethren most affectionately. The latter is about to undertake a journey which is laborious at this season. He is going to the landgrave, whom he will accompany to Saxony. He is to treat with Luther and the Saxons respecting church property. I have given him a letter to Philip [Melancthon], praying him to join me in a full collation of our respective tenets. I add twelve articles, and if he agree with me in these, I can in this affair ask no more of him and Luther. When I shall have heard from him I will inform you."

In a letter to Pignaeus he shows his sentiments respecting the Geneva business. "It has been of set purpose that I have not communicated publicly with my brethren about the late events. And even if I had not been sure that every word I should write would be wrested to a bad sense, I should still have determined to repel by silence the execrations of my foes. I also felt persuaded that in this I should have the acquiescence of my brethren. But now, when I

cannot avoid it, I address you concerning the basis of my faith. Nevertheless I cannot yet wring from myself any thing like an accusatory epistle to the consistory. I value the peace of the church too highly to wish any interruption of it on my behalf.* Your reasons might move me if there were not only truth in the accusation but such dignity in the accuser as would carry weight, for then silence might inflict a stigma on my official station. But I see no end to struggles, which aim to pacify such cabals. If I were not restrained by the interests of Christ and the church, they would soon reap the fruits of their insolence. But I should be morose indeed to all good men, if I were not content with the witness of a good conscience toward God, and with the judgment of the church."—"It is therefore a mattter of indifference to me whether these enemies fill their dens with their barking or not; though I am persuaded it will not long be thus. For I hope the day is not far off, in which truth and justice will gain a hearing."

It was about the same time that Coraud, the venerable blind preacher, who was banished with Calvin, was removed by death; not without the dreadful suspicion that he had been murdered. The event deeply penetrated the heart of Calvin. He thus speaks of it in a letter to Farel, October 24th, 1538.

"I have been so prostrated by Coraud's death that I can set no bounds to my distress. None of my daily employments are sufficient to withhold my thoughts from constantly recurring to this subject. The mournful sufferings of the day are succeeded by more poignant anguish of the night. Not only am I tormented by broken rest, an evil to which habit has in some degree reconciled me, but I am almost destroyed by a total inability to sleep, which more than any thing else is prejudicial to my health. My principal grief arises from the atrocity which has taken place if our suspicion is just; and there seems no room left for doubt. To what lengths will our posterity go, if such things occur in our first attempts! And how do I fear, lest this crime should be presently visited in some great judgment on the church. It is no small token of God's wrath, that while there are so few faithful servants, the church should be deprived of one who was among the best. Dear brother, what can we do,

* Pluris est mihi ecclesiarum tranquillitas, quam ut velim mea causa interpellari.

but bewail our misfortune! Yet the consolation is never wanting. It is some comfort that all evince by their sorrow and mourning their opinion of his virtue and probity. Yet our adversaries do not gain a single hair by his death. For he stands before the tribunal of God as the witness and accuser of their iniquity, and with a voice more loud than when it made the earth to shake, will proclaim their everlasting misery. We, whom God has still allowed to remain, will calmly pursue the way which he trode, until we have finished our course. And however great may be the difficulties which oppose us, none of them shall hinder us from attaining that rest into which he has already entered. Without the support of this hope, our circumstances might well lead to despair. But since the truth of God remains firm and immoveable, we will stand at our watch until at length that kingdom of God which is now hidden shall appear."

While at Strasburg, besides serving the French church, Calvin read theological lectures. He either preached or lectured every day. Here he expounded the gospel of John. He attended on all the disputations in the gymnasium. In promoting discipline, holy living and concord, he found such discouragements, that he said to a correspondent: "As for me, I see no end, and my soul would despair, were I not held up by the consideration that one should not forsake the work of God, happen what may." During his absence from Geneva the people had quarrelled with their new ministers. Calvin immediately wrote to them in strong terms, enjoining upon them the duty of honouring those who were over them in the Lord His liberality of sentiment appears in this, that he exhorts the Genevese to go to the communion, even in cases where the minister might be unworthy: "I will explain to you, in a few words," he writes to Pignaeus, "the reasons of this judgment. Wherever Christ rules, there is a church, even if errors exist. Baptism can be administered only in the church. There is a church, wherever the truth is preached, and on this it stands as on a base. Even if the doctrine is mingled with some errors, I am satisfied, if fundamental doctrine is maintained. And thus even in Geneva may the pious and the orthodox participate in the sacraments. Those who have a good conscience need not absent themselves on account of the abuses of others, provided that the communion be solemnized agreeably to the Lord's word. The Israelites and also the early Christians partook of the sacraments even in the gloomiest periods of the church. I

neither intend, nor think it needful, to pursue the whole subject further. But I will never be induced to be the author of a schism, until I shall have been convinced that the church has undeniably departed from the worship of God, and the preaching of the word."*

In 1539, when the pillars of the Genevan reformation were removed, the pope found a good opportunity for an adroit attempt. For this purpose he made a prudent choice of Cardinal Sadolet, of Carpentras in Dauphineé, a man of genius, learning, wit, and unblemished morals. This prelate wrote a letter to the people of Geneva, which, had it been in the vernacular tongue, would have produced great impression. There was no one in the city who could answer it. Here the magnanimity of Calvin shone forth. Separated as he was, and that most injuriously, from this fickle people, he declared that he could never cease to love them as his own soul, nor to regard his ministerial union with them as dissolved by nothing short of death. He instantly wrote a reply to the cardinal, in which all his powers reveal themselves with splendour. Alexander Morus justly says: "If any one would know the beauty and force of Calvin's style, let him read his reply to cardinal Sadolet, which cannot fail to touch his heart, and to render him a better and a holier man."†

In the minds of all the reformers there was an inexpressible longing for a solid union between the German and Swiss churches. In the prosecution of measures for an amicable adjustment, Calvin went over into Germany. He attended the conferences at Frankfort in 1539, and at Hagenau and Worms in 1540. Afterwards he visited Ratisbon. At Frankfort he met with Melancthon, to whom it will be remembered he had sent twelve articles for his opinion. "These (says he) I had sent to him in order to sound him, as to the reality of any difference between us. But before he wrote to me in reply, I met him at Frankfort, and he

* Ego nunquam adducar, ut schismatis sim autor, donec Ecclesiam plane a Dei cultu ac Verbi praedicatione defecisse cognovero.

† The following little specimen of his appeal to Sadolet is Ciceronïan, and may gratify our Latin readers: Aures arrigamus ad illum tubae clangorem, quem ipsi quoque mortuorum cineres e sepulchris suis exaudient. Mentes animosque intendamus ad illum judicem, qui sola vultus sui illustratione reteget quicquid in tenebris latet, omniaque humani cordis arcana patefaciet, et solo spiritu oris proteret omnes iniquos. Tu nunc vide quid pro te ac tuis serio respondeas; causam sane nostram, ut Dei veritate suffulta est, ita justa defensio minime deficiet. In the Pithoeana, it is said that Calvin made a point of reading all of Cicero's works, once every year. Teissier Elog. d. h. sav. T. 2. p. 445.

declared to me that my words precisely expressed his opinions."* No one can read the detailed history of the reformation without remarking that Melancthon and Bucer were respectively the peacemakers of the two churches, and that Luther was quite as necessary to back Melancthon, as Calvin was to corroborate Bucer. Calvin knew and loved them both, but he seems to have found an intellectual and literary congeniality in the former. On his return to Strasburg he writes to Farel: "I had no thought of the journey until the day before, but learning from Bucer's letter that he could do nothing for our persecuted brethren, I was filled with a desire to go, in order that their safety might not suffer by any neglect—a thing which often occurs in the hurry of business—and to talk with Philip about religion and the church. Both reasons will strike you as weighty. Capito and the others advised the step. And then the party was agreeable, for Sturmius and a number of other good friends accompanied us."—"With Philip I had a long conference. I had previously written to him upon the subject of a union, and sent him certain articles touching the principal matters. To these he assented without exception, but added that there were other men who demanded something more palpable, and with such obstinacy, not to say tyranny, as to place him in danger, whenever they observed that he varied from them in sentiment. And though he did not believe that an actual union could be effected, he still hoped that this harmony of feeling, by whatever means, might continue until the Lord should bring both parties to the unity of truth. As it regards himself, doubt not that he agrees with us."—"Philip thinks that in the midst of such storms there is nothing better than to go before the wind, in the hope, that when we have a little rest from external foes, there will come a favourable time in which we may direct attention to measures for amending our interior discipline. Capito calls God and men, heaven and earth to witness, that the church is lost, unless we are speedily relieved from these grievous circumstances; and as he sees no signs of this, he wishes for death. But if the Lord has himself called us, and of this we cannot doubt, he will give us his blessing, even though every thing goes against us. Let us then use all means, and if all means fail, let us not the less go forward

* Illos enim ad eum miseram, quo expiscarer, an aliquid esset inter nos dissensionis. Antequam responderet conveni eum Francofordiae, testatus est mihi nihil se aliud sentire quam quod meis verbis expressissem.

till our very last breath. When I perceive how sorely you disquiet yourself, I wish to be with you, that I might give you consolation."

In another letter to the same, after describing the Diet, and the princes, and the proposals for a truce, with the view of promoting religious harmony, he mentions an invitation given by Henry VIII. to Melancthon, whom this monarch wished to see at London. "There is no doubt," he proceeds, "that a deputation will be sent, but they are unwilling to send Melancthon, on account of their distrusting the excessive mildness of his character. Yet he agrees with me, and makes no secret of his opinions. He has protested to me in the most solemn terms that this want of confidence is groundless. And in truth, as I believe I have seen into his very heart, I should as little hesitate, in dealing with those who would take advantage of remissness, to place reliance on him as on Bucer. For Bucer burns with such zeal to propagate the gospel, that he likewise is too ready to be contented with cardinal points, and too yielding in those which strike him as secondary, even though they are really important."—"I have told Philip that this array of ceremonies is greatly displeasing to me, and that to me they savour of Judaism. When I pressed him with arguments he would not deny that there were by far too many external rites which were either unmeaning or useless. But, said he, this is rendered unavoidable by the pertinacity of the canonists, who adhere to the ancient prescriptions. The upshot of the whole was, that Luther was as little pleased with the imposition of ceremonies as with our extreme repugnance to them."—"Bucer only goes so far as this; he will not agree that we should be divided from Luther by these merely external trifles. The alliance with the Germans involves nothing which could offend a pious heart. Why, I pray you, do they not unite the powers which God has bestowed, for the common defence of the gospel?"

Ecce iterum Crispinus adest! Caroli appears once more upon the stage. He had, as we said, gone back to the Romish church, but finding himself uncomfortable, he made an attempt at reconciliation with the Reformed. Farel, with characteristic magnanimity, was ready in a moment to pour coals of fire on his head by consenting to treat with him. Caroli professed contrition for his former errors, and recognised the evangelical doctrine as true. But the Neufchatel classis would not receive him, as Farel had agreed to do,

and the Bernese demanded of him a full retraction. Caroli left Berne in a fume of passion, and betook himself to Strasburg, where Calvin's sagacity in a moment unmasked him. Though greatly offended, Calvin endeavoured to win the man over by entreaties; it was however a futile attempt. The correspondence of Calvin with regard to Farel's hasty reception of this apostate is interesting. This will appear from the following extracts. Calvin to Farel, October 8, 1539. "Yesterday in the evening Henricus returned. On rising from table I went to Bucer, and read to him your letter, which gave him the greatest pleasure; especially as showing your mildness toward Caroli. He declares that he could scarcely have been brought to embrace him with such forbearance. When he comes to Basle it is to be feared that he will meet with harsher treatment from Grynaeus." He goes on to say that the brethren of Strasburg maintained their conferences with Caroli, without Calvin's participation, fearing that his asperity might frustrate the object. Caroli's admissions of error were exceedingly slight and suspicious. When at length Calvin was called in, he declared that he would feel satisfied with a frank confession. But the other brethren admitted a series of articles which greatly wounded Calvin's feelings. These were brought to him late at night. "When they were read (says he) I was thrown into greater agitation than I have experienced during the whole year. The next morning I sent for Sturmius. I explained to him the grounds of my dissatisfaction, and he conversed with Bucer. They invited me to Matthias's house, that I might acquaint them with my grievance. There I sinned greatly, for I was unable to be moderate, my whole mind being so filled with choler, that I overflowed with bitterness. And indeed there was some cause for indignation, if it had only been kept within bounds.* I complained that when Caroli had concluded all, and the affair was ended, they should ask my subscription to the articles, and themselves approve them, without giving me a hearing. What chiefly agitated me was that in these articles Caroli had said that he left to God those injuries which had driven him to his defection. The conclusion of my answer was that I would die sooner than sign the paper. Upon which arose such warmth on both

* Illic graviter peccavi quod non potui modum tenere, ita enim totam mentem meam occupaverat bilis, ut omni ex parte acerbitatem effunderem. Et erat sane aliqua indignationis causa, si adhibita fuisset moderatio.

sides, that I really could not have been sharper towards Caroli himself if he had been present. At length I left the room. Bucer, after pacifying me in some degree by conversation, brought me back to the company; and I agreed to weigh the matter before my final answer. After I came home, I was seized with a surprising paroxysm, and found no relief but in sighs and tears, being the rather distressed that you had been the cause of those evils. For they repeatedly upbraided me by adducing your mildness, urging that you had welcomed Caroli, and that it was stubborness in me to resist the influence of such a previous decision. Bucer played every possible part to soften my mind, and from time to time brought up your example in reproof. Your inadvertence, or facility, is inexcusable, and to be frank, who is there that would not wish you greater zeal, firmness and reserve? Suffer me to console myself by charging you with a fault which has occasioned me so much suffering. If I could have summoned you before me, I would have turned upon you all that excess of indignation which I poured upon the others. Now that we have re-admitted him, we must abide by it. Maintain now that forbearance which you have manifested prematurely. As I know that you are long since familiar with my asperity, I will make no apology for treating you with incivility. As it regards Sadolet's letter, act according to your pleasure, but let us know what that is."

About a fortnight later, he says: "Forgive me, beloved brother, for not writing to you after that tempestuous letter which was pressed from me while my anger was in its first glow. I scarcely know what it was that I wrote. Yet this I know, that I did not use moderation, for my only solace in my distress was the opportunity of wrangling with you, who by your excess of facility had involved me in these embarrassments."

We cite these passages, perhaps at the hazard of some misapprehension, but every candid judge will discern in them not merely the infirmity but the greatness of Calvin's soul; the infirmity of an irascible mind, the greatness of being ready to unbosom himself with such frankness of confession.*

From the diet at Hagenau, whither Calvin went in 1540, he sent letters to his friends, which shewed a thorough in-

* Caroli went once more to Rome, where he died in a hospital, a victim of the most infamous disease.

sight into all the diplomatic intrigues of the powers there represented. Upon his return to Strasburg, we find him busily employed in writing upon the question of the Lord's Supper. Our notice of this must be merely incidental, as we hope to find an occasion for discussing the subject at greater length. It is pleasing to observe the relation of the two great reformers to one another at this time. Calvin writes to Farel: "Crato, one of our engravers, has lately returned from Wittenberg. He brought a letter from Luther to Bucer, in which he says: *Present my reverent salutations to Sturmius and Calvin. The books of the latter I have read with singular pleasure.* Philip also writes thus: *Luther and Pomeranus salute Calvin and Sturmius. Calvin has won great favour.* And Philip directed the bearer of the letters to add, that certain persons, in order to exasperate Martin, had pointed out to him the severe manner in which I had written of him and his party. He looked at the passage and felt at once that he was the person reflected on; and in the conversation which ensued, he said: *I hope Calvin will ere long think better of us; yet it is but right to bear a good deal from such a genius.* If we are not mollified by such moderation we must be made of rock. For my part I am broken down. And therefore I have written an apology which shall be inserted in the preface of the Epistle to the Romans."

On the same subject, but in another connexion, Calvin writes to the same friend, with reference to the protestants of Zurich: "These good people are filled with jealousy whenever any one dares to set Luther above Zuingle, as if we should no longer have any gospel, if any thing were derogated from Zuingle. And yet there is in all this no injustice to him. For if the two men be compared, you know how immeasurable is Luther's superiority. Zebedei's poem gave me therefore no pleasure, in which he does not think he has praised Zuingle according to his deserts, unless he says it were a sin to wish for a greater man.—It were certainly wicked not to think honourably of so great a man, but there is a boundary even to panegyric, and this the writer has greatly overleaped. I at least am so far from coinciding with him, that I have myself seen a number greater than Zuingle; I hope to see others and wish to see all greater. I pray you, dear Farel, if any one had thus exalted Luther, would not the men of Zurich have cried out that Zuingle was mortally injured? Fools! you will say—but mark, this

is all for your private ear." It was during this period that Calvin's work *de Coena* appeared. It was irenical in its nature, and tended to narrow the debateable ground between the Lutherans and the Reformed. M. Henry justly observes that in almost every instance the proposals of pacification have come from the Reformed. In 1631 the Synod at Charenton determined that Lutherans should be admitted to the communion without doctrinal examination. In the meantime the powers at Rome trembled lest this union should be effected.

The name of the Socini is too well known, as having become connected with a seductive heresy. The elder of these, Laelius Socinus, or Sosinus, was a man of great genius and accomplishments. He became an exile from Italy, and died at Zurich in 1562. We find the following extract from a letter, of uncertain date, addressed to him by Calvin. It refers to the doctrine of divine predestination.

"*To Laelius Sosinus—of Siena in Italy—a man sufficiently light and captious.*—I have always been as averse as any mortal can be, to mere paradoxes, and have little pleasure in subtleties, but nothing shall ever hinder me from the ingenuous profession of all that I learn from the word of God. In the school of this Master nothing is taught but what is useful. For all future time my only rule in philosophizing shall be to acquiesce in his simple teaching."—"If it is your pleasure to wing your way through airy speculations of this sort, you must allow me, as an humble disciple of Christ, to meditate on those things which tend to the edification of my faith; and I shall henceforth endeavour to secure this by being silent, that I may escape your vexatious disputations. I greatly lament, that since the Lord has endowed you with liberality of mind, you should not only employ yourself fruitlessly in things of no value, but allow yourself to be corrupted by destructive falsities. And to repeat my former protestation, I again solemnly warn you, that unless you speedily correct this prurience of inquiry, there is reason to fear lest you call down heavier anguish. If under colour of kindness I should connive at a fault which appears to me highly injurious, I should act towards you a cruel part. I am therefore willing to give you some offence by my asperity, rather than to see you inextricably entangled in these pleasing snares of speculation. The time, I trust, will arrive, when you will thank me for having thus violently aroused you. Farewell, dearest brother, and if you

find me more objurgatory than is just, impute it to my affection for you."

This seems the proper place to say that in 1539 was published the enlarged edition of the Institutes. Though the author's last revision was bestowed on that of 1559, yet as the changes were merely superficial, the former is justly regarded as the perfect fruit of his mature studies. M. Henry furnishes his readers with a careful analysis of the whole. Of this celebrated work we have the following opinion from the pen of a leading rationalist of Germany. "It contains," says Bretschneider, "a treasure of excellent thought, acute developments of doctrine, and refined observation, and is composed in a style at once elegant, animated and eloquent. The only analogous work possessed by the Lutheran church is the celebrated *Loci communes* of Melancthon, which as it regards compactness, rich veins of argument, polemical strength, and systematic completeness, does not approach the work of Calvin."*

"Theological genius," says the biographer, "implies three endowments which were united in Calvin in the highest degree; first, fulness of faith or the lively acknowledgment of the truth from an inward revelation; secondly, power of reason competent to conceive the given truth, to reduce the mass of thought to unity, and to dissect it by the acuteness of an intellect which reveals or dissolves every difficulty, and is equal to controversial effort; and finally exegetical talent and tact, to found the whole structure on the firm basis of the gospel. Calvin possessed, in addition, dignity and energy of discourse. We see more justly the keenness of his collected mind when we consider the rudeness and darkness of the age, in which without assistance he arrived so early at the right interpretation of Scripture, and cast so clear a light on the doctrinal system as to place himself higher in the knowledge of the truth than many fathers of the church, while he grounds himself solely on the Scriptures. It was this which led Scaliger to say: Solus inter theologos Calvinus. The value of the work is indicated by the fact that through translations it has become the common property of all Europe. It has been translated by Icard into modern French, by Pascalis into Italian, by Cyprian de Valera into Spanish, by Norton [and Allen] into English; by various hands, especially by divines of Heidelberg university, into

* Reformat. Almanach, p. 107.

German; by Agricola into Dutch; and besides all these there are versions into Hungarian, Greek, and even Arabic." We can only refer, without further quotation, to the biographer's extended and judicious survey and critique of this work, and of Calvin's exegetical labours.

In 1539 appeared also the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. These expository works were his delight. "If," says he, "God has given me any dexterity in the exposition of Scripture, I am sure that I use all fidelity and diligence in rejecting mere subtleties, which are unedifying. These truths when accompanied by an artless simplicity (d'une simplicité naifve) are more effectual, and more fitted to nourish the children of God, who are not content with the husk but wish to enjoy the kernel. In truth the fruits I have received from my other expositions of Scripture have given me so much joy that I desire to spend my whole life in the same labours."*

His judgment of other expositors is hinted in a letter to Viret, of May 19, 1540. "Capito lectures upon Isaiah, and might be useful to you, but that he dictates nothing to his hearers. Zuingle is not without address, but he sometimes takes too great liberties, and often departs widely from the sense of the prophets. Luther is never anxious to investigate the grammatical and historical signification, but satisfied when he can deduce practical instructions from the text. No one has more diligently employed himself in this department than Oecolampadius; and yet he is not always correct. Although you are destitute of aids, I trust the Lord will not forsake you."

"Calvin commented on all the books of Scripture with the exception of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Esther, Nehemiah, Ezra, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the Revelation." This is M. Henry's statement: but he should have added the two lesser Epistles of John and the Epistle of Jude. He was engaged on the historical books late in life. That of Joshua was his last study. His printed expositions were substantially what he had pronounced in the lecture room. Here the exercise was not merely intellectual; it was a religious service. Calvin opened every lecture with the following prayer: "The Lord grant that we may attend to the mysteries of his wisdom, that we may truly

* Pref. Min. Proph.

profit, in the fear of his name, to his glory, and our edification. Amen."

In 1540 Calvin published a French version of the whole Bible, but it was not altogether original, being a revision of the translation by Olivetan. Some of the biographer's remarks on this event are very striking. "Compare (says he) the two great reformers, and the palm of learned scriptural interpretation must be awarded to Calvin, and Luther resumes his elevation only when we take into view his popular version of the Bible. The Reformed of Germany did not appreciate this work, and in 1602 John Piscator of Herborn made a second German translation, which, being slavishly literal, like that of Tremellius, had no success. When at our day we survey these manifold attempts, and consider how many essays are made even now towards a French version, and all without satisfaction, we cannot but regret that Calvin never undertook the work single-handed, so as to furnish the French church and the French language with a translation marked with his originality and authority, and inspired by the very breath of the Most High. It was he alone who could have undertaken a work of this nature, popular and practical, and requiring not mere erudition but the depth of Christian life, a heart intimately touched with the subject, and feeling the fulness of grace and the misery of man, as they can be felt only in periods of trial, when the soul lifts itself to God, and by means of the struggle discovers the right expression. Hence I should prefer the first ancient French version, with some emendations, to all modern ones. And that of Luther, notwithstanding its acknowledged errors, will continue to be the best for the Christian, until in some season of conflict, trial and genius, a translator shall arise, who shall soar above the rest of the world, with all its refined, accurate, and heartless niceties. At present, the most learned man is unable to translate a single Psalm in such a manner as to fall devoutly on the ear of a congregation, nor can a poet compose a hymn to the glory of God which shall lift up the soul. We have scientific oratorios, but where have we a melody, like those of the olden time, to penetrate the heart? 'Our admiration of Luther's version,' as Everhard observes,' is heightened, when we consider that he had to give the first shape to his language. He is the Dante of the High German tongue. Like Dante, he culled from all the German idioms the most significant and euphonic, and reconstructed these agreeably to the analogy of his vernacu-

lar Meissen dialect. His language is still the basis of our classical diction; a proof of his success in the experiment.'"

Calvin also had an acknowledged influence on the formation of the French language, but he might have gained mastery over its whole structure, and made it other than it is. Then, instead of the Academy and the Parisian stage, Calvin would have been the standard, as Luther has been in Germany; if, when the Reformed were yet numerous, he had embalmed in a beautiful and popular work the noble naiveté of the antique French before Louis XIV. This is what all the so-called Romantic school are vainly attempting —the natural grace of antiquity as opposed to the stiffness of the modern classics. It is what we find in Montaigne, and many earlier writers who employed adventurous expressions and impressive phrases, but which, alas! the excess of cultivation has, we scarce know why, obliterated.

The attempts about this time at effecting a union between the Romanists and the Protestants deserve a moment's attention. The emperor desired to accomplish this by a conference. Preliminaries were settled at Hagenau. The communication began at Worms. The emperor dissolved the conference in order to resume the discussion more solemnly at Ratisbon, in 1541. Calvin was present at the transactions, and was altogether dissatisfied with the concessions of Melancthon and Bucer; in which he had the concurrence of Luther. It was during these proceedings that he gained his nearest access to Melancthon, whom he loved while he rebuked him. On the critical point of transubstantiation, Calvin expressed himself boldly. He thus writes to his bosom friend: "Though I was not a commissioner, I allowed no fear of giving offence to hinder me from objecting freely to this real presence; I affirmed that the adoration of the host was insufferable. Believe me, these are transactions in which firm souls are needed to corroborate the others. If we could rest satisfied with a divided Christ, we might soon come to terms. Philip and Bucer are now manufacturing ambiguous and disguised formulas upon transubstantiation, in order to catch the adversaries in mere mist. This I dislike, even if there were any probability of its success. They hope that if the door can only be thrown open for the truth, all this matter will soon become plain. And thus they go on, hopping over difficulties, and making no scruple of equivocal expressions; than which nothing can be more injurious. Yet I testify to you, and to all pious people, that they are

men of a noble spirit, and have nothing in view but the promotion of Christ's kingdom; nevertheless they are both too temporising."

It is delightful to contemplate the mutual affection of Calvin and Melancthon. As it regards temperament, each appears to have had the supplementary quality which was necessary to the other. Calvin though more bold than Melancthon was less heroic than Luther, and sometimes melted into gentleness. "The amiable aspect of his character," says M. Henry, "has even till our day been overlooked." He fully understood the excellencies of his German brother, and fraternally reprimanded him, when he shrunk from duty. Writing to Melancthon, on a certain occasion, Calvin says. "Would God we could confer together. I know your candour, ingenuousness, and moderation; your piety is attested by angels and the world. In times of wretchedness and conflict, it would be no small solace to me to embrace you before we leave this world." When Calvin's faithful reproofs had for a short time offended Melancthon, we find the former thus addressing him: "Our attachment, which springs from a community of religious feeling, must be unalterable and eternal. The good of the church is connected with our harmony."

After the death of Melancthon, Calvin addresses his spirit in this touching apostrophe: "And thou, O Philip Melancthon! For I invoke thee, who now livest with Christ in God, awaiting the day when we shall be gathered to you in blissful quiet. Thou hast a hundred times said, when weary with labours and oppressed with trials thou hast laid thy head affectionately in my bosom, *O that I might die upon this breast!* A thousand times since, have I wished that we could meet. Thou wouldst certainly have been more daring in conflict, and more prompt in despising the malice of men, and their false accusations. And thus might have been restrained the dishonesty of many, who grew more audacious in insult by reason of what they deemed thy timidity."*

At the very time when Calvin was on his journey to Worms, with Capito, Bucer, and Sturmius, the people of Geneva, repenting of their misdeeds, were taking measures to recal him. Some of his personal enemies had been removed by signal dispensations of Providence. One of the

* De v. partic. Chr. in coena contra Heshusium. Op. 724.

malignant syndics had been convicted of sedition, and was killed by a fall from a window, as he was trying to escape. Another had been found guilty of murder, and was beheaded. Two others, detected in a conspiracy, had fled. Farel and Calvin were now, in a season of calm reflection, viewed in a true light, and invited to return. The Neufchatel people absolutely refused to part with Farel. The council at Geneva wrote a letter to Calvin which he showed to Bucer and the brethren, and the latter replied to it, saying, that "one sentiment had constantly ruled in Calvin's breast, namely, the desire for their salvation, even if this should cost his greatest exertions, yea, his very blood." But they added that they were all about to visit Worms, on business of the greatest public importance, and they counselled them to send for Viret and Farel. The Genevese made a second application, but the Strasburg brethren employed the intervention of Bucer, Sturmius and Capito to dissuade Calvin.

The people of Geneva, still not disheartened, prevailed on the churches of Zurich, Berne, and Basle, to plead their cause. In May, 1541, the act of condemnation was solemnly rescinded. Ami Perrini, a former syndic, proceeded from Strasburg to Worms, in order to show the reformed ministers there, how favourable an opportunity was now afforded for propagating the gospel in France; which had such an effect, that Bucer and his colleagues changed their whole plan, and urged upon Calvin the duty of an immediate return to Geneva. Bullinger wrote a pressing letter to the church at Strasburg, urging them to acquiesce. Viret, who was engaged at Geneva for six months, joined with Farel in beseeching Calvin to resume his labours among them. The effect of these concurrent solicitations on the mind of Calvin was a state of perplexity and agitation which he declared no words could describe.

In a letter to Farel, he says: "It has certainly been good news to me that a measure of peace has been established at Geneva. I have only to wish that they had united themselves in the Lord, for, as you have said, so long as the Lord is not our band of union, the union is accursed. It is on more than one account that I have constantly told you, that the mere thought of a return terrifies me. Not only am I alarmed, at your persevering demands—though I acknowledge this is the chief source of my distress—but there are other reasons. —The further I advance, the clearer is my view of the precipice from which the Lord has delivered me."

Jacob Bernhard, one of the preachers at Geneva, also wrote to him, informing him that Henricus and himself were left without assistance, and that he had advised the weeping people to commit their case to God in earnest prayer, and to ask of him such a pastor as their necessities demanded. "And to speak truly," he adds, "I did this without the hope that you would be the pastor granted. The people joined with the greatest devotion. The next day the two hundred were convened and all demanded Calvin. The general council was summoned on the day following—and every voice was raised for Calvin—'We desire for our preacher Calvin, that righteous, learned man.' Seeing this, I could only praise God for his works, since the stone which the builders refused has become the head of the corner. Come, therefore, reverend father in Christ! You are ours—God the Lord has given you to us. All sigh for your return. You shall behold what delight your presence will communicate to all. Hesitate not to come and see in Geneva a people renovated by divine grace, through the instrumentality of Viret.—God grant that you may not hesitate to come. Give your aid to our church, else the Lord God will require our blood at your hands—for you should be with us the watchman of the house of Israel."

In a trial of this nature, which many ministers of the gospel know how to estimate, Calvin exhibited that conscientiousness and resignation which continued to characterize him to the close of life. Again he addresses Farel, in October, 1540. "You know that during this season I have been so full of disquiet and anguish as to have lost half my self-control. Why I am unwilling that what I now confide to your bosom should transpire, you will at once perceive. When I remember the misery which I suffered at Geneva, I inwardly tremble at the slightest intimation of a return thither; not to mention the distress we constantly endured in common while labouring together. I am well aware that sufferings await me, and that if I live for Christ my life must be a conflict. But in the recollection of my pains of conscience and the agonies which there destroyed all my peace —forgive me if I regard that place with apprehension. Next to God you can best witness, that I was retained only by the yoke of my vocation, which, as imposed by God himself I durst not shake off. So long, therefore, as I was bound fast I was willing to endure every thing rather than entertain the thought of change, which often crept in. But now being by God's grace liberated, who can blame me, for hesitating to

plunge again into the vortex from which I have suffered such injury? I have, moreover, forgotten the art of ruling great masses of people; here I have to do with men who for the most part honour me as their pastor and teacher, and if even this is burdensome—how much more the other!—Nevertheless these are not hinderances which can withhold me from obeying my vocation; for the more my soul recoils from it, the more am I suspicious of myself. Allow me, therefore, to abstract myself from the consultation; beg our friends not to consult my opinion;—and that they may be more unbiassed and conscientious in their deliberation, I conceal from them a great part of my emotions. I protest, however, that I am not dealing craftily with God, nor am I seeking any subterfuge, for as I desire the good of the Genevan church, I am ready to suffer a hundred deaths, rather than, by abandoning, to betray them."

A noble Christian letter! Can any reader fail to discern in it an apostolic self-renunciation? Notwithstanding the hostile array which awaited his efforts in furtherance of discipline, he was willing to throw himself into the hottest of the fight. There was perhaps no other among the reformers, not even Zuingle, indomitable hero as he was, who could have 'wielded at will that fierce democraty.'

To Nicholas Pareus, his substitute at Strasburg, he wrote from Worms: "As to the call to Geneva, my mind is in such a state of darkness and confusion, that I scarcely dare to think of what I am to do. For when, as it frequently happens, I yield to such reflections, I can find no way of escape. Therefore so long as I am involved in such anguish, I have reason to distrust my own judgment, and willingly commit myself to the guidance of others. Meanwhile let us pray to God that he would show us the path of duty."—The decisive influence on Calvin's mind seems here, as in many other cases, to have come from Farel. Writing to the latter, he thus expresses himself, in terms which show his deference for the judgment of his friend. "In truth the thunder and the lightning, which in a wonderful manner, to me inexplicable, you have launched against me, have thrown me into perturbation and terror. It is known to you that while I dreaded this call, I have not fled from it. Why then was it needful for you to fall upon me with such force—in a manner scarcely compatible with friendship? My last letter you say scarcely left you a ray of hope. If this was indeed so, pardon my inadvertence. My intention was only to excuse myself for

not coming at once; being prevented by this indispensable journey. And as I had no such scheme as you ascribe to me, I assure myself of your forgiveness as soon as you shall have examined and understood the affair." And subsequently, he says, "even now, although I am gaining composure by degrees, I am but imperfectly relieved. Indeed, I am ashamed to acknowledge, that sighing and grief have in them a certain satisfaction, which makes one almost unwilling to be all at once consoled." The deputies from Geneva found Calvin at Worms: "Here," says he, "there fell from me more tears than words, so that they were convinced of my sincerity. In two instances I was constrained to be silent and to withdraw."—"I now offer my slain heart as a sacrifice to God. I have always conjured these friends to forget me and to keep in view only the glory of God and the welfare of the church. Though I am not very inventive, I should have been at no loss for evasions, but I knew that I was dealing with God, who penetrates all such disguises. Therefore I subdue my spirit, bound and repressed to the obedience of God."

In this whole conflict it is easy to perceive the firmness of Calvin's convictions and purposes. He knew the temper of that little republic, and its liability to licentious faction. He knew that they would become restiff at the first tension of the cords of discipline. And he knew that he could not answer it to God, if after one failure, he should allow the slightest relaxation. He was therefore resolved from the very first to oppose a front of steel to every libertine encroachment. The 13th of September was the day of his return. He was received with a sort of triumph by the people and the magistracy, who sent a herald to escort him. He had prepared himself to pronounce a discourse in vindication of himself and his colleagues, but this was needless as the people voluntarily confessed their fault. The protocol of Sept. 20th informs us that he was urgently invited to spend his life with them, and that the council presented him with a coat.*

From this presentation of a coat we will take occasion to go into a branch of our subject which more than any other has lain in darkness until this publication of Henry's, we mean the private circumstances, manners and character of

* E. d. Reg. le. 13. et 20. Sept. 1541. On prie tres instamment Calvin de rester ici pour tonjours et on lui donne un habit de drap.

Calvin. While he resided at Strasburg his means must have been very narrow. His correspondence was expensive; he scrupulously avoided receiving any thing from his friends; but in order to live, we find him from time to time selling his books. A little incident illustrates our remarks. The Waldenses had sent commissioners to Calvin. As these men were returning, he writes to Farel: "The Waldensian brethren owe me a crown; in part for money lent them, in part for what I gave the courier. I have requested them to pay it over to you. If they have done so, retain it as so much towards what I am indebted to you; the remainder I will pay when I can. At present I have not a single farthing. It is surprising how much money I have to expend for extraordinaries, so that I must live by my little property, if I would not burden my brethren." In a subsequent letter, he says: "I declare to you, it is pleasant to me to see that the brethren take so friendly an interest in me, as to be ready to relieve my straits out of their own substance. Surely, I cannot but rejoice at such proofs of affection, but I have resolved not to avail myself of their goodness, nor of yours, unless I should be oppressed by greater necessities. Wendelinus, the printer, to whom I have sent my little book, will give me enough for my extraordinary expenses. My books, now at Geneva, will satisfy my host until next winter. For the future, the Lord will provide. Heretofore, when I had innumerable friends in France, there was not one who offered me a farthing, though by doing so they might have acquired the reputation of generosity at a very cheap rate, as it could have cost them nothing to proffer what I should certainly have refused.—I regret that the crown is lost."

In another letter, to the same, he again mentions the books which he had left at Geneva. "If you are able to sell any of the books, do so, and send the remainder to Basle. As the printer complains that my work goes off slowly, and that he has more on hand than he needs, I have written to him to send you a hundred copies."

From every account we learn that his manner of life was not only simple but poor. Indeed his poverty appears to have been conscientiously maintained. He received, only to give away. When drawing the ideal image of a wife, he requires that she be *parca*, frugal. Poor as he always was, we constantly find him refusing gratuities. In order to illustrate this, we may be allowed to anticipate. In Geneva he retained no more than was necessary for his economical liv-

ing. His yearly stipend was fifty crowns, about eighty bushels of corn, two barrels of wine and his lodging,* which was thought a considerable salary. But after making every allowance for the depreciation of money, we perceive that it was but a narrow living, from the fact that the council found it necessary at times to lend him a helping hand. True to his principles, he threw off ten crowns in 1546, when he was sick, and in 1553 two more which had been given him for his expenses to Berne, as a public agent. On Dec. 28, 1556, the council sent him fuel for his room. In May 1560 they presented him with a cask of the best wine, because what he had was poor. In 1563 he declined receiving twenty-five crowns for the expenses of his sickness, earnestly beseeching the council not to force them upon him. He even vowed that he would never enter their pulpit, if they again disregarded his feelings in this manner. He further renounced twenty-five crowns, nearly half his living, in order to fulfil his conscientious determination to accumulate nothing.

He once appeared before the council in some debate with an Anabaptist, who treated him opprobriously, and after exhausting his other sources of abuse, charged the Genevese pastors with luxurious living. He then called Calvin a niggard—"at which (says Calvin) there was a general laughter; for all remembered how much I had this very year declined to receive from themselves, and so seriously that I protested I would never preach there again unless they desisted; and they knew that I had not merely refused their extraordinary munificence, but had remitted a portion of my dues, not less than twenty crowns." In 1558, when his colleagues were suffering from poverty, and could not even send their children to school, he went to the council and caused them to bring down his salary to the same amount with theirs.† Henry observes that he can find in no manuscript, notice of the sale of any unpublished work to the booksellers.

Even Catholic writers have observed and mentioned this trait of rigour. Florimond de Raimond says: "Under a body dry and attenuated he ever had a fresh and rigorous mind, prompt at rejoinder, and bold in attack. He was a

* The protocol of 1541 says: Gage considerable accordé a Calvin parcequ'il est très savant. et que les passans lui coutent beaucoup.

† The subsequent records say, Jan. 12, 1577, and June 11, 1575: Gratification à l'un des respectables ministres dont la misère va au point qu'il fait souvent des repas sans pitance.

great faster, even in old age—never in mixed company—perpetually retired. Calvin is almost without a parallel. When engaged upon his Institutes he often passed whole nights without sleep and whole days without food." And, as our biographer observes, this is the more striking when placed in contrast with the almost convivial life of Luther, whose beaker was daily filled with wine from the cellar of the council, and who discoursed almost as freely on sacred things at the table as in the church.* At the same time it is but just to say, that Luther was no richer than Calvin. Erasmus has said *Lutherus pauper multos facit divites.* Their motto was that of the apostle's—*Poor, yet making many rich.* And the reader may safely be left to judge whether in our time and country we have gained much by the exchange of these indigent men, for moneyed, manufacturing, banking, stockjobbing ministers, clerical directors of iron-works, and cotton-works, and mercantile adventures; preachers of self-denial, whose names and notes are familiar in Wall-street, and who with more than missionary zeal, extend their operations to the Great West, adding field to field, and winning over the tracts of that wealthy country not more by the gospel than by skilful speculation. Ere long the story of popish bishops and cardinals will have been antiquated and needless.

When cardinal Sadolet was once travelling through Geneva incognito, he was seized with a desire of seeing the reformer who had written against him. He expected to find him in a palace, or at least a sumptuous dwelling, surrounded by a retinue of servants. What was his surprise when a small ignoble house was pointed out, and when, on his knocking, the door was opened by Calvin himself, clad in the simplest garb. The cardinal, astonished to find in such circumstances so celebrated a man, could not refrain from expressions of wonder. But Calvin begged him to observe, that in his actions he had not taken counsel of flesh and blood. He had previously said to this very Sadolet: "I do not willingly speak of myself, but since you do not suffer me to be silent, I will say what is not inconsistent with modesty. If I had sought my own aggrandizement, I should never have retired from your faction."

Notwithstanding all this, Calvin found it frequently neces-

* The reader may find Calvin's opinions on this subject, in the Institutes, Book IV. c. 4, § 8.

sary to meet the calumnious charge that he was amassing wealth. "Every one knows (he thus writes to Piperinus) how frugally I live at home. They see that I go to no expense in my dress. My only brother is not worth much, and what he has is not from me. Where then can this great wealth of mine be buried? Still it is rumoured that I have fleeced the poor. The most worthless must confess that this is a mere invention, for that which pious people give to the poor never passes through my hands. Eight years ago a man of rank died who had deposited in my house two thousand gold crowns, without any receipt from me. As soon as I heard that he was likely to die, although he wished the money to be at my disposal, I declared that I could not undertake the responsibility. I therefore persuaded him to send eight hundred crowns to Strasburg, for the relief of the unfortunate refugees in that city; and at my request he nominated certain safe persons, among whom the remainder should be divided. I totally refused to receive a sum, by no means contemptible, which he wished to give me. But I see what prompts my adversaries to these slanders; they measure my spirit by their own, not conceiving that with such opportunities I could refrain from hoarding. But truly, though I have not been able during my life to avoid the reputation of wealth, death will at length free me from the stigma." And so it came to pass; for his whole property at the time of his decease was found to be only two hundred crowns. From his numerous books, often dedicated to princes and nobles, he realized no gain, not even a present, if we except a silver ewer which he received from one de Varennes. It is observed by M. Henry, who makes his whole work a parallel between Calvin and Luther, that the German reformer, in like manner, read all his lectures without fee, and received no money for his publications.

In looking a little further into the private life and manner of the Reformer, we are struck with the delicacy and wisdom with which he treated all that relates to the state of wedlock. In the year 1539 and 1540, notwithstanding the labours demanded by his Commentary on the Romans, his treatise de Coena, his academical and pulpit discourses, journeys, letters, and municipal affairs, he found time to think of marriage. It is first hinted in March, 1539, to Farel, in a letter which depicts the wife he should wish. Again, in Feb. 1540, after dwelling on political news, he adds: "Amidst all these great commotions I still have so much tranquillity that I am

venturing to entertain thoughts of matrimony. There has been proposed to me a young lady of quality, superior to me in rank, and wealthy. From this alliance I am withheld by two considerations; first, that she does not understand French, and secondly, that I fear she will make too much account of her birth and education. Her brother, a truly pious man, has insisted on it; simply because his love to me has blinded him to his own interests. His wife rivals him in similar zeal for the union; so that I should have been almost forced to the alliance if the Lord had not delivered me. For when I answered, that I would not proceed unless the young lady should engage to learn our language, she asked further time for deliberation. Soon after this, I despatched my brother, together with a worthy man in company, to sue for another. And if the latter answers to her reputation she will bring an ample dowry without any money; for she is highly praised by those who know her. If she consent, which we confidently hope, the nuptials will not be later than the 10th of March. I wish you could be here to add your benediction; but I have harassed you so much during the year past, that I dare not ask it. If, however, any one of the brethren intend to visit us, let him select such a time as to allow him to take your place. Yet I am only making myself ridiculous, if I should be disappointed. But trusting that the Lord will be with me, I am making arrangements as for a certain event."

Three weeks after this, he again writes to Farel: "O! that it were allowed me lovingly to pour my feelings into your bosom, and once more to enjoy your counsel, that we might have better preparation. You have the best occasion to come, if our hopes concerning the marriage be realized; for we expect the young woman immediately after Easter. But if you will give us full assurance that you will come, the marriage shall be put off until your arrival, as we have abundant time to inform you of the day." From the Geneva MSS. we find that the day was fixed, and Farel engaged, but the bride was missing. "I am afraid," says Calvin to Farel, "if you wait for my nuptials, it will be long before you come. The bride is not yet found, and I doubt whether I shall seek any further."

The excellent woman who eventually became his wife was found by him at Strasburg; and was the widow of a man who had been rescued by Calvin from the errors of the Anabaptists. Her name was Idelette de Bures. Beza calls her a dignified, honourable, and refined woman, and she was

worthy to accompany the great reformer in his stormy pilgrimage. The period of their earthly union was only nine years. On comparing Idelette de Bures with Catharine von Bora, the wife of Luther, we perceive the former to have had the pre-eminency in rank and accomplishment. The sentiments of Calvin on this subject are apparent from a letter to Farel: "Call to mind what my expectations are concerning a wife. I do not belong to the insane lovers who dote on the very faults of one whose person has captivated them. I shall find the only beauty which attracts me, if she is modest, docile, exempt from pride, frugal, patient, and likely to have a care of my health."

After the fashion of the times he chose to have the wedding as festive as was consistent with moderation, and accordingly invited to it the consistories of Neufchatel and Valenciennes. These consistories sent deputies. As to the character of his wife, we have his own testimony—and he seldom indulged in eulogy or used superfluity of language—that she was "singularis exempli foemina." By her former marriage she had several children; by the second, one son, who died soon after birth. Catholic writers have dwelt with an unfeeling severity on the unfruitfulness of this union. Thus the Jesuit Brietus says: "He married Idelette by whom he had no issue, lest the life of so infamous a man should be propagated." The falsehood of the allegation is shown by many authentic witnesses. Drelincourt, after mentioning a repetition by Papyrius Masso, Jacques des May, and Florimond de Raimond, of the assertion that, "although Idelette was young and beautiful, these nuptials were condemned to a perpetual sterility,"—adds, "but M. de Béze says in his life of Calvin that he had a son who died immediately after his birth; and Calvin says the same in his reply to Baudoin." The words of Calvin, last referred to, are truly touching, and evince the dignified moderation which usually characterized his replies. "Baudoin," says he, "upbraids me as childless. God gave me a little son—he took him away.* Baudoin accounts it an opprobrium, that I have no children. But I have myriads of children throughout the Christian world."

In many of the letters of Calvin to his friends, he mentions his wife, and communicates her salutations. Few of these admit of citation, and the isolated sentences, if we

* Dederat mihi Deus filiolum; abstulit.

should insert them, would be divested of the charm of their incidental connexion. Suffice it to say, that they show the heart of a tender husband, and an affectionate friend. "Salute all the brethren," so he writes to Viret, "also your aunt and your wife, whom my wife thanks for her very friendly and holy condolence. She is unable to write, except by an amanuensis, and dictating would be burdensome to her. The Lord has indeed inflicted on us a heavy, painful wound in the death of our little boy. But He is a father, and knows what is best for his children. Once more farewell. The Lord be with you. I would that you could be with us. Gladly would I spend half the day in talking with you." The extract which follows may seem trifling and even contemptible, to some ascetic and cynical readers. It throws light however on the gentler side of Calvin's character. In writing to Viret, he never fails to mention the little daughter of the latter, and on one occasion, after important business, he alludes to her having been weaned: "I am sorry for your little girl. But whether she have a brother or a sister she will forgive her mother's unkindness. And indeed I hope the principal inconvenience of weaning has already passed."

During the whole course of Madame Calvin's protracted illness her husband's letters manifest the constancy of his affection; but this is particularly shown after her death. In April 1549 he writes to Viret: "The death of my wife has severely afflicted me, yet I try as much as possible to overcome my grief; and my friends are striving to exceed one another in endeavours to console me. It is true both their efforts and mine have failed of the success which were to be wished; but small as this is, it is yet a comfort beyond what I can express. Knowing as you do the sensibility, or rather weakness of my heart, I need not tell you, that it required the utmost struggle of my mind to save me from sinking. And in truth the cause of my sorrow is not small. I am separated from the best partner of my life (optima socia vitae), who if necessary would gladly have accompanied me not merely to exile, but to death. During her life she was a true helper in my official labours. Never, even in the merest trifle, was she opposed to me. She was devoid of all anxious care for her circumstances, and through all her sickness took pains to hide from me any solicitude she felt for her children. But I was afraid that this concealment might unnecessarily aggravate her solicitude, and therefore about three days be-

fore her death I introduced the subject myself, and gave her my word to do for her children all that was in my power. Her reply was, that she had committed them to God; and on my saying that this did not in any degree stand in the way of my caring for them, she said, 'I am convinced that you will never forsake children thus committed to God.'—Yesterday I learned, that on being requested by a female friend to confer with me about the children, she said, 'The only thing needful is that they should fear God and be pious. It is needless to remind my husband to bring them up in the fear of God and good discipline. If they be pious, he will be a father to them without my asking; if not, it is not fit that I should make any request in their behalf.'—Believe me, this greatness of soul wrought more with me than all entreaties could have done."

In a similar epistle to Farel, four days later, he writes thus: "You have doubtless heard of the death of my wife. I am doing what I can to avoid being wholly crushed. My friends leave nothing untried to lighten somewhat the burden of my soul. When your brother left us, we were almost in despair as to her recovery. On Tuesday, when all the brethren were with me, it was judged best to have a prayer in common. This took place. And when Abel, in the name of all, exhorted her to faith and patience, she intimated in a few words, for she was very weak, the thoughts which possessed her soul. I also added some counsel suited to her condition. The very day on which she resigned her soul to God, about six o'clock in the evening, our brother Bourgoing gave her a Christian admonition. While he was speaking, she would cry out from time to time, in a way which made every one see that her heart was lifted far above this world. 'O glorious resurrection!' thus she spoke—'O God of Abraham and of all our fathers! In thee have the faithful hoped, from the beginning, in all ages, and no one's hope hath been put to shame. I also will wait for thy salvation?' These short sentences were rather ejaculated than spoken. She did not repeat the words of others, but very briefly expressed the thoughts which occupied her mind. At six o'clock I was called away from the house. At seven, having meanwhile been removed to another spot, she began to grow weaker. Feeling that her voice was soon to fail, she said 'Let us pray to God! Let all cry to God for me!' At this moment I returned home. She could no longer speak, but gave signs of her pious feelings. After speaking a few

words concerning the grace of Jesus Christ, future glory, our meeting in the other world, and our departure thither as to our home, I addressed myself to prayer, to which, as to all our instructions, she listened with perfect consciousness. She fell asleep about eight o'clock, so sweetly, that those who stood around her bed could scarcely determine her last moment. Though bowed down greatly, I fulfil with assiduity the labours of my office, and indeed God has prepared me for new conflicts."

Seven years after this, Calvin expresses the same affectionate sorrow; for in 1556 he writes to Richard de Valleville, preacher of the French church at Frankfort: "I feel in my own case how painful and agonizing must be the wound which you have suffered in the death of your excellent wife, —remembering my own grief seven years ago. I call to mind how hard it was for me to gain the mastery of my sorrow. But since you know very well what means we must use for the moderation of excessive grief, it only remains for me to pray that you would employ them. It is not the least of your grounds of consolation (though our earthly part may find in it an aggravation of trouble) that you have spent a portion of this life with a companion, whose society you joyfully hope to regain, when you depart out of this life. Consider also, that the partner of your life has left you the example of a pious death."

It is to be hoped that authentic statements such as these will serve to convice those who look on this reformer as a gloomy, morose, unsympathising man, that their opinion has been too hastily formed. Like many other men of strong convictions and recluse habits, he lay under this imputation. In an article of the French Biography he is called morose, *un esprit chagrin;* and Bossuet describes him as melancholy, *un genie triste.* After elaborate research and long continued examination of his remains, M. Henry says, "In a multitude of letters, written at the most distant periods of his life, and amidst the greatest sufferings, I find earnestness and excitement, sometimes even zeal and indignation—trust in God, and a mild and friendly temper. Moreover all the letters addressed to him are written with the openness of the most childlike confidence. One does not thus address a sour and ill-natured man, whom it is a disquietude to approach. It was so even in the last period of his life, when he was reverenced by all as a father and a patriarch. There was in him nothing stiff, formal, or constrained. Even women were not

afraid of him, but were in spiritual concerns admitted to manifold and intimate correspondence. And, still further, his colleagues, after his decease, celebrated his mildness and agreeable temper."

Des Gallars (Gallasius) speaks of him thus: "When I call to mind the candour and integrity of the man, his benignant affection for me, and the sweet and familiar intercourse which I enjoyed with him for sixteen years, I cannot but be afflicted by the loss of such a friend, or more properly such a father."—And again: "How great was the affability and urbanity with which he welcomed all who approached him."

It is not to be denied, indeed it has been already admitted on his own authority, that he was naturally impatient and irritable. This was a disposition which he saw and endeavoured to subdue. Bucer, as Vossius says in a noted letter to Grotius, could not always tolerate the strength of Calvin's reprehensions, and would occasionally recalcitrate. In one instance Calvin declares that he suffered three days under the sting of Bucer's reproofs. In his writings and in his preaching this impetuosity often broke forth. The works in which it most abounds are those against Westphal, Castalio, Baldwin, Servetus and Pope Paul III. In the Registers of the Genevan Republic, July 9, 1547, we find an entry, importing that Calvin and Farel were advised to be less objurgatory in their sermons. On July 12th, is the reply of these ministers, declaring that in a matter like this, which affected their consciences, they could not be governed by secular authority. Morus says with justice: "In Calvin were united virtues almost contradictory. To zeal and indignation, he joined a cheerful and even mirthful temper, which none can deny but those who judge him rather by the traits of his pallid countenance, than by his words and acts.—We have learned from credible persons that he made no scruple of joining in a sportive game with Messieurs the magistrates. It was however the harmless game called *La Clef*, which turns upon one's ability to push certain keys to the furthest distance possible on a long table." Usually he was grave and collected, seldom indulging in jests or festivity. For many years on account of dyspepsy he took but one meal a day. We never read of his loud and jovial laughter, such as Mathesius records of Luther; as for example, when a certain morose doctor at Wittenberg, after dinner, subsided somewhat roughly on the floor, his chair being drawn from behind him; nor are Calvin's letters ever

of the jocose character which many of Luther's, indeed almost all to his wife, are known to bear.

No one, it is true, can deny that Calvin was stern in his views of duty, indignant at vice, impatient of folly, and prone to express his repugnancies in very significant terms. But when, as is common, we find him charged with stoical apathy and coldness, we oppose to the allegation the whole course of his life, in which occur a thousand instances of tenderness. If he was sometimes petulant, let us remember that he was always valetudinary, and often distressingly ill. The morbid condition of his stomach, the almost daily headaches or vertigos of which he sometimes complains, and his peculiar insomnolency, though they did not interrupt his labours, could not fail to disorder his temperament. And the wonder is, that with the array of disorders which Beza enumerates, he should have maintained the constancy of mind which more than all other qualities distinguished him. This firmness seems in matters of faith to have amounted to assurance. The other reformers, and above all Luther, complain of diabolical injections, and conflicts with the evil one. In Calvin's writings there is no such thing. The others often lament the unsteadiness of their faith, and even Luther was sometimes shaken by skeptical suggestions. For example, Mathesius relates that, on a certain occasion, a woman complained to Luther that her faith had all departed. "Have you forgotten the Creed of your childhood?" asked he. And when the woman accurately repeated it, he said, "Do you hold this to be true?" "I do," replied she. "Then verily good woman," said Luther, "your faith is stronger than mine. I have daily to pray for increase of faith." Melancthon relates that even John Knox was once unmanned by temptations to unbelief. But in the case of Calvin we find not an instance of vacillation in his faith; it was always like a rock.

One of Calvin's favourite expressions serves to show how much he lived under the impression of the spiritual world; it is—"in the presence of God *and the holy angels.*" Protesting as he did in common with all the reformers against the invocation of angels, he was equally remote from the sin of our day, which is to forget them. This sense of circumjacent influences, beyond mere nature, doubtless nerved him for conflict. Late in life, in 1561, when writing against Heshusius, he introduces this pleasing consideration, and speaks

of "the holy and consecrated band of angels, who promise us their favour, and point the way by their example."*

We have gained from the perusal of this biography a new veneration for the character of John Calvin. And we are not less impressed by the zeal, humility and courage of his religion than the amazing force of his intellect. What he was to Geneva, may be read in all the fortunes of that republican city. Sixteen years after his death we meet with this remarkable passage in the State Registers; and in explanation we observe that they are giving a reason for abolishing the perpetuity of the presidentship in the consistory: "Satan has made a breach in the church of God by the establishment of different orders and dignities among pastors. We must (say the preachers) anticipate his wiles which begin in very inconsiderable matters. It is true indeed that in time past God raised up for this church, the late Mr. Calvin, a person of so great merit, and divinely endowed with such peculiar graces, that he was held in veneration, and hence was with pleasure seen to exercise the presidency without any special election." The citizens of Geneva, says Montesquieu, should celebrate as festivals Calvin's birth-day, and the anniversary of his arrival at Geneva. Yet—we may anticipate to say it—Geneva contains no statue, no column to his honour. He was buried at Plein-Palais, in the common burying place, with no stone to mark the place. This had been his own request. The Genevese have not failed, however, to erect a statue to Rousseau.

We know not how to conclude our protracted notice of this fascinating volume with any thing more appropriate than a brief selection from the opinions which eminent men have recorded concerning the great reformer. In introducing them, we may say of him in the language of Jerome, *Quin veritate non possunt pugnare, lacerant conviciis.* He was charged with Arianism, Nestorianism, and other heresies. He was even suspected of Mohammedanism, as appears from a work by William Reginald, entitled *Calvino-Turcismus;* and of *Judaism* by Hunnius, in the treatise *Calvinus Ju-*

* See other examples:—Ep. 257. Ego autem sancte coram Deo et angelis affirmo, Sacramentarios, etc.—Ep. 258. Fide, vos coram Deo et angelis ejus, quum sciatis esse obstrictos, etc.—Ep. 266. Henryeo: pergendo qua coepisti tandem senties puram coram Deo et angelis conscientiam, centum theatris longe praestare.—Ep. 303. Sacramentum Christianae militiae ita coram Deo et angelis praestemus.—Ep. 308. Coram summo judice, angelos omnes habeam testes.

daizans. Albert Graverus, a Lutheran, published a satire, entitled, *Bellum Calvini et Jesu Christi.* But our biographer says, with Drelincourt, "Never has the life of Calvin appeared to me purer or more innocent than while I have been examining the diabolical calumnies by means of which it has been attempted to defame him, and have considered the praises which have been extorted from his greatest enemies."

"Calvin," says Pasquier, a counsellor and advocate of Paris, "was a writer equally good in French and Latin, to whom our language is much indebted, for his having enriched it with an infinity of beauties."*

"Calvin," says Florimond de Raimond, counsellor of the king in the Parliament of Bordeaux, "was a man of few words, always speaking with a serious design, and impressively. He was never in company but always retired. He is almost without an equal. For during the twenty-three years that he presided at Geneva, he preached every day, and often twice on Sunday, and lectured in theology three times a week; besides holding a conference every Friday. His remaining hours were devoted to composition and answering the letters which from all heretical Christendom came to him, as to a sovereign pontiff."†

Balsac, a celebrated writer who flourished soon after Calvin, mentions with honour his contributions to the French tongue. He also says, "It has been said of him that whatever he willed, he willed mightily; a much better temper than that of those who always will and wish with indolence."‡

Father Simon, a celebrated Romanist, thus expresses himself: "In Calvin's Commentaries there is something indiscribable which pleases at the first glance. As his great study was the human heart, his works are fraught with a touching morality, and indeed he aims to make this accurate and conformable to the text." "He evinces in his writings more genius and greater judgment than Luther, whom he exceeds in prudence, always avoiding the use of weak arguments, which might be retorted by his antagonists. He is too subtile in his reasonings, and his Commentaries are full of consequences adroitly deduced from the text, and which may

* Pasquier, Recherches de la France, L. 8, ch. 55, p. 769.

† Hist. de la Naissance, progrès et décadence de ce siècle, L. 7, ch. 10.

‡ Doubtless in allusion to the celebrated character of Brutus: *Quicquid vult, valde vult.*

beguile the minds of readers who are not deeply settled in their religion. He is more exact in his Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul, than in the others. He was not satisfied with the labours of Melancthon and Bullinger, nor even of Bucer, on these epistles, because he thought them too long. It must be acknowledged that he is very moderate in his work on the Romans. It was plainly his intention to conciliate the minds of different parties."*

Guy Patin says in one of his letters: "At the age of twenty-two, Calvin was the most learned man in Europe; and Monluc, bishop of Valence, used to say that he was the greatest theologian that had ever appeared."

Jurieu declares, "that the Catholics have not scrupled to copy many portions from his works. I can attest, as an ocular witness, that there are in Salmeron's Commentaries many passages copied without alteration from the writings of Calvin."†

Cardinal du Perron speaks of him as "a wonderful genius, who wrote well both in Latin and French."

Crenius affirms, "that excepting Muretus and a few others, no one of our nation has written with greater eloquence, nor has any theologian produced letters of so much polish," and adds, "that Wendelinus was wont to say that Calvin should be read for his style, if for nothing else."

Bossuet, as a Papist and a man of literature and eloquence seldom equalled, may be regarded as a fair witness. "Luther," says he, "triumphed by his oral discourse, but Calvin had the more correct pen, particularly in Latin, and his style, though more severe, was more connected and more chaste. Each excelled in speaking the language of his country. Each possessed an extraordinary vehemence. Each attracted by his talents a multitude of disciples and admirers."

"Just before the beginning of June," says De Thou, "died John Calvin, a man endowed with a penetrating and mighty genius, and an admirable eloquence, a famous theologian among the protestants; after a conflict of seven years with various infirmities and diseases, without relaxing in official assiduity or intermitting his perpetual composition, he was removed by a difficulty of breathing, &c."‡

"Calvin," says the infidel D'Alembert, "enjoyed with justice a great reputation. He was a literary man of the first or-

* Hist. Crit. du V. T. T. 1. p. 434.
† Hist. du Papisme, 1 part, c. 26.
‡ Hist. lib. 36, an. 1564.

der, writing in Latin as well as is possible in a dead language, and in French with a purity remarkable for his time. This purity, which is still admired by our most competent grammarians, makes his writings greatly superior to most of that age; as the works of the Port Royal writers are distinguished for the same cause from the barbarous rhapsodies of their antagonists and contemporaries."

The opinions of Professor Tholuck on the merits of Calvin as an interpreter are very generally known. He has given a convincing proof of the value which he sets on Calvin's writings, by giving them the sanction of his name in the new German editions which we have frequently mentioned. The success of this republication has been surprising. M. Henry states, on the authority of the Berlin publisher, that Calvin on the New Testament (seven volumes octavo) has had a great sale in Northern Germany, particularly in Halle and Berlin. The work has been widely disseminated also through Wurtemburg, Holland, and Great Britain. Numerous orders have been received from the Northern kingdoms, and from America. In the greater part of Germany, however, and in all the Austrian dominions, there have been no sales. In all France, Belgium and Switzerland, with the exception of Basle, scarcely a dozen copies have been demanded.

It is not necessary to dwell very long upon the second work named in our title. In the former part of this article allusion has been made to a collection of Calvin's autograph letters, in the ducal library at Gotha. These are comprised in the volume before us, and with these a number of letters from King Henry the Fourth, Theodore Beza, Farel, Viret, Laelius Socinus, and others. The editor, Dr. Bretschneider, informs us that the above-mentioned library contains the originals in two large volumes. Almost all these are autographs, and those which are copies are of very early date, as is evident from their condition. No editor has given publicity to any of these, except Schlosser in his Life of Beza; yet many of them throw great light upon the history of the Genevan revolution. The present selection is adorned with fac-similes of the hand-writing of Calvin, Beza, and Henry the Fourth, entire letters of each being given. They fall, however, within a period subsequent to that which has just engaged our attention, and though many of them are highly interesting, we shall not further detain our readers upon a

topic which has, perhaps, unduly betrayed us into details. Yet we propose, with leave of Providence, to make frequent returns to this pleasing field of ecclesiastical biography. And ere long we hope to present some notice of the celebrated Savonarola, one of the brightest stars that adorned the morning twilight of the Reformation.

ART. III.—*A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee. Translated from the Latin* of William Gesenius, Doct. and Prof. of Theology in the University of Halle-Wittemberg. By Edward Robinson, D. D. late Prof. Extraord. of Sac. Lit. in the Theol. Sem. Andover. Boston. 1836. pp. 1092. 8vo. J. A. Alexander

THIS elegant volume professes to be nothing more than an accurate translation. That it is so, we readily believe, without minute inspection, on the strength of the translator's reputation for accurate learning and laborious industry. Whether it will supersede the original work in the American market, notwithstanding the extraordinary difference in price, is yet to be seen. For ourselves we have no desire that it should; for we regard the disuse of Latin text-books as a triumph of the fanatical mania against learning which, in various disguises, is breaking out around us. After all that has been vented ex cathedra and from inferior sources, on the sad effects of learning one strange language through the medium of another, there are few real scholars who need to be informed that the doctrine, as usually stated, is both false and foolish. We have no disposition to mince the matter or to parley with the humbug of the day, but would advise every biblical student who may read us, to use Latin lexicons in preference to English. If he knows enough of the language for this purpose, let him make the most of it; if he does not, let him learn. He will never repent it when his eyes are open. The advantages of the method recommended are, first, the indirect one of retaining and improving an acquaintance with the Latin, and then the direct one of acquiring Hebrew through the medium of a language originally better than our own for definition, and gradually perfected by being so employed during a course of ages. The lexico-

graphical dialect of Latin is now fixed and reduced to system, while our own is fluctuating, vague, inexpressive, and diffuse. The faults of expression which are frequently ascribed to individual lexicographers are really faults of the language which they use, and faults which can neither be corrected nor disguised by dogmatical assertion that they do not exist.

The reputation of Gesenius is so fully established and so generally known, and this very work of his has been so long and so extensively in use among us, that we think it needless to enlarge upon its merits, much less to enter on the general subject of Hebrew lexicography. It would be easy to borrow a historical statement from Gesenius himself, who has prefixed one to the last edition of his German work, and serve it up properly diluted to our readers. But as one formal translation, and more than one informal paraphrase, of that instructive preface, have been published in this country, we prefer to make a few remarks in regard to the relative position of the greatest living Hebraists. This is a subject to which we have adverted more than once before, but some additional attention to it may perhaps be useful in correcting misrepresentation and mistake.

It is agreed on all hands that Gesenius is the first Hebrew scholar of the age. His early and thorough training, his untiring industry, sound judgment, and good taste, enabled him, when very young, to come before the public, both as a grammarian and lexicographer, with every advantage that could be desired. Since that time his unremitted diligence has added greatly to the value of his works, and fixed the reputation of his real merit quite beyond the reach of envy or caprice. We say his *real merit*, and are willing that Gesenius himself should be the judge of its amount; for we know that he would never even in secret claim so large a share of praise as some of his admirers, in their zeal without knowledge, have benignantly awarded him. So long as any difference exists between the final working up of collected materials into a finished system and the laborious collection of those same materials from a hundred sources, so long must Gesenius be content to take rank behind a Kimchi and a Buxtorf. Is the goldsmith who repairs, cleans, and beautifies a watch, to be loaded with the honours of the artist who constructed it, and even those of him who first invented the machine? There is scarcely to be found in all the writings of Gesenius an original conception, and in those rare cases where he does suggest a novelty,

it seldom does much credit either to his genius or his judgment. Those who are familiar with his lexicon we may refer for illustration to some of his puerile and fantastic etymologies, his forced deductions of familiar terms from remote and even supposititious roots. This weakness of the old school of philology appears to be the only thing belonging to it which he has retained. Even this, however, is a trivial blemish, and we only mention it to show how little he is qualified to shine as an inventor. This we are far from imputing as a fault; his extensive knowledge of what other men have done, his just discrimination, and peculiar clearness of arrangement and expression, are of far more value in his chosen field of labour, than the utmost readiness at novel combination or original deduction. At the same time, it serves to show the folly of puffing him as the inventor of Hebrew, simply because our first clear glimpses of the language may have happened to be caught through the pages of his grammar and the columns of his lexicon.

When Gesenius came into public notice, John Godfrey Eichhorn was at the head of affairs in oriental philology. That rare genius and accomplished scholar had been bred at Gottingen under J. D. Michaelis, and, as might have been expected, had pushed the perilous innovations of his teacher to a frightful length. The boldness and novelty of Eichhorn's paradoxes, attracted much attention, and recommended as they were by the author's real learning, and the graces of an elegant and animated style, they enabled him with very little effort to eclipse his master in his master's lifetime. We have no particular account of the effect which their mutual relations had on Michaelis; but, as in all such cases, it is probable that the parties immediately concerned felt less, or gave less expression to their feelings, than their respective partisans. Michaelis had so long been an authority and an oracle, that the freedom with which his gifted pupil contradicted or disputed his opinions, and the ill-disguised contempt with which he sometimes treated them, must have been galling to the old man's feelings. When he was gone, the pre-eminence of Eichhorn was wholly undisputed, till his own auditorium produced a rival in the shape of young Gesenius. The early age at which he became an author, and the rapidity with which his works obtained the public favour, must have aroused the jealousy of one who had so long been lord of the ascendant, and who had so little moral or religious feeling to correct his evil passions. Gesenius did not

hesitate to use his German freedom of dissenting from his master, contradicting, and refuting him; but Gesenius has always been distinguished as a gentleman, in private and in public. The same correct and delicate perception of congruity, which makes him a good critic and an able lexicographer, has placed him in advance of the great mass of his countrymen in literary manners. It would be hard to find a sentence in any of his works, where he has been guilty even of incivility, much less of insolence, to those who differ from him. How well his personal demeanour corresponds with this laudable characteristic of his writings, can be testified by any one who has been even half an hour in his presence. But while his writings are thus free from the coarse objurgation and recrimination by which many of the German literati have disgraced themselves, they certainly contain a multitude of passages which might have planted daggers in the jealous spirit of his sinking predecessor. This of course does not apply so much to his lexicons and grammars as to his other writings; but as Eichhorn was himself a lexicographer, and one of no small merit, every tribute of applause to the aspiring innovator might have been felt and resented as an insult. To one who had spent his time in the dictatorial habits of a German lecture-room, and for thirty years had been consulted only as an ultimate authority on biblical subjects, mere dissent, in one much younger, was offensive, and the gentlemanly nonchalance with which Gesenius differed from him, could not make the draught less bitter. This account of the matter is not wholly hypothetical; the literary tradition of Germany records the effect produced, if not upon Eichhorn, upon Eichhorn's friends, by the rapid rise of Gesenius, and his want of reverence for his master's dogmas. How little the admirers of Gesenius were disposed to spare his predecessor, may be inferred from the manner in which some worshippers of the Halle sun refer to Eichhorn's lexicographical labours, even at this late date.

In avoiding all asperity and arrogance of manner, Gesenius exhibited not only a good temper and good taste, but his characteristic prudence. He must have foreseen that the time might come when he should take the place of Michaelis in relation to some future Eichhorn, or of Eichhorn to some new Gesenius. This was more probable on account of the new impulse which his own works had given to the study of Hebrew, and which could scarcely fail to multiply the number of competitors for fame in that department. It is indeed

one of his strongest claims to gratitude and honour, that he has set so many active German minds in operation on the subject; but this distinction is accompanied by the necessity of provoking rivalry. It was not perhaps a merely accidental circumstance that the first who presumed to divide the admiration of the public with Gesenius, was like himself a man of Gottingen. It is not at all impossible that the living or posthumous influence of Eichhorn contributed something to the spirit with which Ewald and his school affect to treat Gesenius.

As it is only in grammar that these two distinguished Hebraists have come into collision, there is no means of comparing them in that department which is properly the subject now before us. It may not however be improper in a few words to characterise the philology of Ewald. There is, we think, the strongest internal evidence that in the composition of his grammar, what he directly aimed at was originality. He would almost seem to have made it a rule never to agree with Gesenius where it was possible to differ. That a book constructed on so false a principle should be free from paradoxes and ingenious absurdities, was not to be expected. So strongly indeed is Ewald's grammar marked with these faults and that of general obscurity, that it seems to be essentially unfit for elementary instruction. But while it would be absurd to undertake a vindication of Ewald from charges so obviously true, it is equally absurd to deny the existence of merits which are not incompatible with the faults in question, and which in effect are partially produced by them. A constant effort to be new and striking, while it must betray the author into paradox and error, cannot fail at times to elicit brilliant thoughts when the writer is endowed with superior talents, and that such is Ewald's intellectual character we have never met with ignorance hardy enough to question.

To those who are capable of judging for themselves it is needless to adduce the concurrent testimony of the learned Germans in proof of Ewald's merit, not indeed as an elementary grammarian, but as an ingenious and original philologist. If any one imagine that the German scholars, who have recognized the merits of the new grammarian, have been influenced in doing so by party spirit, we advise him to acquire a little more acquaintance with the state of opinion in Germany, than the reading of a few periodicals will furnish. That such men as Winer, Tholuck, Hengsten-

berg, and Hitzig should agree in appealing to Ewald as grammatical authority, under the influence of party spirit, is a conception as original as any to be found in the *Kritische Grammatik*. The orthodox champion of Berlin, the evangelical ornament of Halle, joined with the sneering infidel of Zurich, to form a party—and of all things in the world, a party to destroy the reputation of Gesenius! Credat Judaeus. The very fact that such extremes agree in this point, is conclusive proof that "party spirit" cannot possibly occasion their agreement. It is well known that Hengstenberg, both in his books and lectures, has tacitly discarded Gesenius as a standard of grammatical authority, and substituted Ewald. That this should excite the wrath of some, whose Hebrew horizon shows but a single star, is not surprising; but we must be allowed to smile at the idea that the testimony of Hengstenberg, one of the most independent thinkers and ripe scholars of the age, is to be set aside, on this side of the water, as a juvenile mistake or the effect of party-spirit! The authority of Tholuck cannot be quoted so directly or decidedly in favour of Ewald; but we happen to know what his opinions are. And we happen to know also that no man does more ample justice, both in public and private, to the merits of Gesenius, than his illustrious colleague. We may add, in order to prevent or correct error, that notwithstanding the unpleasant difficulties which occurred at Halle some years since, the personal relations between Tholuck and Gesenius are believed to be as cordial as their difference of character and sentiment will suffer. We have never heard of any manifestation of malevolent feelings upon either side. These remarks may seem gratuitous, but they are not made at random. We are not aware that either Tholuck or Hengstenberg has ever been accused of malice towards Gesenius; but if the mere fact of their citing Ewald's grammar is a proof of party-spirit, who knows what accusation may be vented next?

In connection with this *par nobile fratrum* we have mentioned Hitzig, one of the latest critical writers on Isaiah. If we chose to adopt the new egotistical style, in which the "Ich" excludes the other persons altogether, we might express our hope that neither Hengstenberg nor Tholuck would take it amiss that their names have thus been joined with that of Ferdinand Hitzig. But as we are writing for Americans, not for the Germans or the bishop of London, we must try to give our readers information. We have not read Um-

breit's review of Hitzig's book, but we have read the book itself, and carefully compared it with Gesenius on Isaiah. One of our contemporaries has more than once announced that the work in question has not reached this country, meaning no doubt the country called New England. In the tract which we inhabit it has been known above two years, and we shall therefore help our friends to an idea of it, drawn not from the foreign journals but from personal inspection.

The book is undoubtedly a genuine production of the Ewald school. It bears and was designed to bear the same kind of relation to Gesenius on Isaiah that the *Kritische Grammatik* does to the *Lehrgebäude*. As in most other cases, the copyist has aggravated the faults of his original. Hitzig, like Ewald, proceeds upon the principle of differing from his predecessor where dissent is possible; and he has sometimes pushed the absurdity so far that his commentary may be described as an attempted refutation of Gesenius. Even where the latter is not mentioned, there is often a continuous allusion to his work through several paragraphs or pages, so that though Hitzig's professed design was to furnish a convenient and cheap commentary for the use of students, it is sometimes scarcely possible to comprehend his meaning without a simultaneous inspection of Gesenius. As if to make the worst of a bad case, he has improved upon the obscurity of Ewald, and by means of a more than laconic brevity, the affectation of philosophical refinement, and a harsh and crabbed style, he has contrived to keep at a perfectly safe distance from the perspicuous elegance of his predecessor. To complete the analogy, however, we must add that beneath this repulsive exterior, and amidst these wilful absurdities, there is many a felicitous suggestion and many a successful effort at original exegesis, while throughout the work there is a degree of attention bestowed upon analysis, which, in spite of the author's obscurity, affords much valuable aid to the inquirer. With all its faults the book is indispensable as a part of the critical apparatus on Isaiah. In regard to sentiment the author must be placed very far below Gesenius. He is not only destitute of reverence for the Scriptures as a revelation, but apparently free from that archaeological and literary fondness for the subject of his labours, which Gesenius has in common with the expounders of the classics. Gesenius obviously admires Isaiah, and respects him as an exalted genius. Hitzig's manner is frequently contemptuous. When he praises his author, he does

it as a man would throw a bone to a dog; he is evidently better pleased whenever he can light on something "höchst auffallend und rhetorisch tadelnswerth," or when he can sneer at "Prophetismus," "Hebraismus," and "Hebräischer Geist." He shares of course in the common stock of neological absurdities. Like Gesenius and De Wette he determines the age of a verse or chapter, with all the professional assurance of a horse jockey, by simply picking out half a dozen words and phrases as criterions of antiquity, as if the same process might not be employed to prove that one-half of his own book is spurious, and to multiply Hitzigs and Gesenii by the dozen. We cannot help referring to one laughable instance of this critical quackery in Hitzig's preface to the thirteenth of Isaiah (p. 154), where he alleges that the chapter is of modern date, and then gets over the unquestionable archaisms by the shameless figment that the writer introduced them as a mere imitation of the ancient style. May such logic be confined to rationalists and their blind admirers! Yet of such logic, be it well remembered, there are numberless examples, not in Hitzig and Ewald only, but in their precursors Gesenius and De Wette. The spirit of Hitzig's book is often low and spiteful. We might bear with his supercilious treatment of Gesenius, but his sacrilegious handling of the Scriptures is disgusting. If it be fair to judge him from this single work, he is little better than a Tom Paine in canonicals, a biblical Voltaire. Such is the writer who agrees with Hengstenberg and Tholuck in placing the grammatical authority of Ewald above that of Gesenius. Can it be party spirit that unites them? We should be pleased to know how Hitzig relishes the castigation which one of his fellow-partisans has recently bestowed upon him. We refer to an interesting passage in the new work of Tholuck on the Hebrews (Beilage II. p. 97.)

As another proof that the growing estimation of the best parts of Ewald's system does not flow from party spirit, we shall refer to a work now in the course of publication, a work which we intended before this to have announced and recommended to our biblical readers. We mean the *Commentarius Criticus in Vetus Testamentum* by Maurer, several parts of which are already published. The first specimen promised very little. The notes (intended for students of the Hebrew text) were meager and unimportant. The author subsequently changed his plan, and attempted a condensed exhibition of the principal results which had been

realized by other commentators. His experiment on Isaiah, though unequal, is in the main successful. In a far less space than the Compendium of Rosenmüller's Scholia fills, he has given the substance of the very best philologieal expositions, with occasional suggestions of his own, whieh are often felicitous and useful in a high degree, and not the less aceeptable because the author seems to be entirely free from the "neuerungssucht" of Ewald and Hitzig. Now let it be observed, in the first place, that Maurer is a decided rationalist; in the next plaee, he is in the main a follower of Gesenius in his exposition, and evidently feels a high respect for his authority both as a critic and grammarian, referring eontinually to his smaller grammar; but, in the last place, he refers to Ewald nearly twice as often. Now if Ewald has made no advance, if the appearance of his grammar did not eonstitute an era, why does this follower of Gesenius quote him? Is it from "party spirit?" Why then does he refer to Gesenius himself? Is Maurer a partisan of both at once? The simple faet is, that Maurer and all Germany besides are well aware that while Gesenius has produced the best sehool books for beginners, Ewald has in sober truth ereated a new era by supplying satisfaetory solutions of a hundred philologieal enigmas. This being the case, we are afraid that the Germans will persist in quoting Ewald on hard points of Hebrew grammar, however unfit his book may be for school boys, however loud the protests from America, and however indecorous the grammarian's behaviour towards his honoured predecessor. We have already alluded more than once to the difference of manner, and apparently of spirit, by which the two grammarians are distinguished. There is not perhaps a more coneentrated specimen of arrogance on record than Ewald's preface to his smaller grammar, whereas Gesenius in his prefaces has earefully avoided every trace of self-conceit. No man of sense or feeling can read Ewald's gasconades without some feeling of contempt, or withhold his admiration from the modest style in whieh Gesenius, notwithstanding his immense success, still speaks of his own labours. And yet after all, it would evince no small amount of infantile simplieity to set down his moderation altogether to the seore of magnanimity. Candour and forbearance is the necessary policy of those who have little to gain and much to lose. The insolence and ardour of the aspiring upstart must be met by benignant calmness on the part of those whom he is

trying to supplant. So in the French Republic, when a set of demagogues came into power, they usually affected to look calmly down upon those who were employing the same weapons of offence which they themselves had used to overthrow their predecessors. Besides, Gesenius is extremely skilful in covering his own defects by seeming to expose them. For example, he is careful to acknowledge his obligations to contemporary writers, and by so doing gains his reader's confidence, but at the same time shuts his eyes to the extent of obligation under which the writer lies. A single illustration will explain our meaning. In the last edition of his smaller grammar, the orthographical and orthoepical part is entirely remodelled on the principles of Hupfeld, whom the Germans all acknowledge as the highest authority on that part of the subject. If Gesenius had left this to be found out by the reader, he would at once have been convicted of plagiary. But he does not leave it to be so found out. He promptly and gracefully admits the fact, and by this handsome course not only pleases the reader but leaves him half in doubt whether the acknowledgment is not more complimentary than true. This method of proceeding is both dignified and *klug*, and shows how superior Gesenius is, in worldly wisdom and knowledge of mankind, to his overbearing and self-confident competitor. He would laugh in his sleeve, however, at the innocent simplicity which could take this avowal as a proof that he never borrows without giving a receipt. No one can compare the late editions of his grammar without discovering more changes than can well be covered by a general confession in the preface. Some of the additamenta do not fit well in the system, or, as Ewald once expressed it, Gesenius has swallowed many good things of late years, but they have not been assimilated into flesh and blood. In fine, we may state as well attested facts, that Ewald's grammar is coming more and more into use in higher Hebrew classes; that it is actually more used than that of Gesenius in the universities, though not in the gymnasia; that a new edition of the larger grammar has long been called for, and is probably now finished, while the first edition of the *Lehrgebäude* still remains unsold; that Ewald's leading views are adopted by philologists of every party; and that his grammatical authority is recognised in public instructions, not only by Winer but by Rödiger of Halle, who has been known to lecture upon Hebrew syntax, using Gesenius as a text book, and advancing Ewald's pecu-

liar doctrines through and through. We specify this circumstance because Rödiger is a distinguished pupil, colleague, and personal friend of Gesenius, one of the three to whom he has inscribed the Latin lexicon.

Having said thus much respecting Hebrew grammar, we may add that those who are devoted to this subject as a scientific study, cannot feel satisfied with all that has been done, until the long expected work of Hupfeld has appeared. There has seldom been an instance of a rise so rapid in the public estimation, secured by less expenditure of ink. Besides the *Exercitationes Aethiopicae*, the writings of Hupfeld consist chiefly of articles in various periodicals. As we have already mentioned, he has produced a revolution in the elementary part of Hebrew grammar; and happily for him, it cannot be denied, even on this side of the water, that he has made or "is to make a new era," for Gesenius himself admits it. Nothing indeed can prove more clearly the intrinsic merit of the Marburg professor, than the marked respect with which he is alluded to, not only by the polite and politic Gesenius, but by the harsh and self-sufficient Ewald. The latter, in the preface to his Arabic grammar, acknowledges his obligations "amicissimo Hupfeld Marburgensi," whose pen had supplied a table of the various forms in which the Arabian alphabet is extant. This literary friendship is the more remarkable, because Hupfeld was the author of a severe critique on the elementary part of Ewald's grammar when it first appeared. Besides the two great grammarians, many other very eminent philologists are waiting with anxiety for Hupfeld's grammar. The qualities of mind for which the public give him credit, and which seems to generate these sanguine expectations, is signal ingenuity combined with a sound judgment. So far as his published writings justify a judgment, he is as far above Gesenius in originality, as he is above Ewald in simplicity and *natürlichkeit*. It may not therefore be extravagant to hope that the respective partisans of Ewald and Gesenius will alike find satisfaction in the golden mean of Hupfeld. These anticipations may indeed be disappointed; but our hopes are rather raised than depressed by the fact that he does not, like either of his eminent predecessors, come in haste before the public. If we may credit an account which has reached us from very high authority, Hupfeld has once, if not more than once, cancelled the first sheets of his grammar when the work was in the press. This slowness of production may be carried to excess,

but it augurs well for the maturity, symmetry, and richness of the product.

We have already given our reason for not entering into any examination of the merits of the work which Dr. R. has translated. There is in fact no other which can compete with it, except that of Winer. The grand difference between these lexicons lies in the etymological arrangement retained by Winer and discarded by Gesenius. The question as to this point is a practical one, and must be settled by experiment. Our own conviction is that the arrangement which is most philosophical in theory is also the most practically useful. The radical arrangement should not be condemned because beginners find it difficult. A similar criterion would determine us in favour of skeleton grammars and compendious text-books. The true test is the comparative utility of either method after the incipient obstacles have been surmounted; and when brought to this test we have no doubt that the radical arrangement will be always found superior to the simply alphabetical. We are willing to admit, in deference to such men as Passow and his critic in the Quarterly, that in Greek the arguments against the etymological arrangement may preponderate; but we cannot assent to the propriety of reasoning from Greek to Hebrew—from a language admitting all varieties of radical form to one in which the roots may be distinguished by the number of their letters—from a language indefinitely rich in compounds to a language in which they are almost unknown. These essential differences utterly preclude the application of the same rule to both cases. Those who have been accustomed to the alphabetical arrangement cannot be expected to appreciate the other; but we never knew a case in which the use of an etymological lexicon, however inconvenient and discouraging at first, was regretted by a diligent and judicious student.

Apart from this question of arrangement, there is little ground of choice between these lexicons. The authors have reciprocally borrowed from each other, so that the great body of the two books is the same. Winer's great merit as an original lexicographer is thought to lie in his account of the prepositions, but most of his genuine improvements have been wrought into the Latin Manual of Gesenius. Those who use both works will often see occasion to observe the superior ingenuity of Winer, the comparative facility with

which he comprehends the definitions of a word under a few categories, and the peculiar skill with which he often ranges them, so as to exhibit the true order of deduction. We have no doubt that if Winer had been able to continue his oriental studies as his principal employment, we should now have little to desire in Hebrew lexicography or grammar; and even as it is, we must admit that he has accomplished wonders, when we recollect that his labours in this field have been only by the bye, and that in another sphere he is as facile princeps as Gesenius is in Hebrew.

It is not to be supposed that Dr. Robinson's literary enterprise and industry will long remain inactive after the publication of his Greek and Hebrew Lexicons. We have heard it stated that his next work is to be an extensive one on Biblical Geography. He could not perhaps do the public better service than by carrying this design into immediate execution. It must however be the work of years, and in the mean time we would venture to suggest an undertaking which would probably be profitable to himself and others, and would call for scarcely any laborious action. What we have in view is an exact translation of the smaller Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius. The last two editions of that work exhibit it in a much improved and augmented state; and the majority of voices seem to hail it as the best elementary work extant. Whether it be so or not, it is desirable that the American student should have access, if he wishes it, to the unadulterated writings of the most distinguished Hebraist now living. And Gesenius himself, we have no doubt, would be pleased to see his grammar given to America and England, as his lexicon has been, in a faithful version and a handsome form, without mutilation, depravation, or distortion. His satisfaction would in that case be the greater from the fact that such a version of his grammar could scarcely, if at all, affect the sale of the original; whereas it is no less curious than certain that Robinson's Gesenius and Gesenius's Gesenius are actually rivals, not in a literary but a commercial sense. The *Lexicon Manuale* was of course prepared not for the German but the foreign market, and with special reference to England and America. In this sense a translation is a rival work, which would not be the case with a translation of the grammar, as the latter has never yet appeared in a Latin dress. Until it does appear in some more accessible form, the great majority of our biblical students cannot fully appreciate the

author's merit in comparison with Ewald, whose grammar has already been translated into English.*

Art. IV.—*A Plea for Voluntary Societies and a Defence of the Decisions of the General Assembly of* 1836 *against the Strictures of the Princeton Reviewers and others.*—By a member of the Assembly, New-York, John S. Taylor, 1837, pp. 187.

We are disposed to think there must be, on an average, at least one misrepresentation for every page in this work. As it requires more words to correct a misstatement than to make it, we should be obliged to write a book instead of a review, if we thought it necessary to correct all these errors. We believe they may be safely allowed to work their own cure. It is our object to leave personal matters, as far as possible, on one side, and to attend to those only which are of general and permanent interest. The first topic of this nature presented in the work before us is:—

The relative claims of Voluntary Associations and Ecclesiastical Organization.

In the discussion of this point, a great deal of confusion often arises from not accurately defining the terms employed. Thus, our author says, (p. 17) "It is the revealed will of God to evangelize the world by the instrumentality of his church." Here are two expressions, the meaning of which must be definitely fixed, to secure any thing like accuracy of deduction, or correctness of result. The above statement is one in which high church-men and low church-men, papists and independents, would agree. Before we can argue from it, we must know first what is meant by the *church*, and, secondly, what is intended by the expression "to evangelize the world." Our author informs us that "the church is composed of all the sanctified in Christ Jesus,—all converted men—associated by public profession and covenants, under whatever form, for the maintenance of the worship of God and for the advancement of his cause." According to this definition believers are not the church in virtue of their spirit-

* Since writing the above we have been informed that the translation of Gesenius here proposed is already executed by an American Professor.

ual relation to each other and their divine head, nor in virtue of a profession of the true religion, but in virtue of their *association* for the maintenance of the worship of God and the advancement of his cause. The church, then, is an asssociated, organized body, and it is to this organization the revealed will of God assigns the duty of evangelizing the world. This would be a good introduction to an argument in favour of the doctrine our author ascribes to the Pittsburg convention, but seems an extraordinary statement of preliminary principles in favour of voluntary societies. If the church is a body of men organized for the purpose above specified, and if the revealed will of God has assigned to this organization the duty of evangelizing the world, then, beyond all controversy, the church as such, as an organization, must do all that is necessary for the accomplishment of this object. If a number of men are organized as a school committee, or board of regents, to superintend the education of a whole community, then they are bound not merely as individuals but as an organization to attend to this object. It is their official duty, and any voluntary combination for the purpose of taking it out of their hands, would be an usurpation. Is then the Home Missionary Society a church? Is it a body of believers associated by public profession and covenants? Or, has any such association ever appointed or constituted that society? If not, is it not, according to the doctrine of his book, interfering with the appropriate duty of a divine organization, and undertaking to do what God has assigned to other hands?

The truth is, the idea of *association* which the author has introduced into his definition of the church, does not belong to it, in the sense in which he meant to use the term, as designating the catholic visible church. And the introduction of this idea vitiates all his arguments, and leads him to conclusions directly opposite to those which he meant to establish. The church, according to our Confession, "consists of all those who profess the true religion together with their children." The wandering savage who has heard the truth, who believes and declares it, is a member of this church, as truly as any minister or elder. We concede that it is to the church in this wide sense, the work of evangelizing the world is assigned. But here again, to avoid confusion, it is absolutely necessary to explain the terms employed. The expression to "evangelize the world" is very vague and comprehensive. It includes every thing which is designed and adapted to secure the extension and influence of the gospel. Education in all

its departments, from the Sunday-school to the Theological Seminary; the circulation of the Scriptures and tracts; the preaching of the gospel, the ordination and installation of pastors, the mission of evangelists, &c., all are included. The church then, or the people of God, are bound to put into operation all these and other agencies for the attainment of this great object. For this end they are bound, by the command of God, to organize themselves as a society. In what form this organization shall be made has always been a matter of doubt; and whether any one form is prescribed in the Scriptures is also a subject of debate. But it is on all hands conceded that the people of God are bound to organize themselves, under some form, in order to accomplish the great purpose for which the church was constituted. It is as an organized society she is to judge of the qualification of new members, and exercise discipline on unworthy ones; that she is to select, ordain, and install pastors, and send out evangelists. There are then some of the most important of all the means for evangelizing the world, which can be employed by the church in her organized capacity only. There are others as to which the people of God are at liberty to act either as an organized ecclesiastical society, or in voluntary combinations for some specific object. There can be no doubt that for some purposes, such as the distribution of the Scriptures for example, the latter is the preferable method. With regard to others there can, we think, be as little doubt that the ecclesiastical method is to be preferred.

To which of these classes should the work of missions be referred? Is that one of the methods for evangelizing the world which the people of God are bound to employ in their organized ecclesiastical capacity, or is one with regard to which they are at liberty to adopt either plan, as they think best? And if the latter, which, all things considered, ought in our church and under present circumstances, to be preferred?

To answer these questions intelligently, it must be borne in mind that the term *missions* is a very comprehensive one. It includes two very distinct functions, so to speak; the one strictly ecclesiastical and the other secular. When a man is sent out as a missionary, whether to the destitute or the heathen, it is his presbytery (we speak in reference to our own system) that sends him. They give him his mission and his authority as an evangelist, and it is to his presbytery he is responsible for the manner in which he discharges his duty; they alone have the right to determine where he shall go, and where

he shall remain. There is then in the work of missions a part which the church in her organized capacity alone has the right to perform, and which she is under the strongest obligation to execute diligently and faithfully. If these evangelists were all men of wealth, or if in all cases it was possible for them to be supported either by the labour of their own hands, or by the contributions of those to whom they were sent, there would be no need of any other agency in the business. The part which the ecclesiastical court is bound to do, would be all that is to be done. But as neither of the above suppositions is commonly realized, there arises the necessity for an organization to provide the means of sending these missionaries of the church to their respective fields of labour and of sustaining them when there. Here comes in the secular part of the work of missions. There must be men organized and employed in collecting and disbursing money, and in attending to the numerous and often contemplated concerns connected with this subject. The whole debateable ground is covered by the question, Is it desirable that this secular part of the missionary work should be entrusted to voluntary associations, or to Boards appointed for the purpose by ecclesiastical bodies? We concede that either plan is allowable, the question is, which, all things considered, ought to be preferred?

That churches and individuals are at liberty to decide this question for themselves is almost universally admitted. This is the ground which we have always taken.* Dr. Miller in his Letters to Presbyterians takes the same ground. And it is known to our readers that the Board of Missions officially and by its leading friends and officers on the floor of the Assembly have assumed the same position. In an address to the churches signed by Dr. Green as president of the Board, and by its two secretaries, it is said, "We are not only willing but anxious that the churches should be left to their own unbiassed and deliberate choice of the particular channel through which their charities should flow forth to bless the perishing: nay more, that the God of all grace may give to the poor a heart to pray, and to the rich a disposition to contribute liberally to either of these missionary Boards according to the decided preference of every donor."† The same ground is taken in the report on the subject of foreign mis-

* See Biblical Repertory for July 1835, p. 480, also for July 1836.
† See Christian Advocate, vol. 7, p. 138.

sions presented by Dr. Phillips to the last General Assembly.* There are no doubt many persons who suppose that there is an obligation on Presbyterians to sustain the Boards of their own church, arising out of the general duty of members of a communion to the body to which they belong, or from the supposed superiority of these Boards, as to the wisdom or fidelity with which they are conducted. This, however, is a very different thing from resting this obligation on ecclesiastical authority. We are aware also that many who some years ago cheerfully voted to recommend the Home Missionary Society would not do so now, simply because they believe that that society has, under the management of its present secretary, become a great party engine, and is operating in a manner most unfriendly to the best interests of the church. This, again, is a very different thing from opposition to that institution founded on the assumption that a voluntary society has no right to engage in the work of missions.

The people of God then, or the church in the wide sense of the term, are bound to do all they can to evangelize the world. One of the most important means to be employed for this purpose is the sending abroad, among the destitute and heathen, preachers of the gospel. In conducting this work there is a part which the church in her organized capacity is alone authorized to perform, and there is a secular part which may be performed either by voluntary associations, or by Boards ecclesiastically appointed and controlled. Our decided preference is for the latter; and it is a preference which every year's experience tends to confirm. But let us hear the objections which our author has to urge against such ecclesiastical organizations.

1. "For church courts to assume the control and direction of missionary operations and disbursements," he tells us, "is an attempt to subject to ecclesiastical legislation that which the Great Head of the church has left to the unbiassed decision of every man's conscience. . . . . He has not authorized any ecclesiastical tribunal to assess the amount of each one's contribution, nor to prescribe the objects or modes of its administration," &c. &c. This objection is founded on a mere assertion, and on a most extraordinary one. The appointment of a Board of missions, by a church court, involves

* We see substantially the same position assumed in the Presbyterian for Dec. 17, 1836.

an act of legislation as to the amount of each one's contribution, and makes alms-giving a matter of law! Do, then, the Boards of Missions and Education assess the amount of every man's donations? Are the contributions to those Boards less spontaneous than those given to the Home Missionary Society? We cannot imagine on what class of readers the author expected this argument to operate.

2. "There is no enactment in the Bible, enjoining it on the church, as such, in her organized form, by her judicatories, to evangelize the world." The author here, as so often elsewhere, loses himself in vague generalities. Is it not the business of the church, by her judicatories, to ordain and install pastors and send out evangelists? And are not these of all means the most important for evangelizing the world? The broad proposition as stated by the writer is at variance with his own opinions, and those of every body else, as far as we know. A little discrimination would have saved him from this mistake. There are certain things in carrying on the great work of spreading the gospel, which the church, in her organized form and by her judicatories, is not bound to perform, and there are certain other things which she can do in no other way. The secular part of the work of missions, as stated above, belongs to the former class. The mere collection and disbursement of funds, and attention to the secular business connected with missionary operations, may be performed either by persons ecclesiastically appointed, or by single individuals, or by voluntary associations, as may, in any given case, appear most desirable. But that the church, in her organized capacity, has nothing to do in the matter, is a most grievous error. How low a conception of the church as an organized society does this objection betray! The organization which Christ and his apostles have ordained, is to be set aside, and all its most important duties, according to this doctrine, are to be assumed by societies of man's devising.

As to the question of expediency, we have the following arguments against ecclesiastical organizations. 1. "That our church, as such, in her highest court, is not well adapted, by the mode of her organization, to superintend and direct the work of missions, either faithfully or efficiently." The reasons assigned for this statement are, that the members come from a distance, are frequently changed, are not familiar with the business, are incumbered with other affairs, &c. The little plausibility which belongs to this argument is due to a fallacy, which we presume no reader can fail to detect.

The author unfairly institutes an implied comparison between the General Assembly and the more permanent Boards, or executive committees of voluntary societies. But the comparison should be between the Assembly and the Home Missionary Society itself. The Assembly does not enter into the details of conducting missions, it is merely the appointing, and controlling body. The question, therefore, is, which is worthy of most reliance as an appointing body, the representatives of all the churches, or a promiscuous assembly collected from all parts of the Union, for a few days in the city of New York, and whose members owe their seats and votes to the mere payment of a subscription? Had we, or any one else, attempted to undervalue the Home Missionary Society on the ground that it was impossible, that a number of men coming from a distance, remaining together but a few hours, practically ignorant of the business, changed more or less every year, could be competent to conduct the complicated and delicate work of domestic missions, what would the friends of the American Home Missionary Society think of such an argument? Would they not say that we know better, that we know very well that it is not the fluctuating subscribers collected for a few hours at the "Business Meeting of the Society," that really conduct the work of missions; but that this matter is committed to a corps of able and efficient men always at their post, and devoted in whole or in part to the business? Would they not tell us that the Society was the mere appointing and controlling body, authorized to redress grievances and correct abuses should any such arise? With the same propriety we may ask this writer and his friends, if they do not know that their argument, as above stated, is no less unfair and deceptive? Whether they are not aware that the Board and its executive committee appointed by the Assembly, are as permanent as their own, and as much conversant with the work of missions? We think the General Assembly need not shrink from a comparison with the Home Missionary Society. The members of the former are ordained ministers of the gospel and ruling elders of the churches, men whose moral and religious character has received the sanction of their Christian brethren in various forms. The members of the latter may be, and we have no doubt are, very good men, but who they are, it is hard to tell. Any one who will comply with the rules as to subscription, &c., no matter what his character, has as much right to vote, as the best and wisest members of the body.

Again, which is the most promiscuous, fluctuating, and uncertain body? Which has the best opportunity of knowing and inspecting the conduct of the men whom they appoint? Does not every one know that the meetings of the society are little more than matters of form, that every thing is arranged beforehand, and managed by the executive committee? This, from the nature of the case, must be the course of things.* The promiscuous assemblage collected for a few hours every year, cannot be expected to inspect very minutely the complicated doings of their agents for the preceding twelve months. We are not presenting these considerations as arguments against the Home Missionary Society, but as proof of the unsoundness of the objections urged by its friends against ecclesiastical Boards.

There is one point in which we are ready to admit that the advantage is with the Home Missionary Society. Its members are its friends; whereas, in the General Assembly, we have foes as well as friends. Those who attend the meetings of the former are supposed to be in honour and honesty bound to co-operate in promoting its success. Whereas, members of the Assembly feel at liberty to do all they can to embarrass the operations of the Board of Missions. This we acknowledge is a great disadvantage, but it arises, we must be permitted to think and say, from the exceedingly improper conduct of the opponents of that Board. So long as a majority of the church wishes there should be a Board of Missions appointed by the General Assembly, so long is it the duty of the minority to allow it unembarrassed operation. If the majority of the churches and of the Assembly are of opinion that, under all the circumstances of the case, the Board should cease to exist, let them so decree. But it is evidently most unworthy conduct for a minority, by combination and by the secrecy of the ballot, to endeavour to harass and embarrass a Board they have not the courage or power openly to destroy. Of all the proceedings of the Home Missionary party in the last Assembly, the attempt to place in the Board of Missions men known to be inimical to its very existence, is certainly one of the most

* A gentleman who was present at an anniversary of one of the large national societies, was accosted by one of the officers, and told there would be no Board of Managers chosen if he did not vote. Being informed by the gentleman that he was not a member, the officer threw a handful of tickets into the hat and walked off. This is an illustration of the degree of responsibility felt by the members of such societies. They are sensible the business all rests with the officers.

dishonourable. And what renders the fact the more humiliating and the more alarming, is, that they were able to muster nearly their whole strength to accomplish this object. The votes in favour of the candidates unfriendly to the Board amounted to 125, while the vote against Dr. Miller's resolution was but 122, and that against the formation of a Foreign Missionary Board only 111. Let us turn the tables. Let us suppose a number of men by the payment of three dollars, or whatever the subscription may be, to become members of the Home Missionary Society, and to watch their opportunity at some annual meeting, and vote out the present executive committee, and supply its place with men decidedly hostile to the existence of the Society, what would be the feelings of the religious community in view of such conduct? The indignation of every good man would be roused, and the impropriety would rebound on its authors. We cannot see in what respect the conduct of the 125 members of the last Assembly, just referred to, is less deserving of disapprobation.

2. Our author proceeds thus:—"We maintain that Boards thus constituted, and acting under so wonderful a sanction of what is so little understood, are the most irresponsible bodies that could be devised. They are responsible to the public only through the General Assembly, and that body gathered from all parts of the land, changing every year, &c., &c." This argument is an inference from the preceding, and must stand or fall with it. If we have shown the fallacy of objecting to the Assembly as an appointing and controlling body, for characteristics which it possesses in common, though in a less degree, with the appointing body of the executive committee of the Home Missionary Society, there is little reason to say much on this objection. In what way is that executive committee responsible to the public for the management of its funds, and conduct of its agents? Only through the transient, fluctuating, promiscuous, inexperienced body of subscribers who may happen to assemble at an annual meeting. If the public are dissatisfied, they may indeed withdraw their support, and this is the only effectual check. But are not the Assembly's Boards responsible in precisely the same way? If they act improperly, will not the public withhold their contributions? And is not the General Assembly as likely to be vigilant in detecting abuses, and is it not as competent for this purpose as the transient annual meetings of the Home Missionary Society? In our

opinion, the advantage in this comparison is decidedly in favour of the Assembly. Its members are known; they are the representatives of the churches. The members of the other are in general unknown. Any one may join them, they are commonly self-appointed and self-delegated. As all Boards are liable to abuses, the question is, whether such a body as the Assembly, or such an one as the Home Missionary Society is best constructed to detect and correct them? Can any one doubt on this point? The Assembly must assume the complexion, not of any one party or section in the church, but must represent all parties and all sections. Is such a body likely to be less vigilant in watching the conduct of its servants, than one which is composed almost exclusively of men of one way of thinking, and one party? Has the Secretary of the one Board as free a scope for party-management as the Secretary of the other? Can the one meet the General Assembly with the same hope of ready acquiescence in all his doings, as the other can meet his assembled subscribers at an annual meeing? Will the latter find any Mr. Jessup, or Dr. Peters, or Dr. Patton there, to recast up his figures, to sift with jealous eye his statements, to examine to what field he sends his missionaries, or from what sources he derives them? As far then as responsibility to the churches, and security for good management are concerned, we think there can be no comparison between the two institutions.

3. "By conducting all her concerns ecclesiastically, the judicatories of the church would be loaded with an amount of property and of secular business, which would endanger her spiritually." "The concentration, therefore, in these courts, of so much ecclesiastical and pecuniary power, is both inexpedient and perilous." The author, still further to alarm his readers, makes the following monstrous supposition: "Suppose that in addition to this (its ecclesiastical authority) the Assembly possesses the property and pecuniary patronage of the whole church, and how tremendous must be the power of this judicatory." He then asks, as well he may, "Who would not fear before this Assembly?" Does then the writer believe that it is proposed to invest the Assembly with the whole property of the church? The whole force of this representation is founded upon the assumption, that the funds contributed for education and missionary purposes, come into the treasury of the General Assembly, and are subject to its control. He knows, however, that the Boards of Education and Missions, has each a treasury distinct from that

of the General Assembly; and that the funds contributed to these Boards are received and paid out without any intervention of the Assembly in the business. The writer speaks as though these vast permanent investments were to be held by the Assembly, which might tempt "the cupidity" of its members. Whereas almost all the funds in question are the annual contributions of the churches which hardly remain a day in the treasury of the Boards, and which are given only so long as the churches have confidence in their faithful distribution. The power of the Assembly is hardly appreciably increased by the mere right of appointing the members of this Board, and then adjourning and dispersing itself among the churches, to be renewed the next year by new members, fresh from the presbyteries, and possessing their confidence. The pecuniary power of the American Board of Commissioners, though a close corporation, with its income of from one to two hundred thousand dollars, is next to nothing, and that of the Assembly is, if possible, still less.

Whatever danger there is of a money power becoming connected with missionary enterprizes, it is far greater in regard to the Home Missionary Society than to the General Assembly. The latter body is renewed every year; it must take the character of the whole church, and cannot become corrupt until the church is so. The former, is far less certain in its character, being composed of the subscribers for the time being, who may happen to meet in New York. As the secretary and officers of the Home Missionary Society can manage their annual meetings with greater ease and certainty than the secretary and officers of the Board of Missions can control the General Assembly, so the danger of abuse and malversation is greater in the one case than in the other. We think, however, such arguments are unbecoming and unwise. The wicked are sufficiently disposed, without being excited to it by Christians, to cry out about the danger of ecclesiastical authority, and the pecuniary power of religious institutions. And we regret that in repelling such arguments we should be forced even to appear to recriminate.

4. His last argument is founded on a distrust "of the relative efficiency of formal ecclesiastical organizations." In conducting this, as in all the preceding arguments, we find our author presenting the numerous, cumbrous General Assembly in contrast with the compact and alert Boards of voluntary societies; instead of comparing the Board of the one with that of the other. We are at a loss to imagine why a

Board appointed by the General Assembly might not be as active as if appointed by the same men assembled as a voluntary society. The Boards of the Assembly are not so much behind others in their efficiency as to give this objection either much plausibility or much weight.

We must be permitted to leave for a moment the work of self-defence, and to assume, in our turn, the office of objectors. We have always readily admitted that there are purposes for which voluntary societies, embracing members of different religious denominations, are greatly to be preferred to separate ecclesiastical organizations. And in our number for July 1836, p. 429, we stated at least one principle by which such cases may be easily distinguished. Wherever the field of operation is common to different denominations, and the proper means for its cultivation are also the same for all, there is an obvious reason why all should unite. These conditions meet with regard to the Bible and Tract Societies, and in many important respects in regard to Sunday School Unions. There are other cases in which voluntary societies of a denominational character may be either indispensable or highly desirable. On the other hand there are cases for which ecclesiastical organizations appear to us to be entitled to decided preference. To this class belong the work of educating ministers of the gospel, and that of missions. We shall proceed to state very briefly some of the grounds of this opinion.

In the first place, the object of these societies is strictly ecclesiastical as well as denominational. Every church has its peculiar system of opinions and form of government, which it is bound to preserve and extend. And in order to effect this object it is necessary that it should have under its own direction the means employed for its accomplishment. Of these means beyond all comparison the most important are the education of ministers, and the organization and support of churches. The men who decide where and how the rising ministry are to be educated, and who determine where they are to go when their education is completed, have the destiny of the church in their hands. This being the case, is it wonderful that each denomination should wish not only to have this matter under their own control, but confided to persons of its own selection? Is it wonderful that Presbyterians and Episcopalians should decline committing their candidates to the care of Congregationalists or Baptists? Or that they should be uneasy at seeing their

churches supplied with ministers by a society in which some other denomination than their own, has an equal or controlling influence? On the contrary, would not indifference on these points argue a strange and criminal unconcern about what they profess to regard as the truth and order of God? We consider, therefore, the extension of the principle of united action by voluntary societies to cases affecting the vital interests of separate denominations as fraught with evil. Even if these sects ought to be indifferent to their respective peculiarities, they are not, and the attempt to deal with them as though they were, must excite ill-will and strife.

The answer to this objection, that the Education and Missionary Societies do nothing but provide and sustain men to be examined and installed by the judicatories of the several denominations, is very far from being satisfactory. The mere right to examine before Presbytery the candidates for ordination is not the only security which the church needs for the fidelity of her ministers. She wishes that by their previous training, they should be made acquainted with her doctrines, and become attached to her order. Reason and experience alike demonstrate that the perfunctory examination before an ecclesiastical body is altogether an inadequate barrier to the admission of improper men into the ministry, and that by far the most important security lies in the education and selection of the ministers themselves. If these matters are committed to other hands, every thing is given up.

Again, the office assumed by these societies involves an encroachment on the rights and duties of ecclesiastical courts. This may be inferred from what has already been said. One of the most important duties of the church in her organized capacity is the preservation of the truth. It is her business to see that faithful men are introduced into the ministry and set over her congregations. To discharge this duty properly, she must do more than merely examine men prepared and sent forth by other hands. She must herself see to their education and mission. These are in a great measure strictly ecclesiastical functions, which, to say the least, it is incongruous for societies composed for the most part of laymen, and without any ecclesiastical appointment or supervision to perform. Indeed it is one of the anomalies of the times, that laymen should be the great directors and controllers of theological education and domestic missions.

We have already remarked that there are in the work of missions two distinct functions, the one ecclesiastical, the

other secular. The one *must* be performed by church courts; the other *may* be performed by others. To the former belong the ordination, mission, direction, and supervision of evangelists; to the latter the mere provision of the ways and means, and the administration of them. There is a great difference between theory and practice on this subject. According to theory the committee of the Home Missionary Society may be the mere almoners of the churches' bounty. They may profess simply to stand at the door of the treasury to receive applications from feeble congregations and presbyteries. This is all very well. But if in practice they go much farther than this, and assume the direction of ecclesiastical persons, deciding where they are to labour, instructing them as to the discharge of their official duties, and requiring their missionaries to report to them on all these points, then do they assume the rights and privileges of an ecclesiastical court; they usurp an authority and power which do not belong to them, and which they have no right to exercise. People may cry out against all this as high churchism. It is Presbyterianism. And if they dislike it, let them renounce it and the name; but do not let them under the guise of presbyterians undermine the whole fabric. There can be no doubt that, according to the system of our church, the control of ecclesiastical persons rests with ecclesiastical courts. Every licentiate and minister is under the direction of his own presbytery, and is bound to go where they send him, and to stay where they place him. It is to them he is responsible for the right discharge of his official duties, and to them he is bound to report. For any set of men to assume this direction, supervision and control of such licentiates and ministers, is a direct interference with the rights of presbyteries. If then, the Home Missionary Society practically assumes the direction and supervision of its four or six hundred missionaries, if it regards them as its missionaries, sent by it, determined directly or indirectly as to the place or character of their labours by its authority or influence, and demanding accountability to that society or its committee, whatever be the theory of the matter, it is a practical subversion of the whole system of our church.

It may be replied to all this that the Board of Missions appointed by the General Assembly, are guilty of the same kind of interference with the rights and duties of ecclesiastical courts. To this we answer, even admitting such to be the fact, it does not mend the matter. Two wrongs can

never make one right. But we deny that the cases are parallel. The Assembly's Board is an ecclesiastical body. It is the mere organ of the Assembly in conducting missions. All its members are appointed by that body, and its acts in the premises are virtually the acts of the Assembly. If the Assembly has "a constitutional and inherent right," as this author admits, to conduct missionary operations, it must have the authority to commit this business to a Board of its own appointment. In order to prove this point, it is not necessary to attribute to the Assembly the inordinate powers claimed for it, on several recent occasions, by our new school brethren. When they wished to create a presbytery without the concurrence of the synod, we were told glorious things of the power of the Assembly; it was represented as analogous to the parliament of Great Britain; it was called the great universal presbytery, vested with all presbyterial powers, and, if we mistake not, the very source of all such powers. We do not believe all this, nor is faith in these extravagant positions necessary to lead us to the conclusion that, if the Assembly has a right to conduct missions, it has a right to conduct them by a Board. We might argue this right upon the acknowledged principle that where a specific power is granted, all subordinate powers necessary for its proper exercise are also granted. If the General Assembly, in virtue of its relation to the church, and in virtue of the whole design of the constitution, as well as of express provision, has the right to conduct missions, it is absolutely necessary that more or less of this business should be confided to agents, it matters little what they are called. The right to conduct missions belongs to the presbyteries, to synods, and to the General Assembly. Either or all of these bodies may attend to this business while actually in session, or they may refer the matter to a committee to do it for them. Again all analogy is in favour of the possession of this right; analogies derived from the church of Scotland, from the action of our own Assembly in similar cases, (as in the constitution of Boards for the government of theological seminaries, &c.) and from political bodies. It is a matter of every day's occurrence, that all these bodies commit certain duties to be performed in their name and by their authority to boards or agents of their own appointment. The objection that if the Assembly can confide the work of missions to a Board, they may commit the hearing of appeals, &c. is about as forcible as the objection that if parliament or congress can

appoint a Board of public works or navy commissioners, they may appoint a committee to pass bills through all the stages of legislation. Besides, this is a point which has been settled by precedent and uncontested decisions of the Assembly, almost from the beginning. Almost from the first moment of its organization the Assembly has had a standing Committee of Missions, which did not cease to exist when the Assembly adjourned. In the year 1828 the Assembly resolved, That the Board of Missions have the power to establish missions, —to select, appoint and commission missionaries,—and in general to manage the missionary operations of the General Assembly. Who contested the passage of this resolution? Who ever dreamed, before the meeting of the late Assembly, of declaring it a breach of the constitution? We cannot here pursue this subject. It is clear, however, as we think, that the Board of Missions, and committee of the Home Missionary Society, stand in very different relations to the business of missions; that what in the one is a decided infringement on the rights and duties of ecclesiastical courts, may have a very different character in the other.

It has already been intimated that one great objection to voluntary societies for the purpose of domestic missions and the education of candidates for the ministry, is the power which they possess. We are aware that the use of this argument is apt to excite suspicion against those who employ it. But the truth ought to be looked at dispassionately, and allowed its proper influence as estimated by reason, and not by an excited imagination, or distempered feeling.* We say then that the power possessed by these societies is inordinate and dangerous. It is a power, in the first place, to control the theological opinions of candidates by the direction of their whole professional education; and in the second place, by means of these candidates thus prepared, extensively and materially to influence the character and action of the church. It is in the power of the Home Missionary Society, or of its executive committee, to determine what character, as to doc-

* The writer, with unwonted frankness, on pp. 180, 181, gives us to understand that one great reason why his friends resisted the organization of a Board of Foreign Missions by the General Assembly, was the dread of the power it would give their opponents. The majority acted, he tells us, from the instinct of "self-preservation." He moreover clearly intimates, that the desire of power was the great motive which actuated the advocates of such a Board. Their professions of pious and benevolent motives, he very clearly regards as entirely hypocritical.

trine and policy, a large portion of our presbyteries shall assume. This cannot always be done at once, but by a steady purpose and a gradual progress it may be more or less rapidly accomplished. And this progress will not be slow, if three, six, or ten ministers are ordained at one time, by one presbytery, and then sent to one neighbourhood. It would require little skill or talent for management, in this manner to decide the complexion of any presbytery where there are many new and feeble congregations.

But further, this power enters our judicatories, and is there brought to bear on questions of doctrine, of order and discipline. This results not merely indirectly from the ascendancy obtained in congregations and presbyteries, but from the influence which the prominent friends and officers of these societies possess over those connected with them. In assuming the existence of such influence, we make no disparaging reflection on those who are the subjects of it, beyond the assumption that they are men of like passions and infirmities with others. It is no reflection to assume that a set of men who owe their support to the kindness or agency of another set, and who have the natural feeling of obligation which arise from this fact, and who are open to the usual innocent and even amiable sentiments which arise from association and co-operation, should be led to act with their benefactors and to follow them as their natural leaders.

We say this is a dangerous power, because it is apt to be unobserved. It is not the acknowledged authority of a prelatical bishop ascertained and limited by law, of an officer who has been elected for the very purpose of being the depository of this power. But it is an incident, a perquisite, a matter not taken into the account, without being, for that reason, the less real, or the less extensive. It is dangerous, moreover, because it arises out of the church, and yet is made to bear upon all its internal operations. It is not the influence which superiority of wisdom, experience, piety or talent bestows on one member of a judicatory above his fellows; but it is an influence which cannot be met and counteracted within the sphere of its operation. Again, it is dangerous, because pre-eminently irresponsible. This irresponsibility arises from various sources; from the fact that it is not an official influence conferred by law, that it is intangible and secret, that those who wield it are independent of those on whom it operates. It is lodged in the hands of those who are not appointed by the church or responsible to it; of men who

owe their station to votes of a society composed of persons of various denominations, who may be decidedly hostile to what the majority of our church considers its best interests. All that we have already said to show that a society, composed as the Home Missionary Society is, is far less safe and efficient as an appointing and controlling body than the General Assembly, goes to prove the peculiar irresponsibility of the influence of which we are now speaking. Can it be doubted that if the Secretary of that Society had formed the purpose of doing all he could to influence the theological character of particular presbyteries, and to control their course of policy, he might prosecute this purpose long and effectually without exciting the notice or animadversion of the Society itself? This is not a purpose to be announced to his unsophisticated and pious lay-associates. Their co-operation might be secured without their ever conceiving of any other bearing of their measures, than on the wants and wishes of the destitute.

Besides, this influence is irresponsible, because the society in which the control is vested, is uncertain, fluctuating, and unknown. Can any one tell who constituted the last annual meeting, or predict who will constitute the next? Can any one know whether the majority was Presbyterian or Congregational? Whether they were from New-Haven or East-Windsor? Our author has undertaken to present his objections to ecclesiastical Boards. We must be permitted to point out the weak places on the other side. We say, then, that it is a great objection to a society constituted for the purposes of domestic missions, that the church possesses no adequate security for the character and opinions of its members. They may be good and they may be bad, but what the character of the majority at an annual meeting may be, who can tell? What security is there that they shall be even professors of religion, much less that they approve of the doctrine and discipline of the Presbyterian church? Is it no advantage on the other side, that the members who appoint and control the Board, are men who have adopted our standards, and who are as ministers and elders known to the churches? This is no captious objection. Its importance is so great and so obvious that, to avoid this difficulty, the founders of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, preferred forming themselves into a close corporation, rather than be exposed to the uncertainty and instability of a voluntary society. It is time for the advocates of voluntary institutions to be ashamed of appealing to the American

Board, whose organization is a most pointed condemnation of their favorite principle.

Finally, another dangerous feature of this influence is its concentration in the hands of a few persons. We have already seen that the Society, from its organization, and from the short time which it remains in session, can have little oversight or control over the operations of its officers. These officers are, in fact, almost the sole depositories of the whole of the power which arises from the employment of numerous agents, the disbursement of thousands of dollars, and the support of hundreds of ministers. And just in proportion to their facilities for controlling the society to which they belong, are their independence and irresponsibility.

It may be said that this influence must exist somewhere, if not in the hands of the officers of the Home Missionary Society, that it will fall to those of the Boards of the General Assembly. If it must exist, then it is of the first importance that it should be subjected to every possible check and to the strictest accountability. We believe, however, from the difference of their organization, especially as it relates to the Board of Education, the power in the one case is far less than it is in the other. And we have already said enough to show that it is more natural, and safe, more closely watched and guarded, when exercised by men appointed by the church in her organized capacity, than when wielded by the hands of irresponsible voluntary societies.

It will be seen that few of our arguments have any bearing on the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. We cheerfully admit that our objections to this institution are far less strong, and that they do not interfere with our entertaining for it the highest respect and confidence. It is only by a strange solecism that this society is called a voluntary association; it has, in fact, less of the character than any similar institution in our land though it seems on this account to forfeit none of the esteem of those who are forever insisting on the necessity and excellence of the voluntary principle. The power of this society is comparatively small, and there is little temptation to abuse what it does possess. So long as it continues the course which it has hitherto pursued, and keeps itself aloof from the internal contentions of the church, abstaining from all attempts to influence the decision of its judicatories on the missionary, as well as other questions, we are sure it will have the prayers, the confidence, and support of the churches.

There is one other remark which we wish to make in the conclusion of this part of our article. We have never been opposed to the existence of voluntary societies. While we have had our decided preference for ecclesiastical organizations, we have felt perfectly willing that those who differed from us should take their own course in doing the work of the Lord. Believing that there was a large part of the church who would not co-operate with the Boards of the General Assembly, we have rejoiced that they had institutions through which their energies might be exerted in doing good. It was only in repelling the arguments of their exclusive friends against the institutions of the church, that we were led, in our number for July last, to animadvert in any measure on the evils connected with the operations of these societies. And now, we are writing in opposition to a formal and laboured assault against the Boards of the church, combined with an extended personal attack upon ourselves. We are, therefore, not to be considered as aggressors in this business. And while we have a deep conviction that the Home Missionary Society, under the management of its Secretary, has become a great party engine, operating most unfavourably for the peace, union, and purity of the church; we, at the same time, believe that his lay-associates are in a great measure innocent in this matter. With them, therefore, we have no controversy, and for them we entertain undiminished confidence and affection.

Foreign Missionary Board.

The second general topic of discussion presented in the work before us, is the attempted organization, by the late Assembly, of a Board of Foreign Missions. The reasons urged in favour of this measure are exhibited so fully in our number for July last, that we deem it unnecessary to repeat them here. So little is said by our author to invalidate the force of those reasons, that we shall not detain our readers long on this subject. There are one or two points, however, on which we wish to make a few remarks. The first of these is the origin of the proposed measure. This, though in itself of comparatively little moment, is of so much importance in the estimation of our author, that he devotes nearly two, out of the four chapters assigned to the whole question, to the consideration of this single point. For some reason or other he seems exceedingly anxious to prove that it originated in the Pittsburg convention. The assertion that such was the

fact had, as we understood, been made on the floor of the General Assembly by Dr. Peters. We undertook to show that this was a mistake; that the plan had been in contemplation long before that convention was called, and that it had been recommended, in all its essential features, by the late Dr. Rice. We are so unfortunate as on this account to have incurred the author's particular displeasure. Towards the conclusion of his severe rebuke, he says of us, "It is presumed they will never make these declarations again, and that hereafter, should they ever allow themselves to write with the haste and carelessness, as to matters of fact, which are manifested in their review of the 'General Assembly of 1836,' they will confine themselves to topics concerning which their exists no documentary evidence." p. 70. How far this severity is merited will appear from what follows.

The question is, did the project of a Board of Foreign Missions under the care of the General Assembly originate with the Pittsburg convention, or had it been contemplated or desired at an earlier period? The author can hardly object to this statement of the point at issue, as it is not only the form in which we presented it, but the very heading of his third chapter proposes it in nearly the same form. As we had the best possible evidence that the proposal had been in contemplation, and had been made a subject of extended and prayerful consultation years before the Pittsburg convention was thought of, we little thought we should incur any one's indignation by saying so. All we ask of our readers is to admit that a thing cannot exist before its *origin*, and, consequently, if the plan of conducting foreign missions by the Assembly was under consideration long before the Pittsburg convention, it did not originate in that body.

At the very time of the re-organization of the Board of Missions, in 1828, it was formally declared to be authorized to conduct missions in any part of the world. The following resolution was passed, as we believe by common consent, by the General Assembly of that year, viz:—"Resolved, That the Board of Missions already have the power to establish missions, not only among the destitute in our own country, but also among the heathen in any part of the world; to select, appoint, and commission missionaries, to determine their salaries, and to settle and pay their accounts; that they have full authority to correspond with any other body on the subject of missions; to appoint an Executive Committee, and an efficient agent or agents to manage their missionary concerns;

to take measures to form auxiliary societies, on such terms as they may deem proper; to procure funds; and, in general, to manage the missionary operations of the General Assembly.

"It is therefore submitted to the discretion of the Board of Missions to consider whether it is expedient for them to carry into effect the full powers which they possess."*

Shortly after the rising of the Assembly, the Board addressed a letter to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, apprising them of the passage of the above resolution, and of their having it in contemplation to engage in the work of foreign as well as of domestic missions. "This letter," the Board say, "was answered in a manner which was peculiarly gratifying to our feelings, and we were encouraged to believe that we should ever be regarded by the highly esteemed members of that venerated society, as humble coworkers with them in the hallowed enterprise of evangelizing the world."† Accordingly, in the same address which contains the above passage, they say to their brethren, "we would endeavour by argument to enforce the obligation which clearly rests upon you, and upon all, not merely as individuals, but as constituent parts of the visible church, to be earnestly engaged, in a distinctive, associate capacity, in the work both of foreign and domestic missions."

In a series of articles on the best method of conducting missions, written in a spirit of candour and genuine liberality, which no Christian can fail to admire, and published in the Christian Advocate for 1829, the venerable editor urges at length the duty of the Presbyterian church, in her distinctive capacity, to engage in the work of foreign missions.

In the year 1830 (we believe) a memorial was addressed by a number of the students of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, (all of whom, with one exception, are now missionaries among the heathen) to the professors, expressing an earnest desire that they might be sent to the foreign field by their own church. This memorial was submitted to a number of the directors of the seminary at an informal meeting, for their advice. As might have been anticipated, considera-

* See minutes of the General Assembly for 1828. This declaration of the full powers of the Board of Missions, was passed with the full concurrence of the friends of the Home Missionary Society, having been reported by a committee of conference. This, however, was before the recent discoveries as to the power of the Assembly in such matters.

† Circular of the Board of Missions, Feb. 25, 1829.

ble diversity of opinion was manifested as to the propriety of any separate Presbyterian organization. It was decided, however, that the subject should be presented at the meeting of the American Board of Commissioners, which was then just at hand, to ascertain whether any method could be devised to secure the object of a Presbyterian organization, without disturbing the harmony of the churches. The matter was accordingly made the subject of repeated conference with the members of that Board at Boston. Many of them were so impressed with the necessity of some such measure, as to give their opinion in favour of such an organization; others, however, were very decidedly opposed to it. It was thought, therefore, best not to urge the matter, or at least to leave it to other hands. Still its importance was not lost sight of. It was made the subject of frequent consultation among those who believed that the American Board could not effectually arouse and combine all the energies of the Presbyterian church, and bring them to bear upon this great work.

It was about this time the Presbytery of Baltimore passed several resolutions declaring it to be, in the judgment of that body, the duty of the church in her distinctive capacity to engage in the work of foreign missions, and expressing their purpose to support at least one missionary in the foreign field. A committee was appointed to address a circular letter to the several presbyteries, calling their attention to this great work. This letter was accordingly prepared and sent. It was in the fall of 1830 that Dr. Rice, on his return from his last visit to the north, stopped in Baltimore. While there Dr. Nevins and Dr. Breckinridge informed him of the steps taken by their presbytery, and urged him to prepare an overture to the General Assembly, proposing a plan by which the action of the several presbyteries might be combined, and the church in her distinctive capacity brought up to the work. To this Dr. Rice consented. His sickness, however, delayed for some time the preparation of this overture. But the subject was near his heart, and when too ill to write himself, he availed himself of the services of Mr. Ballentine as an amanuensis, and consecrated almost his last energies to this work. Of this overture one copy was sent, as stated in his life, to Princeton, and another to Drs. Breckinridge and Nevins in Baltimore. By them it was forwarded to the General Assembly. It was in consequence of this overture that a committee was appointed to confer with the American Board, who afterwards reported against the expediency of any separate

organization. In the meantime the Western Foreign Missionary Society was formed, and served at once to diffuse a spirit of missions in the church, and to strengthen the desire for an organization which might more effectually combine the efforts of those who preferred this mode of conducting the missionary work. It was this long continued desire and effort on this subject which led to the action of the Synod of Philadelphia, of the Pittsburg convention, and of the Assembly of 1835. The action of the convention was but one link in an extended chain. It would be quite as absurd to assert that opposition to Pelagianism, or zeal for the rights of presbyteries, arose from that convention, as that the proposal for the organization of a foreign missionary Board took its rise in that body.

One of the leading characteristics of the book before us is, that it silently, as mathematicians say, shifts the hypothesis, sliding in unawares a new statement of the case, and thus presents a different issue to the reader. According to the heading of his third chapter the author was to prove that "the proposal to organize a Foreign Missionary Board originated with the Pittsburg convention." After his array of evidence he draws his conclusion after this wise, "Sustained by the foregoing evidence, we now affirm, without fear of contradiction, that *the proposal to transfer the Western Foreign Missionary Society to the General Assembly* did originate with the Pittsburg convention." This is no concern of ours, as we never said any thing to the contrary. We shall hardly be suspected of asserting that the proposal to transfer the western society was in contemplation years before that society had an existence.*

Another of our statements, which seems to have excited the displeasure of this writer is, that the overture of Dr. Rice contained every essential feature of the proposed measure, i. e. of the proposal to organize a Board of Foreign Missions. What then are the leading features of Dr. Rice's plan? It declares that one primary and principal object of the institution of the church by Jesus Christ, was "the communicating of the blessings of the gospel to the destitute with the efficiency of united action."—"The en-

* We do not believe that Dr. Peters, as quoted by our author, is correct even in this statement. We have been informed, through a leading member of the Convention, that not one word was said on the subject of a transfer; that he and others did not wish the business to take that form, but preferred a separate organization created immediately by the Assembly. We leave this subject, however, to those who think it of sufficient importance to pursue it.

tire history of the Christian societies organized by the apostles, affords abundant evidence that they so understood the design of their Master," i. e. his design, as we understand it, of their organization. Agreeably to these principles, it resolves, 1. "That the Presbyterian church in the United States is a missionary society." This surely means that the Presbyterian church in her organized distinctive capacity, as she exists in the United States, is and ought to be, a missionary society. 2. That the ministers of the gospel be enjoined to present this subject to their congregations. 3. That a committee of — be appointed from year to year by the General Assembly, to be designated the Committee of the Presbyterian church for Foreign Missions, to whom this whole concern shall be confided, with directions to report all their transactions to the churches. 4. The committee shall have power to appoint all necessary officers. 5. The committee shall, as far as the nature of the case will admit, be co-ordinate (not sub-ordinate) with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and shall correspond and co-operate with that association, in every possible way, for the accomplishment of the great objects which it has in view. 6. All individuals, congregations, or missionary associations to be at liberty to send their contributions either to the American Board, or the Assembly's committee. 7. That every church session be authorized to receive contributions, and be directed to report on the subject.—This is the outline of this noble plan, which we repeat contains every essential feature of that proposed to the last Assembly. We have here a distinct ecclesiastical organization, precisely such an one as our author labours through the whole of his first chapter to prove to be undesirable, inefficient, dangerous to the spirituality of the church, and involving a most perilous amount of power, and yet he eulogizes it as breathing the very spirit of the gospel! By what possible contrivance is a plausible appearance put upon this gross inconsistency? Not by comparing the two plans in their several parts, but by quoting hard passages from the Pittsburg convention and the Synod of Philadelphia. Scarcely one sentence of the language, however, quoted on pp. 67, 68, was before the Assembly, or contained in any of the documents presented to that body. It is not employed in the terms of agreement with the Synod of Pittsburg, nor in Dr. Phillips' report recommending the adoption of those terms, and the appointment of a Board of Foreign Missions, yet these were the immediate matters of

discussion. What if the convention were ever so severe on the Home Missionary Society, or ever so strict in their views, would this alter the nature of the plan? The most that could be said is, that different reasons were assigned by different persons for the same thing. But even this can hardly be said, for the report of Dr. Phillips is scarcely less catholic in its spirit than the preamble to Dr. Rice's overture. It provides 1. For the transfer of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. 2. For the appointment of a Board (instead of a committee) of Foreign Missions. 3. It prescribes the mode in which that board shall be organized, what officers it shall appoint, &c. 4. Prescribes the duties of the executive committee. 5. Directs how the property of the Board is to be held. 6. Designates the seat of operations. It presents, as the great reasons for the proposed measure, the preference of a large proportion of our churches for an ecclesiastical organization, the necessity of this plan in order to enlist them in the missionary work. It disclaims any desire to interfere with the American Board. It proposes to leave every man at liberty to patronize whichever of these institutions he may prefer. If these sentiments in the overture of Dr. Rice prove it to be so good, we see not why they may not perform the same office for the proposal of Dr. Phillips. If the author really approves of Dr. Rice's plan, we can show that he ought to be greatly delighted with the Assembly's Board of Missions, for they on their re-organization desired to be only "humble co-workers" with the American Board; they rejoice at its success and usefulness, and pray for its greater extension. They say the same things in effect to the Home Missionary Society.* What has Dr. Rice said more?

* To this society they say, "Let there be no strife between us, we pray you; none between your and our husbandmen, unless it be in the Christian effort of spreading the gospel, and in diligence, meekness, humility and zeal according to knowledge in their Master's service. We wish you all success in the Lord's field, and an abundant harvest." See Letter of Executive Committee of the Board of Missions to the Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society, July 4, 1828, in the Christian Advocate, vol. 6. p. 422. Again, in their address to the churches, signed by Dr. Green, and published in 1828, they say, "As a part or portion of the church universal, the church to which we belong is, we verily believe, chargeable with great and criminal neglect" as to the work of missions. They utterly disclaim "a bigotted or sectarian spirit." "If by a wish we could engross the missionary business of our country, that wish should not be formed. We have no desire to hinder, or to interfere with, any evangelical missionary operations by whomsoever conducted, but to promote them." See Christian Advocate, vol. 6, p. 324. We might almost

The proposal submitted to the last Assembly was then, in its essential features, identical with that proposed by Dr. Rice. The transfer of the western missionary, and the conditions attached to that transfer, were merely incidental, and not essential. If that transfer was deemed unwise, or its conditions unconstitutional, the contract might have been voided on the ground that the Assembly had no right to accede to such terms; and the way left open for the organization of a Board or committee on the plan of Dr. Rice. The course pursued by the opponents of the measure, proves that they viewed the matter in this light. Dr. Skinner, in his report counter to that of Dr. Phillips, did not say, 'Whereas the conditions attached to the transfer of the Western Foreign Missionary Society are unconstitutional, therefore, Resolved, 1. That the said transfer be declined, and, 2. That the Assembly will proceed forthwith to organize a Foreign Missionary Board of its own.' No such thing. He and his associates knew what was essential and what merely incidental. His report is to this effect, "Whereas, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, has, from the year of its incorporation, been connected with the Presbyterian church by the very elements of its existence; and, whereas, at the present time the majority of the whole Board are Presbyterians; and, whereas, it is undesirable, in conducting the work of foreign missions, that there should be any collision at home or abroad: therefore, Resolved, That it is inexpedient that the Assembly should organize a separate Foreign Missionary Institution." This is to the point. The question was, Board or no Board? And not this or that mode of organi-

suppose that Dr. Rice had taken these documents as his model, so nearly do they coincide in spirit and sentiment with his own overture. Why are the same words which are milk and honey in the lips of Dr. Rice, gall and wormwood in those of Dr. Green? There is a most marked contrast in the spirit of the letters of Mr. Evarts and Dr. Peters, in answer to the communications of the Board of Missions to their respective societies. The former transmits the following resolution of the Prudential Committee: "Resolved, that the committee cordially approve of the truly catholic and Christian spirit which pervades that letter, (letter of the Board of Missions); and that the corresponding secretary be directed to reciprocate the sentiments of Christian friendship and union, which are there so affectionately expressed." In the course of his letter Mr. Evarts remarks, "there may be diversity of opinion as to the number of missionary societies which should be organized," but immediately adds, "In regard to such diversities of opinion, it does not become us, as functionaries of one of those societies to decide." Dr. Peters' long letter, on the other hand, is almost entirely occupied in showing the necessity of their being but "one general Board," and that the Home Missionary Society should be that ONE. See Christian Advocate, vol. 6, p. 471.

zation.* We leave it, therefore, to those who profess to regard Dr. Rice's overture with so much favour to reconcile this profession with their arguments and conduct on the floor of the Assembly, and recommend to them to set themselves right with the churches in this matter.

Right of the Assembly to conduct Missions.

In our review of the General Assembly, we stated, on what we deemed adequate authority, that the opponents of Dr. Phillips' report had taken the ground that the Assembly had no right to organize a Board of Missions, or to conduct missionary operations. We remarked that this was a new and alarming doctrine, inconsistent with the previous opinions of its authors, and adapted to shake the confidence of the churches in the conduct of our leading men, and in the stability of our institutions. For these statements and remarks the author deals with us with great severity. "Can it be wondered at," he asks, "that mutual confidence should cease, when grave, religious periodicals, conducted under the sanction of '*men venerable for age and station*,' are allowed thus to misstate, and then to hold up to ridicule and reproach, the principles and reasonings of a majority of their brethren," p. 97. "We cannot divest ourselves of the unpleasant impression that their oft-repeated expressions of *alarm may* have been published for the sake of *producing alarm*," p. 101.

It is not so much for the sake of self-vindication, as on account of the intrinsic importance of the subject in debate, that we deem it necessary to prove the correctness of our previous statements, and to show that the ground was assumed that the Assembly had no right to organize a Board of Missions, or to conduct missionary operations.†

The question before the Assembly was somewhat complicated, by the union of two distinct, though nearly related points. The first was, whether the Assembly had the right to form the contract which had been entered into in reference to the Western Foreign Missionary Society; and the second,

* The writer, on p 85, says, "The Assembly was constrained, by the urgency of the friends of the proposed Board, to appoint it subject to all the conditions and claims of that agreement, or to reject it altogether." The reader would infer from this that the objection was not to the proposed Board, but merely to the conditions and claims contained in the agreement with the Synod of Pittsburg. Yet nothing is more notorious, than that the opposition was mainly against the organization of a new Board.

† We used these two expressions as synonymous because we found them thus employed in the reports of speeches delivered on the floor of the Assembly.

whether it had the right to organize a Board of Missions at all. These two points are so mixed up that it is not always easy to see on which of the two the remarks of the several speakers were intended to bear. We shall present abundant evidence, however, that both were openly and boldly maintained. On the one hand, it was agreed that the compact was binding, because it related to a matter within the competency of the Assembly; and on the other, that it was unconstitutional; first, because it involved an act of legislation binding future Assemblies, and secondly, because the matter of the contract was not within the competency of the Assembly.

The speech of Mr. Jessup, of which we have before us three independent reports,* assumes, if we understand it, both these positions. He argues that the Assembly, being a judicial and not a legislative body, has no power to bind its successors; that all its powers are derived from the churches; that the presbyteries have not "clothed us with power to establish ecclesiastical Boards for the management of missions," and consequently the act of the last Assembly is not binding upon this Assembly. "Let us inquire," he adds, "whether the church has given us power to form such an organization as is prescribed in this report, and whether it is expedient for the General Assembly to establish such an organization. According to the arrangement proposed, this Board will have a treasury distinct from the treasury of your board of trustees; it will be just like the treasury of a voluntary society." (See Evangelist, June 4.) The writer of the work under review himself admits that Mr. Jessup, "after showing that the powers of the Assembly are derived from the presbyteries," denied "that the presbyteries have ever clothed the Assembly with power to establish Boards for the management of missions." If then all the powers of the Assembly are derived from the presbyteries, he who denies that the presbyteries have granted the power, at the same time denies that the Assembly possesses it.

With the legal argument of Mr. Jessup, Dr. Peters professed his agreement. He too maintained, agreeably to the doctrine of the Pittsburg convention, that all authority originates with the presbyteries, and therefore that the Assembly could not consummate this arrangement until it is sent down to the presbyteries, and their consent was obtained.

* One in the New York Observer of June 4; one in the Evangelist of the same date, and one in the Presbyterian of July 9.

"It must, therefore, be sent down to the presbyteries as an overture, and obtain their sanction, before the General Assembly could organize a Board of Foreign Missions. This was his firm conviction." Presbyterian, July 9.

Judge Stevens, however, was the gentleman who expended most argument in defence of this position. From his high respectability, and from his legal attainments, much importance was attached to his opinion. The previous question had actually been moved, "but," as we learn from the Evangelist, "on the earnest entreaty of Dr. Skinner that Judge Stevens might have the opportunity to speak, it was withdrawn." We attach importance to this speech, not only from the circumstances just stated, but also from the consideration that it was an answer to a formal argument by Dr. Hoge to prove the right of the Assembly to conduct missionary operations. The Judge remarked, that he "wished to speak to the constitutional question, on which his professional pursuits had suggested a few thoughts that might be worthy of consideration. The question of constitutional authority, is in its very nature a technical one. The sweeping argument of the brother (Dr. Hoge) who spoke last, finds its source in his own good feelings, in his zeal to have every body engaged in the missionary cause, and not in the constitution of the church. He says it is the duty of the church to carry on missions. Nobody doubts that it is the duty of the catholic visible church to spread the gospel through the earth. But that is nothing to the point to prove that this body has the power to appoint a Board of Missions. The catholic visible church, it is truly said, is not an organized body. It is composed of individuals, and the duty of the church is the duty of all the individuals who compose it. And they are to promote missions and extend the gospel in the best way they can. How does this go to prove that the General Assembly has authority to conduct and regulate the missionary efforts that are to be made by the members of the Presbyterian church? This question of authority is to be proved, not assumed. If it exists in the General Assembly, it has been given by the churches. The whole authority, as I understand our constitution, remains in the sessions and presbyteries. Hence when any new authority is proposed to be exercised by this body, it is necessary to send down the question to the presbyteries for their consent. It is said we subvert the authority of the Board of Missions. Suppose we do. A precedent is nothing in the face of the constitu-

tion. It is to be presumed that it was an act of inadvertence that the minds of the Assembly were not distinctly turned to the question of constitutional power, rather than to suppose that they established the Board of Missions, knowing they had no constitutional warrant for the same. It is a bad argument from one breach of the constitution to plead in favour of another. I believe we have no authority until the presbyteries give it." Evangelist, June 25.

This is one part of the evidence in support of the correctness of our previous statements on this subject. We see that the speakers referred to did assume the position that the Assembly has no right to organize a Board of Missions. We proceed to show that the speakers on the other side attributed this opinion to their opponents, and argued in defence of the right in question. First, then, we have the speech of Mr. Nesbit, in which he says, "It has been denied that one Assembly can bind its successors, and, therefore, there is no obligation, legal or equitable, in this body to execute the contract with the synod. Sir, this is a wide mistake, a fatal error. The beloved brother who has taken this ground, surely has not maturely reflected on the consequences of this assumption." He then refuted this part of Mr. Jessup's argument, and afterwards took up the second point. "My esteemed brother Jessup denies the power of the Assembly to create a Board of Missions, asserting, as I understood him, that the Assembly has no legislative powers, that all the powers of this body are judicial and advisory, and that all other powers belong to the presbyteries." Presbyterian, July 9.* Again Dr. Phillips, in reply to Dr. Peters, says, "It has been said that the General Assembly has no power to conduct missions by a Board, and the Act and Testimony has been quoted, that all authority in the Presbyterian church originated with the presbyteries." Again, Dr. Hoge said, "I have thought it inexpedient on other grounds for the General Assembly to take up, in its distinctive character, the work of foreign missions. As the subject has been brought up in other forms, from time to time, I have always objected. But the question is now brought before us in a new form, and is to be *decided on the naked ground of the power and rights of the Assembly to conduct missions.* And on this ground I cannot abandon it while I love the faith and order of the Presbyterian church." "The great question after all, is this:—

* See also New-York Observer, June 11.

Has the General Assembly constitutional power to act on this subject? It is said, because this power has not been granted in express terms, that, therefore, the Assembly do not possess it. I am not, and never have been, strongly in favour of such a strict and literal construction of the constitution as to bind us down to the mere letter of the constitutional rule. I look for authority to the great leading object of the constitution itself. Here I find the power to conduct both foreign and domestic missions, and the education of young men, and theological seminaries, and the like. *All that we have done, and are doing, goes by the board if you give up the principle*, and this General Assembly will become a mere advisory committee in regard to matters of general interest, and a mere court of appeal in cases of discipline. I contend, without examining the constitution of this church, that the General Assembly, as the great organ of the church, must have the powers requisite to carry into effect the great objects for which the church is constituted." "The power of the church is in the hands of the officers of the church. I do not ask for an act of incorporation, in any explicit clause, declaring that the Presbyterian church in its denominational capacity may carry on missions." Much more to the same effect might be quoted, not only from the speech of Dr. Hoge, but from those of Mr. Nesbit, Mr. Boyd, and others. What does the author think now of assertions made in the face of documentary evidence? Besides all this, we have seen at least some ten or twenty different individuals, who were present at the General Assembly during these discussions, and we have heard almost all of them speak on this subject, men of various opinions and predilections, and we have never heard a whisper of a doubt as to the new school men having taken the ground in question. It was always spoken of as a notorious and admitted fact; as one of the leading and most exciting circumstances connected with the proceedings of the Assembly. We know more than one person who went to the Assembly with his prepossessions against the expediency of the organization of a Board of Foreign Missions, but who were so shocked by the spirit and principles disclosed by Dr. Peters in his very first speech, as to feel it was no longer a question of expediency, but one of principle, involving the vital interests of the church. Now, are we to be told, in the face of the recorded declarations of the opposers of a Foreign Board, in face of the uncontradicted assertion of the speakers on the other side, in face of the extended arguments

in defence of the right of the Assembly to organize a Board of Missions, are we to be told in the face of all this the new school men simply denied "the power of the Assembly to appoint *such a Board*, as was proposed by the committee of 1835, with all the unconstitutional conditions in their agreement," and that too by an anonymous writer, who has not had the courage to put his name to this startling declaration? It is perfectly plain, either that this writer, though a member of the Assembly, mistook the ground assumed by his friends, or the whole Assembly were mistaken. The reader may judge which is most probable.

We admit, that if the opposers of the proposed organization spoke as this gentleman writes, it would be no matter of surprise that their meaning was not apprehended. We have read the two chapters of his book relating to this subject, at least three times consecutively from beginning to end, besides repeatedly reading and comparing one paragraph with another, and we seriously say, we do not know what he means. We have no idea what ground he intends to assume as to the power of the Assembly in relation to missions. We have been accustomed to give to ourselves credit for about the average amount of common sense, and therefore conclude if the author meant common people to understand him, we should be competent to the task. But we confess ourselves completely foiled. 1. At one time we think he means to admit every thing, the constitutional right of the Assembly to conduct missions, and to appoint a Board for that purpose. Thus, on page 79, he admits "that the Assembly has a right to conduct missions, and that this right is not only conferred upon it by the constitution, but belongs to it from the nature of the body, as the supreme judicatory of the church." He calls this "a constitutional and inherent right." The same admission is made on p. 90, where he acknowledges also that the Assembly "has power to appoint a Board of Missions, and *recommend* it to the confidence and patronage of the churches." 2. Sometimes we think he intends to deny the right of the Assembly to organize a Board of Missions, and means to confine its power in the premises to conducting missions "of their own knowledge," and while in session. Thus, in p. 80, he says, the constitution "asserts the right of presbyteries, synods, and the General Assembly, to conduct missions. But this right is asserted under certain restrictions. Either of these bodies may send missions to supply vacancies, in answer to applications from presbyte-

ries, or from vacant congregations, with the leave of presbyteries, and it is manifestly intended that the application shall be made to these bodies themselves. There is no provision made for the appointment of permanent committees or Boards to act upon these applications. But farther than this, the General Assembly are authorized, "of *their own knowledge*," without the formality of an application, "to send missions," &c. Here again, there is no provision for the appointment of a permanent Board for this purpose. The missions must be sent *by the Assembly, of their own knowledge*. This can be done only while the Assembly is in session." "Again, if the power to appoint missionaries may be *constitutionally* delegated to a permanent Board, under sanction of the above article, (ch. 18 of the constitution,) by the same rule, the Assembly may empower such a Board "to direct presbyteries to ordain evangelists," &c. "Besides, if the General Assembly is authorized by the above provision to appoint a missionary Board, to act in its name and by its authority, then the synods and presbyteries" may do the same. "But if this power belongs equally to these several bodies, within their respective spheres, it is manifest that no one of them has a right to appoint a Board for the whole without the consent of the others." "That which is equally the constitutional right of these bodies, during their continuance, becomes the *sole right* of the permanent body, as soon as the other ceases to exist, and so remains the sole right of one presbytery until another General Assembly is constituted. It is therefore an unwarrantable assumption of authority for the General Assembly to claim the constitutional right, over the heads of the presbyteries, to conduct the missions of the whole church, by a permanent Board, to act during the interim of its own sessions, when the sole constitutional power belongs to the presbyteries and synods, which are the only permanent bodies known to the constitution. We affirm, then, that the General Assembly of 1835 had no right, by the constitution, to appoint the proposed Board to act in its name and by its authority, and if they had no right to do it, they had no right to agree to do it, nor to authorize their committee so to agree." Let it be remembered that the report of Dr. Phillips, as far as this point is concerned, simply recommended the organization of a Board of Foreign Missions; that neither in its preamble nor resolutions did it claim, but on the contrary pointedly disclaimed, either the right or the wish to coerce congregations or indi-

viduals, but left it optional with them to sustain the proposed Board or not; and we see not how the above extracts are to be understood, if they do not deny the right of the Assembly to constitute a Board of Foreign Missions, analogous to that of Domestic Missions. Besides, as we have already seen, the author maintains that all the powers of the Assembly are derived from the presbyteries, and that the presbyteries have not "clothed the Assembly with power to establish Boards for the management of missions," and consequently, as seems to us, he denies that the Assembly possesses this power. 3. Again, at times we are disposed to think he means to deny merely that the power in question arises out of the constitution, or is granted in any one specific clause, but is willing to admit that it belongs to the Assembly in virtue of "a right inherent in all bodies, who are not prohibited by the constitution under which they exist, to do good on the individual responsibility of their members." Thus he says, p. 93, "All we have ever affirmed is, that the appointment of a Board of Missions is *extra-constitutional.*" It is true, that both on the floor of the Assembly, and in this book, as we understand it, much more is asserted. But we are not able to reconcile one portion of this work with another; and happily we are not bound to do so. On p. 79 he says that the right "to conduct missions" is "*constitutional* and inherent;" on p. 93, and elsewhere, that the right to appoint a Board of Missions "is extra-constitutional;" or as it is expressed on p. 90, it is "not by any express provision of the constitution, giving authority to their acts binding on the churches or upon future Assemblies, but from the nature of the body irrespective of all constitutional provisions." If this is all that was intended, how came it that on the floor of the Assembly the mere appointment of a Board of Missions was resisted on the ground that the Assembly had not the right to make such an appointment? And how is this position to be reconciled with the denial, as quoted above, of the power of the Assembly to appoint such a Board, on the ground that the presbyteries had not expressly granted it, when it seems the writer professes to believe the Assembly has the power irrespective of all constitutional provisions? 4. Sometimes we suppose the writer means to oppose the idea that the Assembly has the right to appoint a Board of Missions, and then by law enjoin on the churches to support it, whether they approve of it or not. Thus, (p. 91) he says, "The Assembly has simply the power to recommend

them (these Boards), and all beyond the exercise of this recommendatory power is usurpation and assumption, until the presbyteries shall have authorised it according to the constitution. The appointment of such Boards, therefore, by the Assembly, imposes no obligation upon the churches contrary to their own preference. This the Reviewers admit," &c. We certainly do admit it, and it was admitted fully in Dr. Phillips' report. The right to coerce the churches in this matter, has never been asserted by the Assembly. It is strange that it should be objected to the formation of the Board in question, that the Assembly could not force the churches to sustain it, when in the very document proposing the organization, the right to do so was disclaimed. 5. Another solution of these enigmatical chapters has occurred to us, viz., that the writer is simply opposing Boards invested with "ecclesiastical authority." This phrase seems to be used by the writer in two senses; first, as expressing the idea that these Boards may authoritatively claim the support of all the churches. "Boards thus appointed or recommended," he says, "have no right to exercise the ecclesiastical authority of the bodies appointing them. The Assembly, as we have shown, possesses no authority which it can confer upon such Boards." The second sense in which the phrase is used, seems to be, having the right to exercise judicial functions. Thus, in answer to the argument that the Assembly had the right to appoint a Board of Missions, since it was acknowledged to have the right to appoint a Board of Directors for a theological seminary, he answers, "if these seminaries were established to exercise the ecclesiastical authority over the churches, in any respect, which belongs to the bodies which have established them, they would be 'unconstitutional excrescences.' These bodies have no right to confer upon such seminaries their own authority to license ministers, to sit in judgment on appeals," &c. This is all very true. As, however, there was no proposal before the Assembly to establish a Board of Missions invested with ecclesiastical authority, in either of these senses of the phrase, we see not how this could be the real objection urged on the floor of that body, or if it had been urged, why it should so alarm such men as Mr. Nesbit and Dr. Hoge, as to make them think it a blow aimed at the very vitals of the church.

6. There is still one other supposition left, and that is, that the writer does not deny the right to appoint *a* Board of Missions but simply *such a* Board. This is the ground

assumed on page 97, where he says, "We have already explained the grounds on which we deny the power of the Assembly to appoint *such a Board* as was proposed by the committee of 1835, with all its unconstitutional conditions embraced in their agreement." It would be a matter of small moment if the writer had contented himself with saying that this was the reason why he was opposed to the proposed Board, but when he asserts that this was the ground assumed in the Assembly on the subject, he contradicts every report of the speeches of Mr. Jessup, Dr. Peters, Judge Stevens, Mr. Nesbit, Dr. Hoge, Dr. Phillips, and others. He completely stultifies these last named gentlemen, by representing that they were alarmed for nothing, that they were contending with a mere shadow, and could not distinguish between an objection to thetransfer of the Western Missionary Society, and an objection to the organization of a Board of Missions. We deem it an impossibility that any man can read the speeches of the above named gentlemen, and still believe the statement of this writer to be correct. No one can fail to be convinced that the ground was openly assumed, not only that the conditions of that transfer were unconstitutional, but also that the Assembly had no right to appoint a Board of Missions. The fact, indeed, is so notorious, that we wonder that any one should think of calling it in question.

This is one of the subjects on which any discreet friend of the dominant party in the last Assembly, would have counselled the author either to retraction or silence. If the appointment of the present Board of Missions, was, as Judge Stevens affirmed it to be, "a breach of the constitution," so must the organization of the Board of education, and of our Theological Seminaries be. All must be given up, or as Dr. Hoge expressed it, be allowed "to go by the board." Let the reader now turn back and look at the resolution passed in 1828, with the full concurrence, if not of these same individuals, at least of the same party, in which the powers of the Board of Missions are so fully set forth, and so freely acknowledged, and compare it with language of the party on the floor of the last Assembly, and wonder how men can change. Any set of men who could assent to those resolutions, and then take the ground assumed in the last Assembly, may well consider their character for consistency as completely bankrupt.

Trial and Restoration of Mr. Barnes.

The point connected with the trial of Mr. Barnes, which produced the greatest surprise, was the answer to the protests presented by Drs. Phillips and Hoge for themselves and others. As this answer conceded every thing for which the orthodox had been so long contending, and was considered as being in direct contradiction to the known opinions of its authors, it naturally produced an unusual excitement. The moment this book came into our hands we instinctively turned to the chapter relating to this subject. Our principal desire was to see how this matter was explained; to learn how it was that men who had been all their lives resisting, and in many cases ridiculing certain doctrines, were brought so suddenly to profess their faith in them. We confess we have been greatly disappointed. The mystery is not explained; no attempt even is made to explain it. The writer seems to think it sufficient to ask such questions as these, Why is it wonderful that such an answer was given? "The Reviewers do not leave us in doubt on this point. Their wonder is that the answer is *orthodox!* How could it be, that such *heterodox* men, as constituted the whole majority of the Assembly, should profess to be *orthodox?*" We will undertake to answer his question, why it is so wonderful; and if he supposes this is a matter to be trifled with, we can assure him he is under a great mistake. The wonder then is this, that men who had openly declared that they received the confession of faith only as a system, or for substance of doctrines, should suddenly come forward and declare that they "do cordially and ex-animo adopt the confession of faith of our church, on *the points of doctrine in question,* according to *the obvious and most prevalent interpretation.*" The wonder is, not that they should declare themselves orthodox, for that is a relative term, but that they should profess to believe that our first parents, by eating the forbidden fruit, "fell from their original righteousness, and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body;" that, "they being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity, descending from them by ordinary generation;" that, "from this original corruption, whereby we are *utterly indisposed, disabled,* and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed

all actual transgressions;" that in regeneration, or effectual calling, "man is altogether passive, until, being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call, and receive the grace offered and conveyed in it;" that believers are justified "not by imputing faith itself, the act of believing, or any other evangelical obedience to them, as their righteousness; but by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them, they receiving and resting on him and his righthousness by faith." We by no means deny that these brethren believe these declarations "according to their obvious and most prevalent interpretation;" but what we assert is, that if there is one fact more notorious than any other in the history of the theological controversies in our church, it is that a large portion of those who sanctioned the "answer" in question, have been accustomed to deny and oppose these doctrines; that as to original sin, the "utter" inability of men to do any thing spiritually good, the imputation of the guilt of Adam's first sin, and the imputation of the obedience and satisfaction of Christ, they have been accustomed to reject and oppose the obvious and most prevalent interpretation of the Confession of Faith. For the truth of this declaration, appeal is made to their public preaching and declarations, to their printed sermons and other writings, to the periodicals which they sustain and sanction, and to every other kind of proof of which such a point is susceptible. This being the case, it was certainly incumbent on this writer, as he volunteered a defence of the General Assembly, to explain this fact, to show either how the answer to the protest of Drs. Hoge and Phillips, is to be reconciled with the previous professions of its authors, or how this extraordinary change in their opinions was brought about. He, however, makes no attempt to do either, he does not allude to even a seeming inconsistency. He has, therefore, left the matter tenfold worse than he found it. The moral sense of the church and of the community calls for an explanation. And we are persuaded the parties concerned never committed an act which it is more imperatively incumbent on them either penitently to acknowledge as an error, or fully to clear up and justify.

The writer complains that he cannot understand what we mean by appearing, in one place, to admit the sincerity of the authors of this Answer, and in another, stating the case hypothetically, saying, "if they are sincere," &c. We will endeavour to remove the apparent inconsistency. These

expressions occur in different connexions, and were used for different purposes. In the former, we were speaking of ourselves, and said we could not doubt the sincerity of the gentlemen concerned; in the other, we spoke in reference to those, who less charitable than ourselves, had openly called their sincerity in question. We, therefore, meant to say, take it either way, on our own hypothesis or on that of others, this Answer must prove fatal to its authors.

The writer, however, seems to make too large a use of our charity, when he asks, "At what then are these gentlemen so much startled? Where is the ground of alarm? They admit that the Answer is orthodox, that it was unanimously adopted by the whole majority of the Assembly, and that these men are honest and sincere in avowing the sentiments which it contains! Is there any thing startling and worse than startling in all this?" p. 146. This is giving us rather more credit than we deserve. The case is not quite so plain as would appear from the above extract. We did not intend to intimate that we had no difficulties or misgivings. All we meant was that when a set of men under peculiarly solemn circumstances, come forward and make a declaration as to their opinions, we felt bound to believe them. We did not then, and do not now, feel authorized to call their sincerity in question, though we are entirely unable to reconcile their present with their past professions. Had they with equal solemnity declared themselves Episcopalians or Papists, we should have felt equally bound to believe them, though we should have felt equally startled, and equally authorized to solicit an explanation of the process and means of their conversion. We have been disposed to make, in our own minds, a very great distinction between the great majority of those who merely voted that this ill-omened Answer should be adopted, and those who were engaged in its preparation, and gave it their deliberate sanction. It is too often the case, when important documents are read before a large assembly, and submitted for their acceptance by men in whom they have confidence, and whom they are perhaps too much disposed to follow; that a vote of approval is given without properly appreciating its character and bearing. We have never been disposed to charge these brethren with any thing more than an act of culpable inconsideration. The immediate authors of the document, however, and those who deliberately sanctioned it, are in a very different position. They have come forward and deliberately avowed

opinions in direct opposition to those they have always been understood to hold. For this declaration an explanation is due to themselves and to the brethren whose good opinion they desire to possess. This is no ordinary nor trivial affair. The official declarations of the General Assembly on matters of doctrine, are among the most important acts that body can perform. And the churches have a right to demand that those who put such declarations in the mouth of the Assembly, should not only be honest in fact, but honest in appearance. It will not do for them to draw on their general character, and say, we are good men, and, therefore, sincere; they must allow their brethren to see, as well as believe. We repeat, therefore, that the difficulty remains. The millstone is still around the neck of the authors of the Answer, and it can be gotten off by penitent confession or satisfactory explanation alone.

Division of the Church.

As the writer, on p. 147,* expresses his doubts as to our sincerity in the remarks which we felt called upon to make on the Answer to the Protests, so on p. 153 he gives utterance to his "suspicion" that we are quite as little in earnest in the views which we expressed in reference to the division of the church. He assigns two reasons for this suspicion, the first is "many things in the style and language" in which we express our dissent from the acts of the late Assembly. He specifies particularly some remarks on Dr. Beecher, Dr. Skinner, and Dr. Peters.† We think this very slight ground

* "On the whole, it is *more than probable* that the real ground of alarm expressed by these gentlemen, and by the minority, is not that the majority are not orthodox, but that certain measures, which they relied upon to give them a permanent ascendancy in the Assembly, have been frustrated."

† For cause of complaint, however, with regard to this last gentleman, he is obliged to travel out of the record, and quote a passage from the Review of Colton on Episcopacy, in which we ventured to express our agreement with Mr. C. in thinking that the Secretary of the Home Missionary Society had something like prelatical influence, and that he exerted it without much compunction. As we still believe this is but too true, we cannot recall what we there said, nor can we confess to much sorrow for having said it. The fact is we cannot avoid suspecting that the imputation in question was rather palatable, if not to Dr. Peters, at least to his friend the writer of this book. Why else should he roll the words "Right Reverend Father" as a sweet morsel under his tongue, quoting them over and over, first in the text and then in the notes? For his good opinion of the supposed writer of that Review we are indebted to him, though we cannot admire his delicacy in holding him up by name on the mere authority of rumor. We set a better example in our notice of the anonymous book before us. We have no disposition to remove the author's mask, but would, out of

for such a suspicion. We supposed we might very seriously dissent from those gentlemen, and still not desire a division of the church. Nor can we yet see how confidence in the clearness of their views or the consistency of their conduct is necessary to hold the church together.*

The second ground of the writer's suspicion is the character of the Resolutions adopted by the Presbytery of New Brunswick at their meeting in October last. This seems to have had most weight with him. For while he was hesitating on the propriety of publishing his suspicions to the world, on the slender foundation afforded by his first reason, these resolutions came to hand, and his "doubts were wholly removed." We cannot help thinking he must have had a great desire to be convinced of the correctness of his unpleasant impression. It would probably have occurred to one less ready to believe evil, that possibly all the conductors of the Repertory, or even a majority of them, were not present at that meeting of their presbytery. There are so many circumstances connected with the weather, with the domestic affairs, with the state of health, official engagements, &c. of members of presbytery, as to make the failure of their attendance on any one meeting no uncommon event. Could not that charity which hopeth all things, find in this consideration, reason for keeping that "suspicion" silent a little longer, until the fact could be ascertained? Was he bound to proclaim it to the world that the gentlemen who in July deprecated division, in October advocated it? Did he feel reluctantly constrained to fill one short paragraph with six interrogations and exclamations, to excite the due degree of wonder at such conduct? Even supposing the writer to have been ignorant of the real state of the case, can he stand acquitted before his own conscience of great uncharitableness in this business. But what if he knew the facts? What if he knew that of the eight ministers resident in Princeton, only one of them was present at that meeting of their presbytery, or knew any thing of the resolutions until after they

kindness, rather aid him in preserving his *incognito*. We can, however, assure the writer, that we never thought of accusing Dr. Peters of being "destitute of moral honesty," or the majority of the last Assembly of being "guilty of perfidy and folly." We should be sorry to be obliged to put a similar construction on all our author's charges against ourselves and friends, of inconsistency and contradiction, to say nothing of those of insincerity and hypocrisy.

* With regard to Dr. Skinner, our remarks were far from being disrespectful. We should be sorry indeed had we said any thing inconsistent with the esteem we have always entertained for that gentleman.

were passed? What then must be thought of his conduct? He virtually, in the paragraph referred to, assures the public* that the same men who "had pledged themselves before the church and the world, as the friends of union," voted in October for division, when, on the above supposition, he knew that such was not the fact. We shall be glad to hear that he was not so well informed, as we have reason to fear he was.†

Whatever then may be thought of the resolutions in question, it is plain, from what we have already said, that the "*associated* gentlemen in Princeton" are not responsible for them. But we have still further to remark, that the only one of their number who was present when those resolutions were adopted, exerted all his influence to have them reduced to the standard which he and his friends had already adopted. He was so far successful, that the resolutions, as originally presented, were very materially modified. And he assented to their passage in their present shape, not as what he himself would have proposed or desired, but as the nearest approach to it which, under the circumstances, could be obtained.‡

But further, the gentleman referred to we know does not admit the correctness of the interpretation which has been put upon the resolution in question. He does not understand it as asserting the necessity of the division of the church. By this expression is correctly and commonly understood a separation effected in an extra-constitutional manner, either by violence or by mutual consent, not in the regular exercise of ecclesiastical or judicial authority. Believing as he does, that the great majority of the Presbyterian church are sufficiently harmonious in their views, to render it possible and proper for them to remain united, he regarded the resolution as calling for nothing more than the regular exercise of discipline on the part of that majority towards those who will not conform either to the doctrines or order of the church, and as expressing the idea that if the present discord is to continue, it must destroy the usefulness of the church.

* "Here is the necessity of division of the church declared by the Presbytery of New Brunswick! But who are the leading members of this presbytery? The *associated* gentlemen in Princeton who conduct the Biblical Repertory!"

† Compare p. 155 with p. 178.

‡ We are assured that the statement in the public papers that the resolutions were *unanimously* adopted, is a mistake The question was asked in Presbytery, whether the vote should be recorded as unanimous, and it was answered, "by no means;" as even to their amended form one member, at least, was decidedly opposed.

Such also, we believe, was the idea meant to be expressed by the brethren of the presbytery generally, though for them we are not authorized to speak.

Nothing, therefore, can be more unreasonable than the charge of insincerity and inconsistency brought against the conductors of the Repertory on the ground of those resolutions. We were not present when they were prepared or adopted; they have never received our sanction, nor do they express our sentiments. Our opinions are now what they ever have been on the subject of division.* We expressed our dissent from the Act and Testimony, and its associated

* This writer, indeed, says, that we are recent converts to the doctrines of the Pittsburg Convention, p. 67, but it must be remembered that he is not very scrupulous in making assertions. We have just given one proof of this fact; we might give many more, did we deem it necessary. For example, on p. 137, he misrepresents, almost wholly, the course of our remarks in relation to the restoration of Mr. Barnes, and the rejection of Dr. Miller's resolution. He represents us as complaining of that restoration, though Dr. Miller voted for the measure, and though we repeatedly and pointedly said, the complaint was, not that the Assembly did not condemn the man, but that they refused to censure, and by that refusal, virtually commended the book. He asserts, again, that we "*will* have it, that Mr. Barnes is a Taylorite." We never said any such thing, but the very reverse. We said, that while on one page he affirmed the peculiar doctrines of New-Haven, on another he affirmed the opposite doctrine; and, that consequently, we did not know what his real opinions were. We thought the object of the trial was to ascertain this point. And we presumed that it was ascertained to the satisfaction of the great majority of the Assembly, that Mr. Barnes disclaimed and repudiated those doctrines, and thereby retracted the most offensive positions in his book. In view of his recantations and explanations, we said, "The obvious course of propriety and justice was for the Assembly to condemn the erroneous propositions, and to acquit the man on the ground of his explanations and corrections." Again, the writer asserts that we could not have been favourable to the organization of a Foreign Missionary Board by the Assembly, at the time the Act and Testimony was under consideration, because we were opposed to that measure, and to the Pittsburg Convention, p. 65. That is, because we differed from our brethren in one point, we must differ from them on all. By parity of reason, we were then in favour of New-Havenism, and of every thing else those brethen were opposed to. We invite the author to review the course of the Repertory, to see if he can find one single principle on which we have changed our ground; whether we ever denied the right of presbyteries to reject applicants with clean papers; whether we ever denied the right of judicatories to condemn erroneous books; whether, in short, there is one position assumed by the Assembly of 1835, and advocated in the Repertory, which we had not, as individuals, or as members of the New Brunswick Presbytery, previously avowed. The assertion, therefore, that we are "converts," i. e. have changed, is incorrect. We are almost ashamed of noticing such things, because we regard them as of little importance. If a set of men are really straight-forward, consistent, and honest, it will be known and acknowledged, and all the hue and cry of those who wish the contrary to be believed, will be so much breath wasted. And, on the other hand, if a man is really double-dealing, managing, or jesuitical, all the cunning in the world will not prevent others finding it out.

measures, mainly on the ground that we thought them designed and adapted to divide the church. Our brethren were hurt that such a view should be entertained or expressed. They came out in the public papers and denied that such was their design, and endeavoured to disprove that such was the tendency of their measures. Some of the leading advocates of the Act and Testimony, adopted nearly our very language in declaring against division, unless we were called upon to profess what we do not believe, or to do what we do not approve. In all this we greatly rejoiced. If they have changed, we have not. We adhere to our principles, and disclaim all co-operation in any extra-constitutional measures, until the crisis shall arrive, when we shall have to decide between a good conscience and disunion. We are well aware that many of our brethren, with whom we agree on most points, differ from us on this. Nor can we shut our eyes to the indications, which are increasing in number and significance every week, which render the disruption of our beloved church a very probable event. Its probability, however, does not render it, in our apprehension, less to be deprecated. We believe the principle to be erroneous, and fear the consequences will be disastrous. We are far from thinking, however, that the chief blame for such consequences should rest on those who feel constrained, by their regard for truth, to effect a separation, even by disruption of the church, from the advocates of error. The moral blame must rest principally upon those who have driven them to this extremity. It is such men as those who guided the casual majority of the last Assembly, who attacked principles long regarded as sacred, and threw their shield around the clearest forms of error, to protect it from the slightest censure, who are the real dividers. It is the spirit which breathes in the following summons to the work of destruction, by the author of this book: "We address ourselves to *American* Presbyterians, and ask, cannot these divisions be healed? If they have resulted from the perversion of official influence, is not that influence within the control of the church which has conferred it? May it not be arrested by the voice of her members? Has it come to this? Must the church submit to be divided and distracted by the agencies of her own appointment? We put the question to all her members." In the preceding chapters, he had endeavoured to prove that the secretaries of the Boards of Education and Missions were plotting the division of the church. These then are the agencies, which, as we understand this appeal to

American Presbyterians, are to be put down. And this call emanates from the avowed advocate of the Home Missionary Society. Is it wonderful, then, that when such a spirit is manifested in such a quarter, distrust, want of confidence, and desire of separation should arise? The writer says, p. 149, "There exists no occasion of separation excepting in the lust of power and in the unwillingness of a portion of the minority to submit to the mildest and most tolerant government." Alas! that the charge of lust of power should escape from such lips! Alas! that the "mildest government" the church is to hope for, is to be instinct with the spirit of the author of this book! Though we have our fears, we have our hopes also. We can cordially adopt the sentiment of the Synod of Kentucky, and say we earnestly deprecate the division of the church, and believe that, with the blessing of God on wise, faithful, and firm measures, such a result may be avoided. Our hope under God is founded on the conviction that the casual majority of the last Assembly, is not the majority of the church. The action of the various ecclesiastical bodies shows that, with the exception of western New-York, and the Western Reserve, the great mass of the church is opposed to the principles and spirit of the leaders of the last assembly. We believe, then, that the majority of the church is sound, and sound as Presbyterians. Secondly, we believe that the conduct of the leaders of the last Assembly has excited almost universal disapprobation; and produced a re-action which may yet prevent, even in the judgment of the most strenuous, the necessity for separation. We hope, also, that the acknowledged evils of a separation which must divide synods, presbyteries, and congregations, will produce, under the divine blessing, a spirit of moderation and concession, and render an union of views and plans of all the sincere friends of the doctrine and order of the Presbyterian church, practicable and easy.

We do not feel called upon to enter on any extended consideration of the subjects introduced in the two concluding chapters of this book. The author manifests here the same disposition to put the worst possible construction on the language and conduct of others, to present every point in the light best adapted to cast odium on his brethren, and to avail himself of all the controversial arts of a partizan writer, which characterises the other portions of his work. He represents the New-York committee as appointed for the very purpose of producing a dismemberment of the Presbyterian church, and exhausts himself in efforts to rouse against its

members the indignation of their brethren. A very short statement will be sufficient to expose the gross misrepresentation which pervades this part of his book.

The meeting at which that committee was appointed was called, as the writer himself states, by a *public* notice, given by the moderator of the Assembly, just after he had "pronounced a benediction, in which he expressed, with *apparent* sincerity and solemnity, his desire that the church might be saved from distraction, and preserved in perfect peace and unity." This must he admitted to be a very silly proceeding as preparatory to "secret machinations," and the issuing of a "*secret* circular." If, however, the gentleman concerned, had no secret purpose to effect, and contemplated no concealed mode of operation, this course was perfectly natural and proper. The man who sees plots and plans, manœuvres and machinations, on every occasion, is very much to be pitied, and very much suspected. The simple history of the matter seems to be this. The rejection of Dr. Miller's resolution, and the principles avowed in relation to that proposition, and to the appointment of a Board of Foreign Missions, produced in a large part of the Assemhly feelings of distrust, dissatisfaction and alarm. Those who entertained these feelings were naturally desirous of ascertaining each others views. It had been said on the floor of the Assembly, by Dr. Hoge, that if the majority pursued the course which they did ultimately take, it would convulse the church to the very centre. This is sufficiently indicative of the opinion and feeling which prevailed in regard to the conduct of the majority. When, under these circumstances, the minority assembled at the meeting called by the Moderator, one member proposed that a separation of the church should be immediately effected; another, that a convention should be called with that object. After these plans had heen for some time discussed, Dr. Hoge (as we are informed) rose and said that though he sympathized with his brethren in their sense of the wrong that had been done them and the church, they must remember that those present were but a small portion of the church, and, consequently, should take no step until they had ascertained the views of the brethren whom they represented. For this purpose he proposed the appointment of a central committee to correspond with the constituents of the minority. This course was acceded to, and the committee was accordingly appointed. This is substantially the account of that meeting as we have received it from persons who were

present during its proceedings. It appears, then, that this committee was not appointed to take measures for the dismemberment of the Presbyterian church; but, on the contrary, as we have no doubt, at least in regard to a large part of those who concurred in the measure, with the desire and hope that such a catastrophe might be avoided. The definite object of its appointment was to ascertain the wishes of that part of the church which disapproved of the course adopted by the factitious majority of the Assembly. The character of the gentleman who proposed the measure, and of those who were appointed on the committee, is a further evidence of the nature of the object aimed at. Accordingly, when the committee met, this was the very first point brought under discussion, and it was, we know, insisted upon by some of the members as the condition of their consenting to act, that the committee should not propose, or labour to effect a separation of the church. Such, we are assured, are still the views of the gentlemen referred to, and they do not regard themselves as having said or done any thing inconsistent with these opinions. It is not our business, however, to enter upon any extended explanation or defence of the proceedings of that committee; its members are abundantly able to take care of themselves.

Our position we feel to be difficult and delicate. On the one hand we respect and love the great mass of our old school brethren; we believe them to constitute the bone and sinews of the Presbyterian church; we agree with them in doctrine; we sympathise with them in their disapprobation and distrust of the spirit and conduct of the leaders of the opposite party, and we harmonize with them in all the great leading principles of ecclesiastical policy, though we differ from a portion of them, how large or how small that portion may be we cannot tell, as to the propriety and wisdom of some particular measures. They have a right to cherish and to express their opinions, and to endeavour to enforce them on others by argument and persuasion, and so have we. They exercise that right, and so must we.* They, we verily be-

* We speak, of course, as the conductors of a periodical work devoted to the defence of the truth and order of the Presbyterian church. Our author intimates, on p. 48, that there is some great impropriety in the gentlemen connected with the literary institutions in this place, undertaking to conduct such a work. We feel that there are some infelicities attending this course, but we cannot see its impropriety. If the time of pastors is so occupied with other duties, or if their studies are of such a kind as to indispose them for the labour of con-

lieve, have no selfish end in view. We are knowingly operating under the stress of conscience, against all our own in-

ducting such a work, who are to do it, if the officers of our literary institutions do not undertake it? Are our doctrines to be left without any vindication from misrepresentation and attack? May the Unitarian professors of Cambridge, the professors of New Haven, the Baptists at Newton, the Congregationalists at Andover, (whence the Repository for a long time issued,) all have their periodicals, and must orthodox Presbyterians be silent? We understand that even Dr. Peters, secretary of the Home Missionary Society, was so impressed with the necessity of having an organ for the dissemination and defence of his own views, as to make great exertions during the recent meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at Hartford, to have a new periodical started in New York. We infer from what is said in the last number of the Biblical Repository, now the American Biblical Repository, that instead of instituting a new enterprise, he and his friends are to avail themselves of that work. It is now to be issued from New York, and Dr. Peters is prominent among its contributors. It is to advocate specially voluntary societies, and is to be biblical, in distinction from sectarian, in its theology. Now, so far from thinking this wrong in Dr. Peters, because he occupies a public station, we think it right, and are glad to see it. We wish every great interest, or mode of thinking in the church, to have its organ. We want to know where to look for an avowal and support of the opinions which any class of our brethren may entertain. There is only one point about which we are disposed to feel any regret. The Repository is a New England work, it was such in its origin, and is so still. Its editor is a Congregationalist, resident in Boston. That such a work is to become the organ of any particular division in the Presbyterian church we think rather unhappy. We are anxious to see peace and love prevail between the New England brethren and our own denomination. And for this reason we are desirous that the one party should not interfere with the affairs of the other. If our New England brethren prefer voluntary associations and new divinity, let them enjoy their preference with all freedom, but do not let them attempt to force it upon us. That they should transfer one of their most able periodicals to New York, still retaining the control of it, for the purpose of taking sides in our internal disputes, we cannot consider as either wise or decorous. The editor gives us a list of his contributors, of whom fourteen are in New England, and the remainder, excepting Dr. Schmucker, are new school Presbyterians. This combination proves two things: first, that Dr. Peters and his friends feel that they cannot fight their own battles, or sustain themselves without foreign aid; and secondly, that a portion of our New England brethren are determined to make common cause with our new school party. If they wish to divide our church, this is the very way to effect it. That the Repository is not to be backward in taking sides in our internal differences, is apparent from this very number. We have an extended argument, from the pen of the editor, against ecclesiastical organizations; an article on the Law of Paradise, the name of whose author is, "by particular request," withheld; though it might as well have been given, as there is but one man in the country, who has retained so much of his college style as to say that the crime of our first parents "*whelmed* in ruin the whole human race." In this article we have not only gross, but perfectly silly misrepresentations of the doctrine of imputation. The writer tells us, "The whole narrative is against the supposition which has been made by many, that Eve was guilty in this affair only because the sin of Adam was imputed to her. That this opinion should have ever been held may appear strange and incredible. Yet it has been so held; and, indeed, it is indispensable to the doctrine that the sin of Adam is

terests, so far as they are not involved in the interests of the church of God.

imputed to his posterity." We have then a long argument to prove that Eve sinned personally, and not by imputation only, in eating the forbidden fruit. Contempt, we know, is a very unchristian feeling when exercised towards *persons*, but we hope it is not always wrong when exercised towards *things*, otherwise few men, or children either, can read such statements without greatly sinning. If this is a specimen of the manner in which the League propose to write down Presbyterian doctrines, we have small reason for alarm. In preceding numbers of the Repository, there have been several extended articles against the doctrine of the imputation of either sin or righteousness. In one of these the writer frankly states that the design of his piece was, "to show, in the first place, that the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's perfect righteousness to believers as the ground of their justification, has its origin neither in the Scriptures nor in remote ecclesiastical antiquity." It is really melancholy to see Christians in this country fighting the battles of Rationalism; uttering the very sentiments about the Reformation and its doctrines, against which the pious and devoted little band of believers in Germany are contending. In a review of a "Commentary for Preachers," in a recent number of the *Evang. Kirchen Zeitung*, edited by Prof. Hengstenberg of Berlin, we were struck with the following passage. The reviewer quotes from the commentary this sentence, "He alone is righteous before God, who is righteous in himself. An imputed righteousness is moral nonsense, (ein moralisches Unding) and contains a *contradictio in adjecto;*" on which the reviewer remarks: "Herr Hulsmann (the author) then does not know the fundamental doctrine of the gospel, the very spring of life from which the Reformation arose." The writer in the Repository informs us in the article just referred to, that Neander attributes the rise of neology in Germany "to dead orthodoxy," and by a strange perversion of mind, he seems to find in this a warrant for attacking orthodoxy. Why does he not attack the DEADNESS? The orthodoxy did no harm. Why must he assault the very doctrine which pious Germans are now contending for as for their lives? Why must he labour against them and with their opponents? If we know any thing of the opinions and feelings of German Christians, the theology of the Repository and New Haven Spectator would be denounced and rejected by them as Pelagian and neological in its tendency, with more decision than it ever has been in this country.

It must certainly excite surprise that the men who in our church have so recently and solemnly declared their belief of the doctrines which the Repository assails, should make that work their chosen organ. We have no right to infer from this fact that they are insincere in their professions, but we cannot avoid the inference that they attach no value to these doctrines. Why else should they lend their sanction to a work, and endeavour to increase its influence, which is the great instrument of assault against them? So long as the Repository remained in its proper sphere, no one could complain of its conductors taking what course they pleased. But when they transfer it to our church, and make it the organ of one of our parties, it assumes a new position. Though it is apparent enough that the Repository is to be devoted to the new-school interests, we are at a loss to know what form of doctrine it is to represent. Every such work, to have either significancy or effect, must have a basis of its own, and represent some form of theological opinion. Thus the Examiner rests on Unitarianism; the Spectator on New Havenism; the Theological Review on old New England divinity; the Repertory on old Calvinism. But what is the Repository to rest upon? Perhaps on Christianity in the general. The editor says, "The theological character which will be stamped on the work, it is

The portion of our brethren to whom we here refer, believe that presbyterianism has been tried long enough, that every effort that ought to be made has been made in vain, in the regular exercise of our system, to rid the church of error and disorder, and therefore that the time has come to resort to extra-constitutional measures for the accomplishment of this object. If they are right here, they are right in all they do and in all they propose. If they are wrong here, they are wrong in all their deductions from this assumption. When the thirteen American provinces became satisfied that the time had arrived when they ought to be separated from the mother country, they were right in all the measures which they took to accomplish the object, though these measures were avowedly in themselves unconstitutional and revolutionary. Those members also of the southern states, who believe that the protection of their own rights and interests calls for disunion, would be justifiable in labouring to affect it, if their primary assumption be correct. In other words, there are occasions when it is proper and wise for the members of any society to resort to the right of revolution. The only question, as it regards our church is, has such an occasion yet arrived? If it has, then let us have combination, conventions, and whatever else is necessary to do the work effectually and well. But if it has not, then all extra-constitutional measures are not only unwise, but wrong, not in policy merely, but in morals. Here then is a point on which every man is bound to be fully persuaded in his own mind. It is a question of conscience and personal duty. We do not believe that an occasion for revolution has occurred. Assuming even the principle on which these brethren proceed, that when the majority of a church becomes corrupt, so as to prevent the

hoped, will be distinctively and eminently *biblical*. In this way, it is conceived, it may find currency in all parts of the Union, and avoid being identified with a mere sect or party." Does this mean, that in the judgment of the conductors of this work, no theological opinion, which distinguishes one Christian sect from another, is *biblical*, or has its foundation in the Bible? Is this work to be the advocate of that general theology, which embraces nothing in which Calvinists, Arminians, and Pelagians, are not agreed? If so, it must rest upon indifferentism, and represent the sect of anti-sectarians. By the way, we see that the very first meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Union, (at least, the first of which we ever heard,) ended in disunion. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Dowling, of the Baptist church, and by President Mahan and Dr. Skinner, of the Presbyterian church. The two latter gentlemen expressed sentiments, which convinced the former, that he, as a conscientious Baptist, could have nothing to do with them. (See Evangelist, Jan. 7, 1837). Thus ended this vision. We shall see what will come of the anti-sectarian theology.

ejection of errorists by the regular exercise of discipline, it is the duty of the minority to secede, we deny that any sufficient evidence has yet been afforded that such is the case with regard to our own church. The failure of one case of discipline, under any circumstances, would hardly be sufficient evidence of such a fact. And in the case of Mr. Barnes there are three considerations, which show that his restoration is no adequate proof of the defection of the church. The first is, that the final decision was had when one of the largest and most orthodox synods was excluded from the Assembly; the second, that the trial in the lower court was, in the judgment of some of our oldest and soundest men, unconstitutionally conducted; and the third, that Mr. Barnes, even in the judgment of his opponents, retracted all his offensive opinions. A failure under these circumstances should not produce even discouragement, much less despair or violence. We say then, that it has not been made out that the church is so corrupt that the regular exercise of discipline is inadequate for its purification. The action of our several ecclesiastical bodies, since the rising of the Assembly, shows, as we have already remarked, that with the exception of the Congregationalized portions of New York and the Western Reserve, and of here and there a detached presbytery, the church is substantially of one mind. That such a church should be rent asunder, and split, no one can tell into how many fragments, is enough to make dispassionate men wonder and weep. Believing such separation to be wrong in principle, and fraught with calamities which no one can foresee or estimate, we should be recreant to every principle of duty if we did not say so. Those who think differently, must act differently. To their own master they stand or fall. We conclude this article, therefore, as we concluded our former one on the same subject, with the full and frank expression of our own opinion, knowing that we neither have nor ought to have the slightest influence beyond the weight due to the considerations by which that opinion is supported. While these are our views of this momentous subject, we not only must submit, but are ready to submit cheerfully to the majority of our brethren. If they think the church ought to be divided, they will of course effect the division. And on the other hand, if the majority of those who are admitted to be sound, are against a division, we think the duty of submission, on the part of those who may differ from them, is no less clear. Our prayer is, that God would imbue his people abundantly with the spirit of wisdom and meekness.

THE

BIBLICAL REPERTORY

AND

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The Repertory has been in existence about ten years, and its great excellence is acknowledged. But although its patrons are increasing, it has not yet met that support which it deserves, and *needs*, in order that the objects of its publication may be secured. This circumstance is supposed to be owing to the fact that the attention of ministers and laymen of the Presbyterian Church has not been adequately called to the work. If the merits of the Repertory were known, and properly appreciated, it is believed that few, if any, intelligent clergymen or laymen would be willing to be without it. It is the only journal of the kind in this country whose aim is to defend and illustrate the doctrines and polity of the Presbyterian Church: that this has been done with ability, those will testify who have long been subscribers.

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The following resolution of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, is subjoined:—

"Resolved, That this Synod (of South Carolina and Georgia) do earnestly recommend to its ministers, elders, and members, a Quarterly Review entitled the Biblical Repertory, published at Princeton, and supporting the peculiar doctrines, discipline, and government of our church."

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