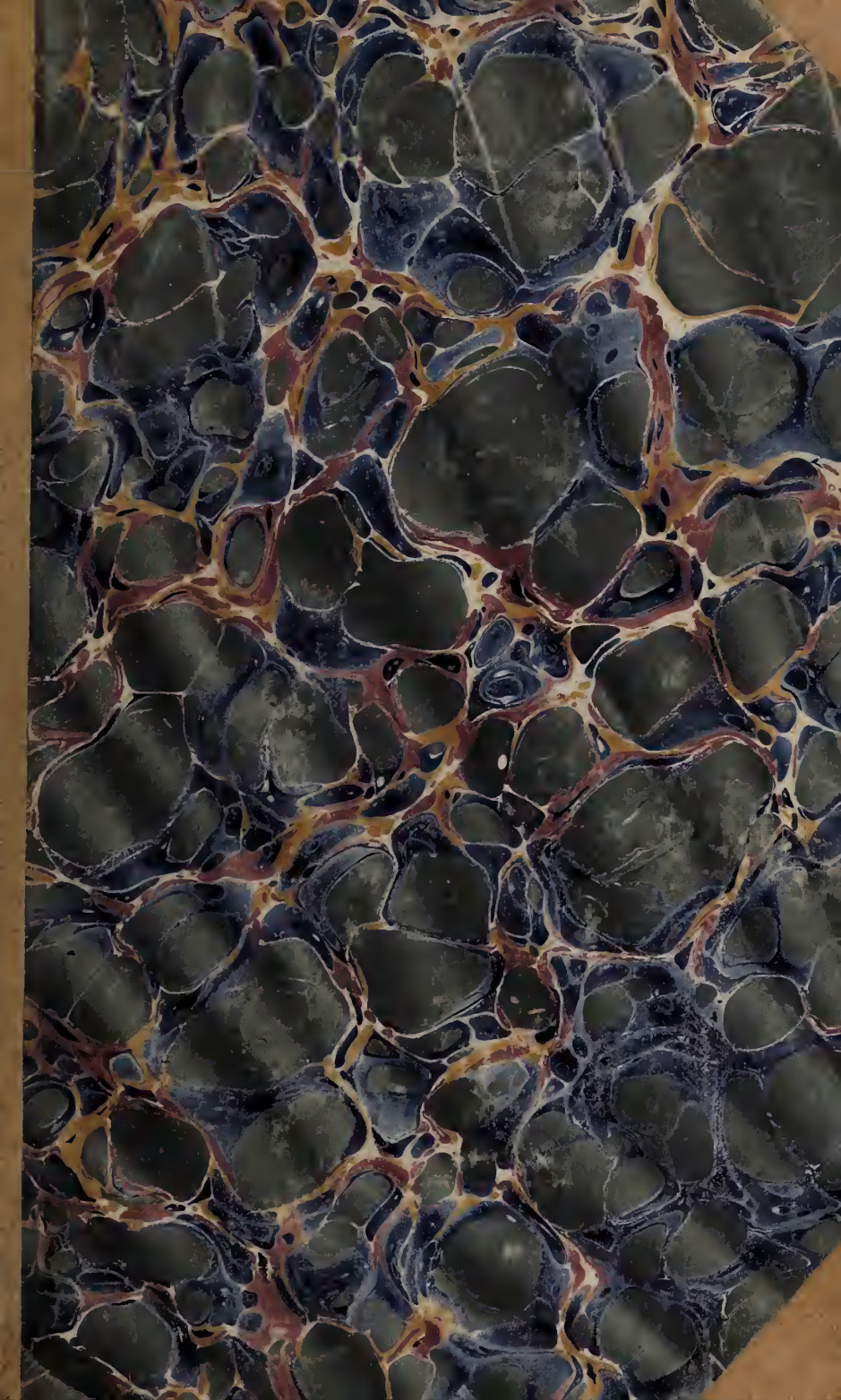

Endorsement

RECOMMENDATION.

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 as the Biblical Repertory 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.

JULY 1838.

No. III.

ART. I.—*The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By William Tyndale, the Martyr. The Original Edition*, 1526, *being the first vernacular translation from the Greek. With a Memoir of his Life and Writings. To which are annexed, the essential variations of Coverdale's, Thomas Matthew's, Cranmer's, the Genevan, and the Bishops' Bibles, as marginal readings.* By J. P. Dabney. Andover: printed and published by Gould & Newman; from the London edition of Bagster. New York: corner of Fulton and Nassau Streets. 1837. 8vo.

THE first printed translation of the Scripture into English was the New Testament of William Tyndale. The first published translation, however, was that of Wickliffe. But it was published, as were all other books of that remote period, only in manuscript. There appears to have been little or no connexion between Wickliffe's translation and those which succeeded. It was made from the Latin, and between it and Tyndale's there occurred the long interval of a century and a half. But from Tyndale onwards there was an almost continuous series of praiseworthy efforts to render perfect the English translation of the Scriptures, giving birth successively to Coverdale's in 1535, Matthew's in 1537, Cran-

mer's and Taverner's in 1539, the Geneva Bible in 1560, and Parker's or the Bishops' Bible in 1568, and resulting at last in that noble version, made by order of king James, which soon threw into disuse all its predecessors, and which has reigned ever since, unrivalled and alone. All these successive translations, thus crowded into the space of little more than half a century, though made by men skilful in the original tongues, yet purposely conformed each to the phraseology of its predecessor, so far as was supposed to be consistent with propriety of expression or fidelity to the original. They all therefore bear a strong family likeness, and their authors stand out in bold relief as a noble band of fellow-labourers, who, though separated in time and independent in action, yet combined to the production of one glorious result.

Tyndale lived to publish only his New Testament. He had in readiness for the press, however, nearly all the historical parts of the Old Testament, and was preparing to give his countrymen the whole Bible in their own tongue. Though he lived not to see his great design complete, yet he had the singular honour of giving them the first vernacular translation of the New Testament from the Greek. His labours were made the groundwork, more or less directly, of all the subsequent efforts, and enter largely into the composition of our present English Bible.

The copies of Tyndale's Testament have become exceedingly scarce, particularly of the earlier editions, and of the first edition it is believed only two copies are in existence, one very imperfect and defective, the other complete and in a beautiful state of preservation in possession of the Baptist college at Bristol. It was therefore a highly commendable undertaking in Mr. Offor, the English editor, to give the public in 1836 an exact reprint from this Bristol copy, together with a valuable memoir of the venerable author's life. The publication before us professes to be a reprint of the English work (the Memoir somewhat abridged), together with a short preface, an historical notice of the six translations which intervened between Tyndale's and James', and, at the foot of the page, the *various readings*, or passages which any or all of those "ante-James translators" rendered differently from Tyndale.

This last is a very important feature of the publication and sufficient to constitute it a new work. It is in fact to give not Tyndale's translation merely, but a sort of polyglot of all that family of translations of which he was the illustrious proge-

nitor. To form an idea of the value of such a design, if adequately accomplished, it is only necessary to recollect the extreme scarcity of these Bibles. It is next to impossible, perhaps in this country entirely impossible, for an individual at any expense to obtain access to them all, so as to be able to compare them side by side and to judge of the progress of the language and of the merits of the different translators; and it would have supplied a great desideratum if the publishers had at once enlarged the book and given these translations in full in parallel columns, in the manner in which polyglots are usually printed. To give them, as is professed to be done in this volume, by means of variations printed at the bottom of the page, is indeed practicable, but requires extreme care and accuracy on the part of the editor. And such a work, though not so desirable as the one suggested above, would yet have afforded materials for independent criticism to those who had not access to the ancient copies. This appears to us the obvious design of a publication of this sort, and, to be of any practical utility, the variations should be given line for line and word for word, just as they occur. This however the editor thinks too laborious and hypercritical, and prefers giving them only "for substance."

"In the notation of various readings from the versions here embraced, *infra lineam*, regard has in the main been had only to essential differences, i. e. to differences in sense: to have extended it to particles and phrases, except when these had a bearing on the whole texture of the verse, would have been tedious to the collator, unasked for by readers, and encumbering to the work."

This course may have been less "tedious to the collator," but to our mind it detracts materially from the value of the work. The reader, who wishes to form an independent opinion as to the merits and peculiarities of the different translations, is no better off than before. He has not the means of judging for himself, but is obliged to rely on the judgment of the editor as to what constitutes "essential differences."

What qualifications the editor brought to the task we have no means of judging except from the book itself. He does not in the outset create any prepossession in his favour by the general tone of disparagement which he uses towards the received version. He mourns over it as something "which is for ever entailed on the English community of both continents; and this, without the faintest hope of any future revision." He speaks of it as "so often and so strangely admired, like—if it be not rather *un*like—the bird in the fable,

for borrowed plumage, and praised, as if an independent translation, for virtues not its own." "We are apt to speak of the advantage, in some walks of authorship (as in that before us), to a later work, from the number of models and guides in kindred enterprises that preceded; and to find an apology for the defects of an earlier one, in having an unbeaten path to travel. But when we turn in the present instance to look at the results, we are well nigh tempted to suspect that in our mother-tongue at least the order of biblical translation has, by some chance, been inverted." He calls Tyndale "the *only* independent translator." He speaks of "the Received Version (*so called*)," and says "its nursing-fathers of the throne and the hierarchy urged it into circulation among an unwilling people." And, after quoting English opinions to the effect "that James's translators have less merit than any of their predecessors," that they "did little more than copy the Genevan version," that this last "is not so absurdly literal as the one in common use," and is "altogether the best English version that has yet appeared;" "he ventures to say further,—that of the very few among us, whose peculiar turn of mind and course of studies warrants them to speak to this point, and yet more, warrants them to be heard, he knows of no one who fails to coincide with the trans-atlantic testimonies already cited." Now we may not be of the number of "the critical few" who are entitled to be heard, still we may venture to affirm that such sentiments as these do not commend the author to us as one in whose judgment implicit confidence can be placed, as to what constitute "essential differences" of reading. Nor is our estimate of his qualifications for the task increased by the confused manner in which the various readings are designated, as explained in pp. vi. and vii. of the Preface.

"There are some readers, it is not unlikely, who will need instructions towards the profitable use of the Notes. The citations, as all know, stand in lieu of the words following the same numbers in the text. They are extended (whenever the case would permit,) until the versions above and below again meet: where this was inconvenient, the ordinary rules of grammar and syntax, it is hoped, will make it clear how far the marginal substitute is to run, at the first glance, or on a slight comparison. The meaning may occasionally not be so clear in respect to insets, i. e. notes within notes. They occur only where two or more authorities are affixed to the same citation; and the inset in crotchets denotes that one of these authorities varies from the others as to a word or clause of the fragment common to them. The clause or word within the crotchets—as an uniform rule—answers to that which directly precedes it. Perhaps it will occasionally relieve uncertainty and doubt, to say, that where the inset is meant to stand for *all* the antecedent part of the citation, it begins, (and then only), like the principal note itself, with a capital. But in

relation to the notes and the dilemmas they may sometimes create, there can, as a general advice be no greater convenience than the open page of the familiar scriptures; with whose phraseology, the marginal citations, especially if from the Genevan or Bishops, will be so apt to correspond. Crotchets in the text show the extent of the omission by the version referred to below. The reference *post* [i. e. afterwards] signifies that the authority before it, repeats the specified expression once or oftener again in the chapter, if in answer to the same word in the list."

It is not customary in regard to works of this kind to remark upon mere matters of style. But where the editor adopts such a principle of collation as to make the whole question turn upon his taste and judgment, it becomes in a manner necessary. There are faults, however, upon which it is both painful and idle to dwell. The want of grammatical English seems to preclude all criticism upon any thing higher. We throw into a note, therefore, a few sentences from the prefatory part, leaving it to the reader to decide, whether the man who writes thus is the one to sit in judgment upon different versions, and to speak so contemptuously as he does of the one in common use.*

These remarks, it will be seen, apply only to the marginal readings which accompany the American reprint, and which were supposed to give it such a superiority over the English edition. And had those readings been given in a manner that would have furnished the basis of intelligent criticism, and by an editor, whose taste, scholarship and reputation would have inspired the necessary confidence, they would undoubtedly have possessed an interest and importance fully equal to that of the original work. As it is, we cannot but regard much of the labour that has been bestowed upon the

* "The honour of giving to the public the first complete English Bible, was reserved for Miles Coverdale; and who thus divides in some sort with his predecessor Tyndale, that interest and reverence with posterity, which we naturally yield to the other, as the great pioneer of a forlorn hope."—p. 85.

"The noted test of the heavenly witnesses (John v. 7.) appears within crotchets: it may [here be anticipated to say, in this connexion, that the same remark applies to the Bibles of Cranmer and Taverner."—p. 86.

"In the marginal readings of the present work, it will be apparent how often they are found together and alone; and the deference, with which the later treads in the steps of the earlier work."—p. 90.

"Coverdale, to whose name the reader has now become familiar, had in Edward's reign returned to England," &c.—p. 92.

"Of the works noticed in the present sketch, the rarity of some of them, in this country at least, exceeds that of almost all other books in the language."—p. 92.

"It may be doubted where shall we seek for one, who has taken a wider survey or pursued a more minute comparison of most of the modern versions of Europe."—p. 94.

American edition, as nearly thrown away. The preface, and historical notice of the early versions, are trashy in the extreme; and the readings of those versions are rendered comparatively useless by the principles upon which they have been introduced. Still, after every abatement, the publication is one of high interest. The New Testament of Tyndale is in itself a remarkable performance. It has, too, the enviable peculiarity of being the first ever printed in our vernacular language. Its phraseology enters largely, as we said before, into the composition of our present version, and through it into the mass of English literature, and the language of common life. We hail its reprint, therefore, as an evidence of good taste, and as a valuable addition to theological literature. Its language now more than three centuries old, will make it interesting to the philologist; its well written biographical details cannot fail to be acceptable to the general reader; its presence in a theological library should be considered as almost indispensable; while its typographical beauty render it fit for any place.

The translation of Tyndale, we said, was in itself a remarkable production. Six or seven independent translations succeeded, made by men of learning and ability, and some by large companies of learned men, and with years of labour. And yet the reader will be surprised to find how few places it was found necessary to correct or improve in this first attempt which formed the groundwork of their successive labours. In proof of this assertion, almost any page may be adduced with confidence. To make the experiment fairly to those who are not used to this kind of reading, it will be necessary to strip it of its black-letter type and its ancient orthography. The same, let it be remarked, is done in regard to our present version, the orthography of which is by no means the same as when the translation was first made. King James' version, by its universal adoption and use, did much, no doubt, to fix the orthography of the language, before extremely unsettled, and the changes in this respect were much less in the two centuries which followed than in the half century preceding; still many changes have been made since that time in the spelling of numerous words, and the Bible has been made to correspond in this respect with the mass of other books. But to proceed with the promised quotation, which we take from the third chapter of Colossians, and which we give in modern type and spelling.

"If ye be then risen again with Christ seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ which is our life shall show himself, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.

"Mortify therefore your members which are on the earth, fornication, uncleanness, unnatural lust, evil concupiscence, and covetousness which is worshipping of idols: for which things' sakes the wrath of God falleth on the children of unbelief. In which things ye walked once, when ye lived in them.

"But now put ye also away from you all things, wrath, fierceness, maliciousness, cursed speaking, filthy speaking out of your mouths. Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his works, and have put on the new, which is renewed in knowledge of God, after the image of him that made him, where is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarous or Scythian, bond or free: but Christ is all in all things.

"Now therefore as elect of God, holy and beloved, put on tender mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another (if any man have a quarrel to another) even as Christ forgave you, even so do ye. Above all these things put on love, which is the bond of perfectness, and the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which peace ye are called in one body: and see that ye be thankful.

"Let the word of God dwell in you plenteously in all wisdom. Teach and exhort your ownselves, in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs which have favour with them, singing in your hearts to the Lord. And all things (whatsoever ye do in word or deed) do in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father by him."

Now let it be remembered that the above extract is from the first attempt to translate from the original, made by an unaided and persecuted individual, in a foreign land, more than three centuries ago.

The peculiarities of Tyndale's version we hope to have another opportunity of discussing. All that is proposed at present is to give some very brief sketches of the life of this distinguished reformer.

William Tyndale was born at Hunt's Court, Gloucestershire, about the year 1477. At an early age he went to the University of Oxford, where he soon evinced that fondness for the scriptures which was the most prominent trait in his character. He was a diligent and successful student, and made such proficiency in learning that he read and expounded the New Testament together with sundry topics of divinity to his fellow students. While still at the University of Oxford, more than twenty years before he set about printing his New Testament, he began translating the scriptures into English, and the specimens of this juvenile attempt that are quoted, show a most extraordinary degree of proficiency and skill. The original autograph of these translations is in the possession of Mr. Offor, the English biographer. "It is in quarto, the margins ornamented with borders, and each por-

tion accompanied with a drawing in imitation of some ancient missal. His initials W. T. occur in many places, and on two of the ornamental pillars he has placed the date, 1502; the capital of one having an inscription preceding the date,—TIME TRIETH, 1502." Even so early as this he seems to have felt himself to be an obnoxious man. A scroll in one of the ornaments of this manuscript contains this striking inscription, "*Defend me, O Lord, from all them that hait me. W. T.*" His early proficiency in translating may be estimated by comparing an extract from this college performance with a corresponding extract from his matured work published twenty-three years later.

MS. of 1502.

"And one of the Pharises desired him that he wolde eate withe him. And he wente into the Pharises house; and sat downe to meate. And beholde a woman in that cytie (whiche was a sinner) as soone as she knewe that Jesus sat at meate in the Pharases house, she brought an alblaster boxe of oyntment, and stoode at his fete behynde him wepynge: and began to wasshe his fete withe teares, and dyd wype them withe the heeres of her heade: an kissed his fete, and anoynted them withe the oyntment. When the Pharise whiche had bydden him, sawe, he spake within himselfe, saynge, yf this man were a prophet, he wolde surely knowe who, and what maner of woman this is that touched him; for she is a sinner. And Jesus answered, an saide vnto him: Simon, I haue somwhat to saye vnto the. And he saide. Master, say on."

First Edition, 1526.

"And one of the pharyses desired hym that he wolde eate with hym. And he cam in to the pharises housse, and sate doune to meate. And beholde a woman in that cite, which was a synner, as sone as she knewe that Jesus sate at meate in the pharises housse, she brought an alablaster boxe of oyntment, and she stode at his fete, behynde hym wepynge, and began to wesshe his fete, with teares, and did wipe them with the heares off her heed, and kyssed his fete, and anoynted them with oyntment.

"When the pharisee which bade hym to his housse, sawe that, he spake with in hym sylfe: sayinge: Yf this man wer a prophet, he wolde surely have knowen who and what maner woman this is which toucheth him, for she is a synner. And Jesus answered, and sayde vnto hym: Simon I have somwhat to say vnto the. And he sayd: Master saye on."

After acquiring much celebrity at Oxford, he went to Cambridge also, for the purpose of "increasing more and more in learning, and being ripened in the knowledge of God's word." In Cambridge he met with that zealous and eminent reformer, John Frith. Frith was considerably younger than Tyndale, but the similarity of their tastes and feelings brought them much together, and laid the foundation of that lasting friendship which subsisted between them.

In 1502 Tyndale was ordained at the conventual church of the priory of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, and in 1508 he took the vows and became a friar in the monastery at Greenwich. Of this part of his life little is known. In

the "Parable of the wicked Mammon," which he published twenty years afterward, he alludes to his having been "a brother of Greenwich." A curious memorandum has recently been found in a book belonging to the Cathedral library of St. Paul's. The book is the "Sermons de Herolt," printed 1495, and appears to have been given to the monastery by Tyndale's father, and to have found its way into the present library on the dissolution of the monastery. The memorandum is this: "Charitably pray for the soul of John Tyndale, who gave this book to the monastery of Greenwich of the observance of the minor brothers, on the day that brother William, his son, made his profession, in the year 1508."

Tyndale did not continue long as a friar. The first we hear of him, after his leaving the community, is in his native county, where he engaged as chaplain and private tutor to the family of Sir John Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, famed for his liberality and good cheer. The worthy knight's table was much frequented by the neighbouring clergy, and the conversation often fell very naturally upon the subject of Luther and his new doctrines, and various controverted topics of scripture, which Tyndale, from his previous studies and turn of mind, was much more competent to discuss than his clerical companions. So apt was he with his quotations from the scriptures, so hard did he press them with his quick replies and pertinent arguments, that they finally chose, in Fuller's quaint phrase, "to forbear Master Welch's good cheer, rather than to have the sour sauce therewith, Master Tyndale's company." The story is told with so much pith by the honest martyrologist, Fox, and is withal so characteristic of the times, that we cannot refrain from quoting the passage entire. "Leaving the university, he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children, and in good favour with his master. This gentleman, as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him sundry Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, with divers other Doctors, and great beneficed men; who there together with Master Tyndale sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication and talk of learned men, as of Luther, and of Erasmus; also of divers other controversies and questions of the scripture. Then Master Tyndale, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought: and when as they at any time did vary from

Tyndale in opinions and judgment, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him." Unable therefore to contend with Tyndale, and yet unwilling to lose ground with so good a host as Sir John, they sought an opportunity of prejudicing him in private against doctrines, which it was easy to perceive would hurt their craft and perhaps break up their comfortable quarters. Accordingly, "not long after this, it happened that certain of these great doctors invited Master Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying." These representations made some impression on the minds of the good knight and his lady, especially the latter, who seems to have been disposed to regard it as presumptuous in a poor schoolmaster, like Tyndale, to set up his opinion against that of such *wealthy* doctors. So "Master Welch and his wife, coming home and calling for Master Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters, whereof the priests had talked before at their banquet, [and] Master Tyndale, answering by scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions." Then said the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman, (as Tyndale reported) "Well, said she, there was such a doctor which may dispend an hundred pounds [a year], and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what, were it reason, think you that we should believe you before them?" Tyndale discreetly made no reply; but relying upon the good sense of his patrons, when approached in a way that did not interfere with their prejudices, set about translating the Enchiridion of Erasmus, a work prepared by that eminent scholar and reformer to set forth the insufficiency of masses, fasts, vigils, pilgrimages, &c. in the matter of salvation and the necessity of regeneration and holiness of heart. Having completed the translation of this little manual, he presented it to the knight and his lady, and in this quiet unobtrusive way gained an impartial attention to the same arguments which, delivered by himself and in the heat of controversy, would have had no effect. The result may be conjectured. "The doctorly prelates," says Fox, "were no more so often called to the house, neither

had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had." The priests, therefore, foiled in their attempt to lessen Tyndale in the estimation of his employer, adopted every means of annoyance and vexation to make, if possible, his own county "too hot" for him, and thus drive him away. "Flocking together to the ale-house (for that was their preaching place) they raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy, adding, moreover, unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake." They even had him arraigned before the Bishop's Chancellor (lawyer or justice), who, although no accuser dared to appear, yet "threatened him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog." "The grudge of the priests increasing more and more against Tyndale, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many sore things to his charge, saying that he was an heretic in sophistry, an heretic in logic, an heretic in divinity." The account which Tyndale himself gives of these country worthies, accords well with the previous statements—"a sort of unlearned priests, being full rude and ignorant, God knoweth: which have seen no more Latin than that only which they read in their Portesses and Missals (which yet many of them can scarcely read), except it be Albertus de secretis mulierum, in which, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another [work] called Linwood, a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of Holy Church, to discharge their consciences withal." Having such men to deal with, and finding that his further stay in Gloucestershire would be not only vexatious to himself, but troublesome and perhaps dangerous to his friends, he resolved to withdraw entirely from that part of the country. It was not however without one memorable incident. "It was not long after, but Master Tyndale happened to be in company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, he made him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said; we were better to be without God's laws than the pope's. Master Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said; I defy the pope, and all his laws," and then added the memorable saying, "If God spare my life, ere many

YEARS, I WILL CAUSE A BOY THAT DRIVETH THE PLOUGH TO KNOW MORE OF THE SCRIPTURES THAN YOU DO."

How amply he redeemed this noble pledge, we shall see hereafter. Leaving Gloucestershire Tyndale went to London, and after preaching awhile in the suburbs, applied to Cuthbert Tunstall, then bishop of London, in the hope of obtaining some situation in his palace that might afford him a subsistence and leisure at the same time to pursue his biblical studies. It is stated that he brought to Tunstall a letter of introduction from Erasmus. Be that as it may, he did not choose to rely upon it only, but brought with him evidence of his learning that could not be gainsayed. Tunstall, according to Fuller, "was a great scholar himself, and therefore probable to prove a patron to a learned man. Him Tyndale presented in vain with an oration out of Isocrates, which he had translated into English. But though he sued for himself in two tongues, Greek and English, both proved ineffectual, the bishop returning, "That he had more already than he could well maintain." Tyndale's amiable disposition, however, seems to have made him friends wherever he went. Accordingly it was not long before he met with a worthy alderman, Humphrey Monmouth, the counterpart of the good Gloucestershire knight. This Monmouth, when afterwards arraigned for heresy on the ground of his temporary connexion with Tyndale, gave this curious account of his guest. The document was found by Mr. Offor among the Harleian collection of State Papers. "Upon three years and a half past, and more, I heard the foresaid Sir William preach two or three sermons, at St. Dunstans in the west, in London, and after that I chanced to meet with him, and with communication I examined him what living he had, he said, none at all, but he trusted to be with my lord of London in his service, and therefore I had the better fancy to him. And afterward he went to my lord and spake to him, as he told me, and my lord of London answered him that he had chaplains enough, and he said to him that he would have no more at that time, and so the priest came to me again, and besought me to help him, and so I took him in my house half a year, and there he lived like a good priest as me thought, he studied most part of the day and of the night at his book, and he would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small single beer; I never saw him wear linen about him in the space he was with me; I did promise him ten pounds sterling to pray for my father, mother, their

souls, and all Christian souls. I did pay it him when he made his exchange to Hamboro'. When I heard my lord of London preach at Powles Cross that Sir William Tyndale had translated the New Testament in English, and was noughtely translated, that was the first time that ever I suspected or knew any evil by him, and shortly all the letters and treaties that he sent me with divers copies of books that my servant did write, and the sermons that the priest did make at St. Dunstans, I did burn them in my house, he that did write them did see it. I did burn them for fear of the translator more than for any ill that I knew by them."

As was the case with the other Reformers, light broke in upon Tyndale's mind very gradually. He had by this time, however, become fully convinced of the necessity of a thorough reform in the church. The first step towards this was to give the people the scriptures; and for this Tyndale was now ready. But the attempt to print, as circumstances afterwards showed, would have brought both the author and his book together to the flames.

The arbitrary and tyrannical character of Henry VIII. is well known, as also how little he was disposed for any reformation beyond the transfer of the supreme ecclesiastical power from the pope's hands into his. All too are familiar with the fierce, unrelenting persecutions of Tunstall, Gardiner and the other bishops opposed to reform, and the haughty domination of that proud and powerful ecclesiastic, Cardinal Wolsey. To this list of persecutors we are pained to add the name of the learned and witty Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. The author of "Utopia" was a strange compound of kindness and cruelty, of seriousness and jest. We have, from some cause, always been accustomed to look upon the favourable side of his character, and to see in him only the eminent scholar, the amiable philanthropist, the enlightened statesman. The examination into which this work has led, has brought a painful revulsion of feeling. The opponent of Tyndale appears as a fierce and bigoted polemic, who wrote nine volumes (most of them in folio) of the most virulent controversy, and who persecuted the poor reformer with a relentless zeal that led a contemporary to compare him to a hunted hare with twenty brace of greyhounds after him. He even directed it to be inscribed upon his tomb as a part of his epitaph. "*Furibus, Homicidis, Haereticisque molestus*"—"a passing good praise," says Fuller, "save, after the way which he there calleth heresy, pious people worship

the God of their fathers." With such men to wield the arm of power, civil and ecclesiastical, Tyndale found it necessary to leave his native land, and complete abroad his long cherished purpose. There were at this time resident at various cities on the continent, numerous English merchants of wealth and influence, who, together with those of their own class at home, were generally disposed to favour the doctrines of the Reformation. The necessary commercial intercourse between these merchants and their friends in England, gave to Luther and the other Reformers on the continent a channel of communication and influence against which Henry and his ministers strove in vain. Tyndale resolved therefore to go abroad, where even the long arm of Wolsey and Henry might not reach him, and there printing without molestation his Testament and his other writings, trust to these pious merchants for their diffusion among his beloved countrymen. Towards the close of the year 1523, therefore, being now about forty-five years of age, he left England never to return; and during the remaining thirteen years of his life he was engaged in a series of labours and sufferings the most harassing for the good of that land from which he had made himself a voluntary exile.

Tyndale sailed directly to Hamburgh, whence he soon after proceeded to Saxony to see and confer with Luther, with whom he remained some time. Although he went to several other places, he settled down eventually at Antwerp, where he became chaplain to a company of English merchants. There is some strange confusion as to dates; but the London Christian Observer, in a very elaborate and able article on the life and writings of Tyndale, makes it evident that the first edition of his New Testament was printed at Wittemburg in the year 1525. In getting it ready for the press, he was assisted by his friend Frith, and William Roy, another Englishman then on the continent. Having printed the New Testament, he proceeded to translate the Old, and, when he had the Pentateuch ready, sailed for Hamburgh to get it printed. On the voyage he was shipwrecked and lost all his papers. Getting upon another vessel he reached Hamburgh at length, and found Miles Coverdale, who by appointment was awaiting him there. Coverdale and he set about re-translating the Old Testament, and, before Tyndale's death, they had completed in company all the historical books, and the book of Jonah. How Coverdale pursued and finished this noble work, is well known. Our present business is with Tyndale.

It is difficult to conceive the consternation and alarm produced in England by the introduction of edition after edition of his Testament, as well as by the numerous treatises which with unceasing activity he poured into the country by means of the foreign merchants and their friends. Tunstall at first tried to buy up the books. More wrote against them. Henry issued his bloody edict, tantamount to a general search warrant, sweeping through the realm from the palace to the hovel. Numbers of pious people, in whose hands the "wicked abomination" was found, were cruelly imprisoned and put to death. Still the books found their way into the country, and were read with an avidity equal to the zeal with which it was sought to extirpate them. These last ten years of Tyndale's life were the busiest, and furnish the amplest materials for profitable discussion. But it is not within our design to give a connected life of this great reformer. All that can be attempted here is to give the general outline, with here and there a detailed sketch. We pass over, therefore, in silence, though with regret, his controversy with Sir Thomas More, the history of the successive editions of his Testament and of his other writings, the pope's bull, the king's proclamation, the fines, imprisonments, and burnings which pervaded the land. Henry and his advisers appear at last to have come to the conclusion that the only effectual way to put a stop to Tyndale's influence, was to get possession of his person. To this end, Wolsey, More, and even the monarch in person, set about a series of secret intrigues to inveigle Tyndale, and induce him by fair promises to return to England. Frith was in this way induced to return, and had Tyndale followed his example, he would no doubt have met with the same pitiable fate. Confidential agents were sent to the Low Countries on this business, the chief of whom was a man by the name of Vaughan, and the correspondence between them and their august employers is found among the papers in the British Museum. Extracts from this correspondence have been given in previous biographies, but Mr. Offor has been the first to give all that relates to Tyndale, and it forms one of the most valuable portions of his Memoir. In one of these letters, Vaughan remarks, "the man is of a greater knowledge than the king's highness doth take him for, which well appeareth in his works. Would God we had him in England!" Another long fragment is given of a letter from one of these emissaries, who obtained a secret interview with Tyndale outside of the city, and

who, finding himself unaware in the presence of his long sought victim, was so awed by his dignified purity and truth, that in answering him, he tells his royal master he did it as his poor wit would serve him.

"The day before the date hereof, I spake with Tyndale without the town of Antwerp and by this means. He sent a certain person to seek me, whom he had advised to say, that a certain friend of mine, unknown to the messenger, was very desirous to speak with me; praying me to take pains to go unto him to such place as he should bring me. Then I to the messenger (said) what is your friend and where is he? His name I know not, said he, but if it be your pleasure to go where he is, I will be glad thither to bring you: thus doubtful what this matter meant, I concluded to go with him, and followed him till he brought me without the gate of Antwerp into a field lying nigh unto the stream, where was abiding me this said Tyndale. At our meeting, do you not know me? said this Tyndale. I do not well remember you, said I to him; my name, said he, is Tyndale. But Tyndale, said I, fortunate be our meeting. Then Tyndale: Sir, I have been exceeding desirous to speak with you. And I with you; what is your mind. Sir, said he, I am informed that the king's grace taketh great displeasure with me for putting forth of certain books which I lately made in these parts, but especially for the book named the Practice of Prelates, whereof I have no little marvel considering that in it I did but warn his grace of the subtle demeanor of the clergy of his realm towards his person, and of the shameful abuses by them practised, not a little threatening the displeasure of his grace and weal of his realm. In which doing, I showed and declared the heart of a true subject which sought the safeguard of his royal person and weal of his commons, to the intent that his grace thereof warned might in due time prepare his remedies against the subtle dreams. If for my pains therein taken; if for my poverty; if for mine exile out of mine natural country, and being absent from my friends; if for my hunger—my thirst—my cold—the great danger wherewith I am everywhere compassed—and finally if for innumerable other hard and sharp sicknesses which I endure, not yet feeling their asperity by reason I hoped with my labours to do honour to God—true service to my prince, and pleasure to his commons, how is it that his grace thus considering may either by himself think or by the persuasions of another, be brought to think, that in this doing I should not show a pure mind, a true and incorrupt zeal, and affection to his grace. Was there in me any such mind when I warned his grace to beware of his cardinal whose iniquity he shortly after approved according to my writing? Doth this deserve hatred? Again, may his grace, being a Christian prince, be so unkind to God, which hath commanded his word to be spread throughout the world; to give more faith to the wicked persuasions of men, which presuming above God's wisdom and contrary to that which Christ expressly commandeth in his Testament dare say, that it is not lawful for the people to have the same in a tongue that they understand because the purity thereof should open men's eyes to see their wickedness!! Is there more danger in the king's subjects than in the subjects of all other princes, which in every of their tongues have the same under privilege of their sufferance, as I now am, very death were more pleasant to me than life, considering man's nature to be such as can bear no truth.

"This, after a long communication had between us, for my part making answer as my poor wit would serve me which were too long to write. I said him with gentle persuasions to know whether he would come into England ascertaining him that means should be made if he thereto were minded without his peril or danger that he might so do. And that what surety he would devise for the same purpose, should by labour of friends be obtained of your majesty: but

to this he answered that he would not durst come into England, albeit your grace would promise him neversomuch the surety. Fearing lest, as he hath before written, your promise made should shortly be broken by the persuasion of the clergy which would affirm that promises made with heretics ought not to be kept. After this he told me how he had finished a work against my Lord Chancellor's book, and would not put it in print till such time as your grace had seen it, because he perceiveth your displeasure towards him for hasty putting forth of his other works, and because it should appear that he is not of so obstinate mind as he thinketh he is reported unto your grace. This is the substance of his communication had with me, which as he spake, I have written to your grace, word for word, as nigh as I could by any possible means bring to remembrance. My trust, therefore, is that your grace will not but take my labours in the best part. I thought necessary to be written unto your grace. After these words, he then being something fearful of me, lest I would have pursued him, and drawing also towards night, he took his leave of me, and departed from the town, and I toward the town, saying I should shortly peradventure see him again, or if not, hear from him. Howbeit, I suppose, he afterward returned to the town by another way, for there is no likelihood that he should lodge without the town, hasty to pursue him I was not, because I had some likelihood to speak shortly again with him, and in pursuing him, I might perchance have failed of my purpose, and put myself in danger. To declare to your majesty what in my poor judgment I think of the man, I ascertain your grace I have not communed with a man" . . . . .

The following is another passage in a letter from Vaughan to the king, which exhibits Tyndale's character in a lovely aspect.

"I have again been in hand to persuade Tyndale, and to draw him the rather to favour my persuasions, and not to think the same feigned, I showed him a clause contained in master Cromwell's letter, containing these words following. And notwithstanding other the premises in this my letter contained, if it were possible, by good and wholesome exhortations to reconcile and convert the said Tyndale from the train and affection which he now is in, and to excerpte, and take away the opinions and fantasies sorely rooted in him, I doubt not but the king's highness would be much joyous of his conversion and amendment. And so being converted, if then he would return into his realm, undoubtedly the king's royal majesty is so inclined to mercy, pity, and compassion, that he refuseth none which he seeth to submit themselves to the obedience and good order of the world. In these words I thought to be such sweetness and virtue as were able to pierce the hardest heart of the world. And as I thought, so it came to pass. For after sight thereof, I perceived the man to be exceeding altered, and to take the same very near unto his heart, in such wise that water stood in his eyes. And answered what gracious words are these. I assure you, said he, if it would stand with the king's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare text of the scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the emperor in these parts, and of other christian princes, be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same: but immediately to repair into his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his royal majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or tortures, yea what death his grace will, so that this be obtained. And till that time, I will abide the aspect of all chances whatsoever shall come, and endure my life in as many pains, as it is able to bear and suffer. And as concerning my reconciliation his grace may be assured that whatsoever I have said or written, in all my life against the honour of God's word, and so proved; the same shall before his majesty and all the world, utterly renounce and forsake. And

with most humble and meek mind embrace the truth, abhorring all error soever at the most gracious and benign request of his royal majesty, of whose wisdom, prudence and learning I hear so great praise and commendation, then of any other creature living. But if those things which I have written be true, and stand with God's word, why should his majesty having so excellent a gift of knowledge in the scriptures, move me to do any thing against my conscience with many other words which were too long to write. Finally, I have some good hope in the man, and would not doubt to bring him to some good point, were it that some thing now and then might proceed from your majesty towards me, whereby the man might take the better comfort of my persuasions. I advertised the same Tyndale that he should not put forth the same book, till your most gracious pleasure were known, whereunto he answered, mine advertisement came too late, for he feared lest one that had his copy, would put it very shortly in print, which he would let if he could, if not there is no remedy."

Tyndale, notwithstanding the tenderness of his nature and his anxious desire to bring about an accommodation, as manifest in the above extracts, still understood too well the character and designs of Henry and his advisers to yield to these solicitations to return to England. The king finding it impossible to allure his victim to England, threw off the mask, and declared he would not have the soil of his realm polluted by such a desperate heretic. His majesty, too, began to have a new cause of alarm, and to find that he had committed to his agents a dangerous task. The proud monarch, who had entered into a sort of personal contest with a poor unprotected exile, was tormented with the mortifying suspicion that his own confidential agents were becoming converts to the man whom they were employed to ensnare. To prevent such an untoward issue, Henry caused the secretary of state, Lord Cromwell, to draw up a suitable answer to Vaughan's letter. The original of this dispatch is among the state papers now for the first time published. It contains many alterations, made according to Mr. Offor, by the king himself; though the editor of the Christian Observer dissents from this opinion, and conjectures that the corrections were by More. This document is so curious that we intended to give an exact reprint of it, as quoted in the Observer. But our extracts have already perhaps exceeded the proper limits, and we desist.

In the epistle to the reader at the close of the first edition of his New Testament in 1525, Tyndale acknowledges that there are many imperfections owing to the difficult nature of the task and the discouraging circumstances in which it was performed, and promises in due time to revise and correct it, soliciting to this end the criticisms of all that are "learned Christianly." "Them that are learned Christianly, I beseech: forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully I have

interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge, and understanding: that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not: but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same, or such like thing in the scripture before time. Moreover, even very necessity and cumbrance (God is record) above strength, which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves, caused that many things are lacking, which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born before his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us thereunto) we will give it his full shape: and put out if ought be added superfluously: and add to if ought be overseen through negligence: and will enforce to bring to compendiousness, that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used, and show how the scripture useth many words, which are otherwise understood of the common people: and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another. And will endeavour ourselves, as it were to seeth it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs: desiring them that are learned, and able, to remember their duty, and to help thereunto: and to bestow unto the edifying of Christ's body which is the congregation of them that believe) those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose. The grace that cometh of Christ be with them that love him. Pray for us."

In the numerous editions which followed he made no alterations till 1534, when he profited by the criticisms both of friends and foes and gave a new edition in 8vo at Antwerp with his last corrections. In the following year he published an edition in a provincial orthography, supposed to be that of his native Gloucestershire, and with a view perhaps of giving a still more literal fulfilment to his prediction to the priest, that ere many years the very plough boy should know more of scripture than they did. This provincial edition however was not repeated, all subsequent reprints being made from the revised edition of 1534.

Whether Tyndale translated all of the Old Testament, is not known. It is certain that he intended to translate the whole, and that he did translate a large portion, and it is

highly probable that his manuscript was used by his fellow labourer, Miles Coverdale, who brought out the whole Bible in English shortly after Tyndale's death. His principal writings besides the Prologues and Expositions upon different parts of the scriptures, were his Answers to Sir Thomas More, the Parable of the Wicked Mammon, the Obedience of a Christian Man, the Practice of Prelates, the Pathway into the Scriptures, and a treatise upon the Sacraments, together with sundry minor pieces and letters. These were collected and published by the pious martyrologist Fox in a folio volume, together with the works of Frith and Barnes.

The reader cannot fail to have been struck with the perfect sincerity and honesty of purpose manifest in the extracts we have given from this pious Reformer. It was a striking trait in his character, and shines as a ray of light from every page of his writings. He sometimes, too, expresses himself with a simplicity that is very touching. In a letter to Frith, not long before his death, he speaks thus of his translation. "I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus Christ to give reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be given me." "Judge, good Christian reader," says Frith, "whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, and innocent heart."

The manner in which he lived at Antwerp, while chaplain to the company of English merchants, is thus described by Fox. "He was a man very frugal and spare of body, a great student and earnest labourer, namely in the setting forth of the Scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his days of pastime, and those days were Monday the first day in the week, and Saturday the last day in the week. On the Monday he visited all such poor men and women as were fled out of England by reason of persecution into Antwerp, and those well understanding their good exercises and qualities he did very liberally comfort and relieve: and in like manner provided for the sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday he walked round about the town in Antwerp, seeking out every corner, and hole where he suspected any poor person to dwell, (as God knoweth there are many) and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet overburdened with children, or else were aged, or weak, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two days of pastime as he called them.

And truly his alms was very large and great: and so it might well be: for his exhibition that he had yearly of the English merchants was very much, and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poor as aforesaid. The rest of the days in the week he gave him wholly to his book wherein most diligently he travailed. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchant's chamber, or other, whither came many other merchants: and unto them would he read some one parcel of scripture, either out of the Old Testament, or out of the New, the which proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly and gently from him (much like to the writing of St. John the Evangelist) that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to hear him read the scriptures: and in likewise after dinner, he spent an hour in the aforesaid manner."

The fate of Frith and many others, and the indefatigable efforts that were made to get possession of himself, seems to have impressed Tyndale with the belief that sooner or later they would succeed. In one of his tracts, he says, "some man will ask peradventure, why I take the labour to make this work, insomuch as they will burn it, seeing they burnt the gospel. I answer, in burning the New Testament they did none other thing than I looked for, no more shall they do if they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall be so." And again elsewhere, "Whoso findeth or readeth this letter, put it forth in examination, and suffer it not to be hid or destroyed, but multiplied, for no man knoweth what profit may come thereof. For he that compiled it, purposeth with God's help to maintain unto the death, if need be. And therefore all Christian men and women, pray that the word of God may be unbound, and delivered from the power of Antichrist, and reign among his people. Amen."

The life of this good man was now drawing to a close. Finding it impossible to seduce him back to England, his enemies there of the Romish party sought means to have him arrested and imprisoned on the continent. As it was difficult to accomplish this openly at Antwerp, where he was so much esteemed, he fell a victim to a secret conspiracy, the most heartless, treacherous and cruel on record. The agent in this base transaction was one Henry Phillips, who was employed for the purpose by Sir Thomas More and others in England. Fox describes the affair with great simplicity and pathos, though rather discursively; and it was our intention to quote his narrative (somewhat abridged) by way of conclusion to this article. But it is already beyond

the proper limits. Suffice it to say, therefore, that Tyndale was immured for nearly two years in the castle of Vilvoord, or Filford, near Brussels, and finally, in 1536, burnt at the stake, where from the midst of the flames he uttered these memorable dying words, "LORD, OPEN THE KING OF ENGLAND'S EYES."

ART. II.—*The Music of Nature; or an attempt to prove that what is passionate and pleasing in the Art of Singing, Speaking, and performing on Musical Instruments, is derived from the sounds of the Animated World. With curious and interesting illustrations.* By William Gardiner. Boston. J. H. Wilkins & R. B. Carter. 1837. 8vo. pp. 505.

So long as Music continues to be an art subsidiary to religion, it may legitimately fall within the scope of the Christian critic. The work just named is by no means new in England, but has recently been offered to the American public, in a reprint so truly honourable to the typography of Boston, as to afford, of itself, an inducement to examine its pretensions. Not merely the type, but the expensive copperplates of the edition contribute to make it quite a gem.

The reader may expect an article somewhat desultory, inasmuch as the book itself is one of the most miscellaneous and fragmentary which it has ever been our lot to peruse. It has no thread of unity except its relation to the extensive subject of Music, and even this limit is transcended by the author's frequent diversions into the fields of Elocution. The secondary indication of its contents, upon the title page, is certainly erroneous. In no part of the work do we find even a categorical assertion, of the proposition there stated, viz. that 'what is passionate and pleasing in the art of singing, speaking, and performing upon musical instruments, is derived from the sounds of the animated world:' still less is there any train of reasoning to sustain this interesting and specious position. Facts there undoubtedly are, scattered through these fascinating pages, which in the hands of a theorist might form part of an ingenious and plausible induction; but so far as our memory serves us, no such process is attempted. Indeed Mr. Gardiner, whom we suppose to be

a professional artist, is less a reasoner than a sketcher. Intimately acquainted with all the varied manifestations of unusual science and skill, in our day, he has here recorded, in a sort of agreeable common-placing, the heterogeneous fruits of his observation. We have nearly a hundred pages of highly entertaining sketches, biographical and critical, of eminent musicians; about as much more concerning different instruments, and a number of chapters on disconnected matters relating to music and elocution. All this is highly interesting; and the pieces of music which are introduced as illustrations, in number more than fifty, evince a declicate taste in the selection, and are themselves worth the price of the book.

There is no part of this work which is at once so curious, and so suited to the title, as what relates to the sounds of animals, and even inanimate things. It is not a little entertaining to observe with what care and nicety Mr. Gardiner has reduced to musical notation the sounds, not only of the throstle, the thrush, the blackbird, the barn-yard fowl, the dog, the ox, the ass, the crying child, &c., but also of the gnat, the stocking-frame, the yawn, the sneeze, the cough, the wheelbarrow! In comparing the conventional pitch of instruments with that of some natural sounds, several very singular discoveries are stated to result. For example, the hum of the house-fly is invariably upon the note F in the first space. The drone of the cock-chaffer is on F below the line. The sound of the 'ventilating bees,' as they are called by Huber, is in the key of F. "The writer was once placed in the gallery of the Royal Exchange, to view that hive of money-collectors in the court below. Besides the similarity of the scene, he could not but notice the similarity of sound, the buzz of the two thousand voices being perceptibly amalgamated into the key of F. Many observations have led the author to the conclusion that the most prevailing sounds in nature are to be referred to this key. Musicians, though not aware of this curious fact, have from all time been sensibly influenced by it. Scarcely an ancient composition appears in any other key, except its relative minor, for the first hundred years of the art. In Queen Elizabeth's Virginal-book of four hundred folio pages, all the pieces are nearly confined to this key. There is not an instance of a sharp being placed at the clef." The male and female death-watch call to one another in B flat and G, respectively. The gnat trumpets in A on the second space. "The song of the cuckoo I have

invariably found in Leicestershire to be in the key of D. If the cuckoos in other countries should be found to accord with this curious fact, as nature is pretty much the same, we may take these notes as a standard of pitch. White of Selborne observes, 'I have tried all the owls in this neighbourhood with a pitch-pipe, and found them to hoot in B flat, and the cuckoos to sing in the key of D.' Although we have a standard of weights and measures, we are yet without a standard of pitch, in consequence of which we seldom find two instruments alike. The pitch has long been known to be rising through the two last centuries, which is alluded to in the chapter upon Bells. It is obviously higher in England than most other countries. The organs abroad are nearly a note below our opera pitch, and some of the modern wind instruments half a note above concert pitch. When determined, the standard of the notes C and A might properly be lodged in the Royal Academy of Music, from which all key-forks should only be allowed to proceed." In addition to what has been said concerning Pitch, it may be stated that the great bell of St. Paul's sounds upon the chord of B flat, which note was originally denominated C; showing that our scale has risen a whole tone. And the famous Great Tom of Lincoln, which is still older, has sunk from C to A on the lowest space.

When Mr. Gardiner proceeds to speak of Elocution—and about nine of his chapters relate to this subject—he approaches ground which is particularly important to the Christian orator: and although his remarks are in the strictest sense *secular*, we shall admit some of them, as a specimen of his style, and as intrinsically valuable.

"A powerful voice is one of the first requisites of a good speaker, and he will not fail to use the clearest and best parts of it for the drift of his discourse, reserving the extremes for particular effects. The pitch should be that of a tenor, or middle voice. Mr. Denman's is rich and sombre, but rather too low. Mr. Burke's was, on the contrary, too high, a sort of lofty cry, soaring too much in alto.* Clearness and distinctness is an indispensable quality. An indis-

* "Roger Ascham, tutor to Queen Elizabeth, observes, 'where a matter is spoken with an apte voyce for everye affection, the hearers, for the most part, are moved as the speaker wouldc; but when a man is alwaye in one tone, like a humble-bee, or els now in the top of the church, now downe that no man knoweth where to have him; or piping like a reede or rearing like a bull, as some lawyears do, which thincke they do best when they cry loudest; these shall never move, as I have known manye well learned have done, because theyr voyce was not stayed afore, with learninge to singe. For all voyces, great and small, base and shrill, weak or soft, may be holpen and brought to a good point by learninge to singe.'"

tinct utterance is not only painful to the ear, but causes a great labour of attention, which ought not to be occupied with the words, but the ideas. From the following description of Lord Chatham, the great Pitt, we may conclude that he was an orator of the first description. 'His voice was both full and clear; his lowest whisper was distinctly heard, his middle tones were sweet, rich, and beautifully varied. When he elevated his voice to its highest pitch, the House was completely filled with the volume of sound. The effect was awful, except when he wished to cheer and animate; and then he had spirit-stirring notes which were perfectly irresistible. He frequently rose on a sudden from a very low to a very high key (note); but it seemed to be without effort. His diction was remarkably simple, but words were never chosen with greater ease. He was often familiar and even playful; but it was the familiarity and playfulness of condescension—the lion that dandled with the kid. The terrible, however, was his peculiar power. Then the whole House sunk before him. Still he was dignified and wonderful, as was his eloquence; it was attended with this important effect, that it impressed every hearer with a conviction that there was something in him finer even than his words; that the man was infinitely greater than the orator.' It is important that the tone of voice should invite attention; the finest strains of eloquence, delivered in the same level tone, always fail to produce much effect. Musically speaking, he is the best orator who has the greatest number of tones at his command, who unites the upper and lower voices* to his natural speaking voice.

"Mr. Kean possesses these qualifications in the highest degree. He has at his command the greatest number of effects, having a range of tones from F below the line to F above it; the natural key of his voice being that of B flat, a note lower than Talma's. His hard guttural tone upon G is as piercing as the third string of a violoncello; whilst his mezzo and pianissimo expressions are as soft as from the voice of a woman. He has three distinct sets of tones; as if he occasionally played upon a flute, clarinet, and bassoon, which he uses as the passion dictates. In the scene with Lady Ann his notes are of the most touching and persuasive kind, often springing from the harmonics of his natural voice, which he elicits with exquisite delicacy.

"His tones of furious passion are deep seated in the chest, like those of the lion and tiger; and it is his mastery over these instinctive tones by which he so powerfully moves his audience. At times he vomits a torrent of words in a breath, yet avails himself of all the advantages of deliberation. His pauses give a grandeur to his performance, and speak more than words themselves.

"Mr. Burke's oratory was of a contrary kind; nothing could exceed the flow of language, and the powers of his imagination. At the trial of Warren Hastings, his shrill voice rang through the hall, but it was cold and ineffective. There wanted the darker tones to clothe the sublime images of his fancy. As it regarded the effects of voice, there was more natural eloquence in the prisoner at the bar, when he called upon the lords to save him from the fury of his accusers.

"In the pulpit, the want of vocal expression is still more apparent. The preacher is in too quiet possession of the field. The familiarity of the subject and the want of novelty beget a sameness of tone that wearies the attention and destroys the interest. As an exception to this remark, we may mention the performance of the Rev. Mr. Irving, at the Scotch church, which is purely a musical exhibition, not a little aided by dress and gesture. His voice is that of a clear sonorous basso, of considerable compass. In manner he is slow and reverential, never hurrying beyond the time of adagio, carefully using the right tone for the particular passion. His prayer, commencing with the words, 'Almighty and most merciful Father, in whom we live, move, and have our being,'

* That is, the *voce de testa* and the *voce de petto*.

reminded me of that slow and solemn strain of deep holding notes, gradually ascending, which describes the rising of the moon in Haydn's *Creation*.

"Although the advantages of a musical voice have been fully shown, yet there are speakers of great eminence but little qualified in this particular. As an instance, we may mention the extraordinary powers of the late Rev. Robert Hall, of Leicester, whose voice was naturally so deficient in strength, that in a large auditory he was heard with difficulty. Yet the stores of his mind and the brilliancy of his conceptions place him in the first rank of orators. His delivery, though feeble, was peculiarly neat and graceful, and when urged by the fire of his imagination, became so rapid that no short-hand writer was able to take down his words. The scintillations of his fancy, and the flow of his eloquence, may be compared to that of Burke; and as a writer of the English language he is not surpassed by any one, ancient or modern."

In treating of the economy of the human voice, there is one fact which has been very much neglected: it is this, that the exercise of the organs produce weariness, hoarseness and pain, much sooner in delivering a discourse from manuscript, than in talking or even in extemporaneous discourse. This observation was first communicated to us some years ago by an eminent member of the United States Senate, who was forced to desist from reading a document of about an hour's length, although he was in the constant habit of protracted and vehement debate. Since that time we have received complete satisfaction as to the correctness of the statement from repeated experiment, and conference with public speakers in different professions. We could name a gentleman who enjoys sound health, and who experiences no difficulty in the longest and loudest conversation, but who is invariably seized with a hoarseness upon reading aloud for half an hour; and we know a lawyer who was visited with the throat complaint, in consequence of becoming a reading clerk in a legislative body. It is believed that the fact will not be questioned by any who are in the habit of practising both methods of elocution in circumstances which admit of a fair comparison.

In this case, it is evidently not the loudness of the voice which produces the unpleasant effect, because in general every man reads with less force of utterance than he speaks; and extemporaneous speakers are always more apt than others to vociferate. The phenomenon demands an explanation upon some other principle, and in our opinion, admits of an easy reference to laws of our animal economy which are already settled. We shall attempt to express our views more in detail.

Every organ of the human body has a certain natural mode of action, and in this performs its function with the greatest

ease. When pressed beyond definite limits, or exercised in an unaccustomed way, it lapses into weariness or pain. By instinctive impulse we are led to give relief to any member or organ, when it is thus overworked, and whenever such remission is rendered impracticable the consequence is suffering, if not permanent injury. Thus when the limbs are wearied in walking, we naturally slacken the pace; and the perpetual winking of the eyes is precisely analogous. Let either of these means of relief be precluded, and the result is great lassitude and pain. The voice likewise demands its occasional remission, and this in three particulars. First, as it is exceedingly laborious to speak long on the same musical key, the voice demands frequent change of pitch, and in natural conversation we are sliding continually through all the varieties of the concrete scale; so that nothing of this straining is experienced. Secondly, the voice cannot be kept for any length of time at the same degree of loudness without some organic inconvenience. Here also we give ourselves the necessary remission, at suitable periods. Thirdly, the play of the lungs demands a constant re-supply of air, by frequent inspirations; and when this is prevented the evil consequences are obvious. Moreover this recruiting of the breath must take place just at the nick of time, when the lungs are to a certain degree exhausted, and if this relief be denied even for an instant, the breathing and the utterance begin to labour. Let it be observed that in our ordinary discourse nature takes care of all this. Without our care or attention we instinctively lower or raise the pitch of the voice, partly in obedience to the sentiment uttered, and partly from a simple animal demand for the relief of change. Precisely the same thing takes place, and in precisely these two ways, in regulating the volume and intensity of the vocal stream. So also, and in a more remarkable manner, we supply the lungs with air, just at the moment when it is needed. The relief is not adequate if the inspiration occurs at stated periods, as any one may discover by speaking for some time, while he regulates his breathing by the oscillation of a pendulum, or the click of a metronome; and still less, when he takes breath according to the pauses of a written discourse. But the latter is imperatively demanded whenever one reads aloud. Whether his lungs are full or empty, he feels it to be necessary to defer his inspiration until the close of some period or clause. Consequently there are parts of every sentence which are delivered while the lungs are labouring, and with a greatly increased action of the intercostal muscles.

If we could perfectly foresee at what moments these several remissions would be required, and could so construct our sentences as to make the pauses exactly synchronous with the requisitions of the organs, we might avoid all difficulty; but this is plainly impossible. In natural extemporaneous discourse, on the other hand, whether public or private, there is no such inconvenience. The voice instinctively provides for itself. We then adapt our sentences to our vocal powers, the exact reverse of what takes place in reading. When the voice labours we relieve it; when the breath is nearly expended we suspend the sense, or close the sentence. And when from any cause this is neglected, even in animated extemporaneous speaking, some difficulty is experienced.

The mere muscular action in speaking tends to a certain degree of weariness. Hence the utterance which is in any measure unnatural is in the same proportion injurious. The use of the same set of muscles for a long time together is more fatiguing than a far greater exercise of other muscles. We are constantly acting upon this principle, and relieving ourselves by change, even where we cannot enjoy repose. Thus the equestrian has learned to mitigate the cramping influence of his posture, in long journeys, by alternately lengthening and shortening his stirrups. Thus also, horses are found to be less fatigued in a hilly than a plain road, because different muscles are called into play, in the ascents and descents. Now there are, perhaps, no muscles in the human frame which admit of so many diversified combinations as those of the larynx and parts adjacent; ranging as they do in their conformation with the slightest modifications of pitch and volume in the sound. These organs, therefore, to be used to the greatest advantage, should be allowed the greatest possible change.

A perfect reader would be one who should deliver every word and sentence with just that degree and quality of voice which is strictly natural. The best masters of elocution only approximate to this; and the common herd of readers are immeasurably far from it. Most of the reading which we hear is so obviously unnatural, that if the speaker lapses for a single moment into a remark in the tone of conversation, we feel as if we had been let down from a height; and the casual call of a preacher upon the sexton is commonly a signal for the sleepers to wake up. We all acknowledge the unpleasant effect of this measured and unnatural elocution, but few have perceived, what we think undeniable, that in

proportion as it contravenes organic laws, it wears upon and injures the vocal machinery.

But the most perfect reading would provide only for the last mentioned case. Reading would still be more laborious than speaking, unless upon the violent supposition that the composition were perfectly adapted to the rests of the voice. We must therefore seek relief in some additional provisions. One of these is the structure of our sentences, and it is sufficient here to say that they should be short, and should fall into natural and easy members; for no train of long periods can be recited, without undue labour. But there is another preventive which is available, and which escapes the notice of most public speakers. Any one who has witnessed the performance of a finished flute-player has observed that he goes through the longest passages without seeming to take breath. He does indeed take breath, but he has learned to do so, without any perceptible hiatus in the flow of melody. The same thing may be done in speaking and reading. Without waiting for pauses in the sense, let the speaker make every inspiration precisely where he needs it, but without pause, without panting, and especially without any sinking of the voice. That the lungs admit of education in this respect will be admitted by all who have ever acquired the use of the blow-pipe. In this case the passage at the back of the mouth being closed, and the mouth filled with air, the operator breathes through his nostrils, admitting a little air to the mouth, in expiration. There is this peculiarity, however, that the distension and elasticity of the cheeks affords a pressure into the blow-pipe, with the occasional aid of the buccinator muscle. In this way the outward stream is absolutely uninterrupted.

If there is any justice in our remarks, we may expect to find that they apply in good degree to the delivery of discourses from memory. We have found this to be the case, in every particular, except perhaps that from more careful rehearsal, the speaker is able in a greater measure to suit his utterance to the tenour of the composition.

Diseases of the vocal organs have prevailed in America to so alarming an extent among ministers, that nothing which throws light on the economy of the voice can be without its value. It is a great mistake to suppose that these diseases are to be prevented by a timid suppression of sound. The lungs are best preserved when they are kept in full and active play. Every one who is familiar with the Latin wri-

ters, as well on medicine as on oratory, knows that they constantly enumerate reading and declamation among exercises conducive to health. Seneca, in his seventy-eight epistle, in advising his friend Lucilius, who was of a consumptive habit, distinctly urges on him the practice of reading aloud.* Pulmonary disease in ministers is attributed by Dr. John Ware to infrequency and inequality in the exercise of the lungs. "It should," says he, "be a first object with one who engages in the clerical profession, especially if he has any of the marks of weak lungs, if he is constitutionally liable to pulmonary complaints, if he is subject to disorders of the digestive organs, or has a tendency to it, to accustom himself gradually to that kind of exertion, which will be required by the duties of his future profession. This is to be attempted by the *constant, daily practice of loud speaking or reading.* This need waste no time, and may be made to answer other good purposes. If this kind of exercise be persevered in, it seems almost certain that all, except those whose lungs are radically infirm, may acquire the habit of going through their professional performances, without injury; and as for those who fail, it is better for them at once to know their incapacity, than to spend the best years of their youth in qualifying themselves for a profession, which they must finally relinquish." On this subject the late Professor Porter was accustomed to quote the words of the elegant and learned Armstrong:

> "Read aloud, resounding Homer's strain,
> And wield the thunder of Demosthenes.
> The chest, so exercised improves in strength;
> And quick vibrations through the bowels drive
> The restless blood."

"*Reading aloud and recitation,*" says Dr. Combe, "are more useful and invigorating muscular exercises than is generally imagined, at least when managed with due regard to the natural powers of the individual, so as to avoid effort and fatigue. Both require the varied activity of most of the muscles of the trunk to a degree of which few are conscious, till their attention is turned to it. In forming and undulating the voice, not only the chest, but also the diaphragm and abdominal muscles are in constant action, and communicate to the stomach and bowels a healthy and agreeable stimulus; and consequently, where the voice is raised and elocution rapid, as in many kinds of public speaking, the muscular

* Ut legas clarius, et spiritum, cujus iter et receptaculum laborat, exerceas.

effort comes to be even more fatiguing than the mental, especially to those who are unaccustomed to it, and hence the copious perspiration and bodily exhaustion of popular orators and preachers. When care is taken, however, not to carry reading aloud, or reciting so far at one time as to excite the least sensation of soreness or fatigue in the chest, and it is duly repeated, it is extremely useful in developing and giving tone to the organs of respiration, and to the general system. To the invigorating effects of this kind of exercise, the celebrated and lamented Cuvier was in the habit of ascribing his own exemption from consumption, to which at the time of his appointment to a professorship, it was believed he would otherwise have fallen a victim. The exercise of lecturing gradually strengthened his lungs, and improved his health so much that he was never afterward threatened with any serious pulmonary disease."

If reading aloud and speaking be a useful exercise, we consider singing as still more so. The organs are here brought into a different condition, the air-vessels are more completely and uniformly distended, and the spirits are made buoyant by the delightful employment. We have seldom known any one to be injured by the judicious practice of vocal music. An eminent professor once stated to us his conviction, that he had been preserved from consumption, to which his constitution was predisposed, only by the constant practice of singing. On this topic, the testimony of Mr. Gardiner, as a professional witness, is invaluable.

"Many writers have strongly insisted upon the danger of forcing the voice in learning to sing, thinking it may be greatly injured, if not destroyed; but if we attend to facts we shall find this to be an erroneous opinion. It is a maxim, which applies to the use of all our faculties, that so long as we do not weaken, we strengthen, and this fact is strikingly true as it regards the voice. If we listen to those whose business it is to cry their commodities in the streets, on comparing their strength of voice with our own, we shall be surprised to find what a force of intonation this daily practice produces. *When did we ever hear of these itinerants, or public singers, or speakers, being compelled to give up their profession in consequence of a loss of voice?* On the contrary, this constant exertion strengthens the vocal organs, and is highly conducive to health. Many persons, in encouraging the development of musical talents in their children, have no other view than to add to the number of their accomplishments, and afford them a means of innocent amusement. It was the opinion of Dr. Rush, however, that singing by young ladies, whom the customs of society debar from many other kinds of salubrious exercise, is to be cultivated not only as an accomplishment, but as a means of preserving health. He particularly insists that vocal music should never be neglected in the education of a young lady, and states, that besides its salutary operation in soothing the cares of domestic life, it has a still more direct and important effect. 'I here introduce a fact,' remarks the doctor, 'which has been suggested to me by my profession, that is,

the exercise of the organs of the breast, by singing, contributes very much to defend them from those diseases to which the climate and other causes expose them. The Germans are seldom afflicted with consumption, nor have I ever known more than one instance of spitting of blood amongst them. This I believe is, in part, occasioned by the strength which their lungs acquire by exercising them frequently in vocal music, which constitutes an essential branch of their education.' The music-master of our academy has furnished me with an observation still more in favour of this opinion; he informs me that he had known several instances of persons strongly disposed to consumption, restored to health by the exercise of the lungs in singing. Dean Bayley, of the Chapel Royal, many years back, advised persons who were learning to sing, as a means of strengthening the lungs and acquiring a retentive breath, 'to often run up some ascent, especially in the morning, leisurely at first, and accelerating the motion near the top, without suffering the lungs to play quick in the manner of panting.' "

On the subject of sacred music, this volume offers less than might have been reasonably expected. The author's associations have evidently been far more intimate with the green-room and the orchestra. Yet he informs us that he had the sanction of George IV., to 'make a selection of the best poetry, conjoined to the finest music, as a standard book of Psalmody, which has been published under the title of the *Sacred Melodies;*' and he devotes a small chapter to this topic. We cannot say that its contents have added much to our stock of information, and indeed we have not been accustomed to look to Great Britain for any great improvements in this part of divine worship, which we believe to be in a more rapid process of improvement on our side of the ocean. The following statements, though not new, are nevertheless interesting.

"Martin Luther, about the year 1517, first introduced metrical psalmody into the service of the church, which not only kept alive the enthusiasm of the reformers, but formed a rallying point for his followers. This practice spread in all directions; and it was not long ere six thousand persons were heard singing together at Paul's Cross in London. Luther was a poet and musician: but the same talent existed not in his followers. Thirty years afterwards, Sternhold versified fifty-one of the psalms; and in 1562, with the help of Hopkins, he completed the psalter. These poetical effusions were chiefly sung to German melodies,*

* 'These ancient airs, so expressive of religious solemnity, were originally applied in the French court to licentious songs, and the hundredth psalm, written long before Luther's time, was a love ditty. The Queen of Henry II. sung her favourite psalm, "*Rebuke me not in thy indignation*," to a fashionable jig; and Anthony, King of Navarre, sung "*Stand up, O Lord, to revenge my quarrel*," to the air of a dance of Poitou. This infectious frenzy of psalm singing at length reached our island, and Sternhold, an enthusiast in the reformation, being much offended at the lascivious ballads which prevailed among the courtiers, with a laudable design to check these indecencies, provided the courtiers with his psalms, "thinking thereby," says Anthony Wood, "that they would sing them instead of these sonnets; but they did not." At one time, such was the rage, that psalms were sung by soldiers on march and parade, and at lord mayors' dinners and city feasts.'

which the good taste of Luther supplied: but the Puritans, in a subsequent age, nearly destroyed these germs of melody, assigning as a reason, that music should be so simplified as to suit all persons, and that all voices may join."

"Since this time, psalmody has ever proved a bond of union among Christians; yet as it forms no part of the established church, it has received but little improvement from our able church professors, and its progress has been left in the hand of illiterate musicians.

"As the service of the church can only be performed in cathedrals, where there is an efficient choir, sacred music must be altogether excluded in the parish church, unless it be introduced in the way of psalmody. But no good psalmody can possibly take place, till the doggrel lines of Sternhold and Hopkins are removed, and something like poetry placed in their stead.* Dissenters have greatly surpassed the church divines in furnishing poems for this part of our worship. The psalms as translated by Watts, Cowper, and Mrs. Steel, are euphonious, sweet and flowing; but those by Tate, Merrick, and even the pious Doddridge, by their ill chosen words, refuse all alliance with musical sounds. Had the poetry of Watts called forth the strains of the royal organists Croft, Green, and Boyce, we should have had a psalmody that would have lived for ages; instead of which the piety of the Nonconformists has been married to the most unholy strains, and we have been deluged with a psalmody composed of light and impious trash."

"Some musical professors have loudly condemned the introduction of modern music into our churches, and would confine us to the dull and dismal tunes of the last century: but the human voice is not to be restricted to intervals so uncouth and bare. These old fashioned people would level our psalmody, as they think, to the comprehension of the most illiterate, by limiting it to the simple changes of harmony. These may form the first lessons of the schools, but they are not the first lessons of the vulgar: it requires an ear of nicer powers to distinguish these changes of harmony, than to catch the pleasing strains of melody. If we consult the most ancient specimens, the psalmody of the Jews, we find it graced with a flowing ease, scarcely equalled in modern times.† The sagacious Whitefield found out, a hundred years ago, that it was by this power of song that he drew such crowds around him; and a melody, which is in itself beautiful, is more intelligible to the unlearned, than that of a more monotonous cast. The voice, in passing from one interval to another, feels for those stepping stones, by which it not only moves with greater ease, but with greater certainty. It is only in the works of the moderns that we find these melodies, which are the natural offspring of the human voice."

In connexion with the last remarks, we think it important to notice an egregious error into which many persons have fallen, in deprecating the study of the great European composers: it is that of supposing that the style of these masters is uniformly light, voluptuous, or fantastical, and therefore unsuited to the purposes of divine service. That this is

* "Besides that disagreeable hissing which takes place in our psalmody before alluded to, it has been remarked, that when the clerk gives out the psalm, a general fit of coughing takes place, as a clearing up previous to holding forth. In a French church, a general blowing of the nose is the first operation to clear away the snuff, that being the organ through which they commonly chant. Larrivee, one of their principal singers, was remarkable for this horrid defect. A wag who heard him for the first time, exclaimed, 'Voila un nez qui a une belle voix;' (that nose has a fine voice.)"

† Vide *Sacred Melodies*, page 9.

actually true in regard to most of their productions which have become popular in this country, we shall not deny. Let it not be forgotten, however, that this is the case simply because in this part of the world secular music has so far outstripped that which is sacred. Hence we have selected and popularized only those works which are frivolous, amatory, or merely sentimental. Some of the master-pieces, however, of Mozart, Weber, and Beethoven, are specimens of the most solemn harmonies which human genius has ever produced. So far from being capricious extravaganzas, like the snatches of operatic music which are re-produced here, they are touching, grave, and even awful, to a degree which can be conceived only by those who have heard them. That this style is adapted to promote a desirable taste will not be questioned: that it has been an object of special research among great modern masters may be gathered from the following enthusiastic passage.

"We must now advert to a style of composition from the pen of Beethoven, so perfectly new, so sublime, that it surpasses every thing that has been hitherto conceived. 'He treads in no man's steps, moves within no prescribed limits, and adopts no established combinations.'* Though, like Haydn, he has drawn many thoughts from nature, yet his works exhibit others so transcendant and uncommon, that we are at a loss to trace them to any earthly resemblance. The vastness of his mind may be compared to that of Michael Angelo, who had formed the design of cutting a statue of Neptune out of the rock of Massa Cara, that should overlook the Mediterranean Sea! Beethoven's thoughts launch into an equal majesty of design, disdaining any connexion with the little conceits of all preceding authors. The darkness of his mind may be compared to the poet Byron, and like that genius, when he chooses, he scatters the sweetest flowers of melody in his path. At the early age of twenty, he produced his first work, a set of trios for the piano-forte, violin, and violoncello, from which we extract the cantabile at the two hundred and eightieth page. Soon afterwards he dedicated three sonatas for the piano-forte to his master, Haydn, which develope new powers upon that instrument. The first adagio, which possesses so much vocal beauty, has been joined to the words, '*Do not I love Thee, O Lord?*' in the first volume of *Sacred Melodies*. The largo, in the second, has been amplified into a quartett and chorus, and set to the words, '*Eternal God, Almighty power!*' in the oratorio of *Judah*. These are the first specimens of instrumental music breathing a sentiment more powerful than words. His magnificent trio for a violin, viola, and violoncello, opera 3, is full of new effects. The andante of this has been converted with some slight alterations into a comic scene, and will be found at the one hundred and sixtieth page. On the appearance of his first set of quartetts, his extraordinary genius was amply displayed. Boccherini, Hadyn, and Mozart, had exhausted themselves in this style of writing, and we might have supposed that a new idea could not have been elicited; but the quartetts of Beethoven strike us like pictures of a new world, opening new scenery and new delights. The subject of the sixth, which is a sort of conversation between the first violin and the bass, will be found at the one hundred and fifty-ninth page. In the set dedicated to Count

* Shee on Painting.

Rasoumoffsky, there is more mind than can be found in a hundred pages of any other author, and they may be referred to as a specimen of the ethics of the art. His quintettos enter more into the solemn depths of harmony."

Among the multitude of topics which have engaged the attention of Mr. Gardiner, he has not given us any hints upon the best method of cultivating the musical talent of congregations. This is, after all, one of the most important and most difficult problems which we have to consider. It is one thing to educate a number of scattered musicians in a town or parish, and another thing to make this cultivation at once available to the production of masterly performance in the church service. Nothing is more common than to find in a congregation dozens, or even scores of young persons, well gifted with musical capabilities, passable singers at the harp or pianoforte, and often exquisite instrumental performers; and yet in the services of the very same congregation to be tortured with such a travestie of all music, as might serve rather to repel than to attract the passers-by. The supposed difficulty of training any very large number, has led to the institution of choirs, which though once unknown in our worship, are becoming every day more common. Where the choir is intended to lead the congregation, and is actually so employed with any measure of success, it is liable to fewer objections; but where it is introduced as a substitute, the multitude below remaining meanwhile silent, in whole or in great part, we regard it as a most undesirable innovation. In matters of music we are enthusiastic, possibly to the extent of weakness, yet there is no degree of scientific elegance, above that which is tolerable, that could in our estimation indemnify for the loss of congregational singing. With some occasional exceptions, for special and obvious reasons, we deem it essential to this part of divine worship that it should proceed from the body of people, and can never accede to any proposition for praising God by committee. The moral evils which frequently arise in our church choirs, made up as they sometimes are of the most frivolous members of the society, may well give us pause, and lead to serious reflection. Lest we should be thought to express a singular, or censorious judgment, we shall introduce an extract from Mr. Gilman's exquisite "Memoirs of a New England Village Choir," a work published nine years ago, and attracting little attention, but as it regards taste, pathos, and genuine humour, equal in our judgment to any thing which has proceeded from the pen of Washington Irving.

"I have long doubted whether, in the prevailing musical customs among our New England Independent churches, there be not something more unfavourable to the cause and progress of pure devotion, than can be charged against many other popular denominations. The Methodist, and the strict Presbyterian, have no separate choirs. They have not yet succeeded so far in the division of spiritual labour, as to delegate to others the business of praise, or to worship God by proxy. I have often witnessed a congregation of one thousand Methodists, as they rose simultaneously from their seats, and following the officiating minister, who gave out the hymn in portions of two lines, joined all together in some simple air, which expressed the very soul of natural music. I could see no lips closed as far as I could direct my vision, nor could I hear one note of discord uttered. Was it that the heartiness and earnestness which animated the whole throng, inspired even each tuneless individual with powers not usually his own, and sympathetically dragged into the general stream of harmony, those voices which were not guided by a musical ear? or was it, that the overwhelming majority of good voices, such as, I presume, if exerted, would prevail in every congregation, drowned the imperfect tones, and the occasional inaccuracies of execution, which most probably existed? It did not offend me that they sang with all their might, and all their soul, and all their strength; for it was evident that they sang with all their heart. I was conscious of hearing only one grand and rolling volume of sound, which swallowed up minor asperities and individual peculiarities. This was particularly the case after two or three verses were sung, when the congregation had been wrought into a kind of movement of inspiration. Then the strains came to my ear with the sublimity of a rushing mighty torrent, and with an added beauty of melody that the waters cannot give. The language was still distinctly intelligible, and the time perfectly preserved. And although, when I retired from the scene, I could not say how expressively this chorister had sung, nor how exquisitely the other had trilled, nor could compliment a single lady on her golden tones, nor criticise the fine science of the counterpoint, yet I felt that I had been thrilled and affected in a better way, and could not but wish that what was really to be approved of among the Methodists, might be imitated in those happier churches, where religion is cultivated without protracting her orgies into midnight, and cordially embraced without the necessity of delirious screams, and apoplectic swoons.

"Perhaps it may be thought that the good old Presbyterian way of accompanying a clerk or precentor, who is stationed beneath the pulpit, in front of the congregation, will most generally secure the true spirit and perfection of sacred music. Born and nurtured an Independent as I am, I confess that I sometimes feel inclined to the adoption of this opinion, with a few additions and modifications. There is certainly an advantage in imposing upon a single individual the business of leading the melodious part of public devotion. It must necessarily constrain the congregation to unite their voices with his, unless they are totally lost to all sense of the proprieties of the sanctuary. This custom, moreover, must exclude those miserable feuds and other sources of interruption, which will always to a greater or less degree disturb a separately constituted choir."

To this we may add the observations of the late Dr. Adam Clarke on the same subject.

"Though I never had a personal quarrel with the singers in any place, yet I have never known one case where there was a choir of singers, that they did not make disturbance in the societies. And it would be much better, in every case, and in every respect, to employ a *precentor*, or a person to raise the tunes, and then the congregation would learn to sing—the purpose of singing would be accomplished,—every mouth would confess to God,—and a horrible evil would be prevented,—the bringing together into the house of God, and making them

the almost only instruments of celebrating his praises, such a company of gay, airy, giddy, and ungodly men and women, as are generally grouped in such choirs—for *voice* and *skill* must be had, let decency of behaviour and morality be where they will. Every thing must be sacrificed to a *good voice*, in order to make the choir complete and respectable."

It is much easier, however, to state the evil than to suggest the remedy. In the present strong tendency towards choral singing, we are not prepared to denounce this method altogether. Some of its more prominent defects should be at once supplied. For instance, every church choir should be under the absolute control of the proper ecclesiastical authorities. The praises of the great congregation should not be left to irresponsible individuals. The singers should be persons, not collected by accident, nor volunteering to take their part, but selected by some competent judge, with reference both to their moral character and demeanor, and their musical abilities. The chorister should, if possible, be not merely a good vocalist and an able instructer, but a man of intelligence and character, permanently employed for this purpose, and to such a degree well-bred and familiar with the usages of good society, as to secure those committed to his charge against boorish insolence or arrogant familiarity. The best musical talent of the church should be in the choir. Our choirs have a character far too juvenile. Here is a source of boundless evils. In some churches scarcely a married woman can be found among the singers; and the intestine feuds of choirs are in a great majority of cases neither more nor less than the quarrels of boys and girls. This evil would be remedied if every person who is judged fit to take a part, of whatever age, should at once consent to do so. And finally, it should always be considered as the very basis of the whole arrangement, that the choir is to lead, but not to monopolize the business of sacred song. That order, decorum, and even devout solemnity is not incompatible with such associations, must be acknowledged by every one who is acquainted with the manner in which various choirs have been conducted by Mr. Thomas Hastings. But these remarks have already grown to a far greater extent than was intended. The subject has proved beguiling: it is of the nature of music so to be. As a book of great entertainment, and miscellaneous instruction, we cordially recommend this elegant volume to all our readers.

ART. III.—*The History of the Church of Scotland, from the establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution, illustrating a most interesting period of the political history of Britain.* By George Cook, D.D. Minister of Laurence-kirk. 3 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1815.

WHEN the reformation was introduced into Scotland by Knox and his coadjutors, the government of the church was by a General Assembly, under which Synods were afterwards erected, and at a later period Presbyteries also.* In connexion with this system there was established a temporary order of superintendents, which was afterwards disused as inexpedient and unnecessary. It was not, however, from this class of persons, that the Scottish troubles with respect to episcopacy, afterwards arose, but from the anomalous relation of the popish dignitaries to the Reformed church. When this corrupt hierarchy was put down, which was with the general consent of the people, who had groaned under its oppressive tyranny, the nobles within whose domains the

* In relation to this matter there appears to be a prevalent misapprehension. It was stated, in argument, upon the floor of our last General Assembly, that in Scotland synods were formed by the aggregation of presbyteries, and that the General Assembly grew out of the synods by a similar process. This error would be best corrected by citing such original authorities as Knox, Calderwood, and Spottiswood; but for the present we content ourselves with quoting Dr. Cook, who is perhaps the highest living authority in matters of Scottish Church History and Government. The reader will bear in mind that the first Assembly met in 1560, and that the following paragraph relates to that of 1576.

"A resolution of this Assembly, which, viewed in itself, appears of little moment, gave rise at no distant period to the distinguishing judicatory of the Presbyterian polity. By the first Book of Discipline, meetings of ministers within six miles of the most considerable town of the district, were appointed for interpreting and explaining scripture. These meetings had never been regularly held, and this Assembly, with a view to what afterward took place, enacted that they should be renewed, enforcing attendance upon them with a severity of censure, which would not have been employed had nothing more than their professed design been contemplated. The scale of punishment to be inflicted on those who neglected them is very remarkable. For the first offence they were upon their knees, in the presence of the meeting to confess their offence; for their second they were to make similar submission before the synodal assemblies; for the third they were to be cited before the General Assembly and to submit to the discipline which it enjoined. A gradation was thus formed from the meeting for exercise, as it was styled, to the higher judicatories of the church while that meeting was invested with certain powers to judge the members of whom it was composed. Such regular assemblies of the ministers, thus sanctioned, would naturally lead to discussions respecting ecclesiastical affairs, and we may consider them not only as the embryos of the presbyteries which several years afterwards were established, but as powerfully instrumental in giving to the public mind that direction which Melvil and his active adherents wished it to receive." Vol. 1. pp. 261—263.

church property lay, without scruple appropriated these ecclesiastical funds to their own use. This rapacity of the nobles caused much dissatisfaction in the church, and was considered a kind of sacrilege. To meet this difficulty, it was judged expedient to retain the offices of archbishops and bishops, to whom these revenues, according to law, were due; and that, instead of superintendents, sound and orthodox men should be appointed to fill these high ecclesiastical offices, by whom all ordinations should be performed, and other acts which had commonly appertained to the episcopal office. The clergy in consenting to this change in church polity, were not influenced by any opinion of the divine right of bishops; for, as far as is known to us, no one of the early reformers considered the difference between bishops and presbyters of divine origin; but many of them were of opinion, that for the easy government of the church, bishops, or superintendents, with a power of inspection over the other clergy was expedient. It may seem unaccountable, at first view, that the nobles should consent to an arrangement by which they would be deprived of revenues, on which some of them had already seized. Cook, in his History of the Church of Scotland, explains this difficulty by stating the fact, that an opinion generally prevailed among the nobles that bishops were a necessary part of the legislature of the country, without whose presence no law was constitutional and valid.

On the 12th of January, 1572, a convention met at Leith, which was attended by superintendents, barons, commissioners for planting churches, commissioners of towns and provinces, and ministers. This convention, after having resolved that they possessed all the legitimate powers of a General Assembly, adopted the following plan of church government.

"It is thought good, in consideration of the present state. 1. That the names and titles of the archbishops and bishops be not altered, &c. 2. That the archbishoprics and bishoprics, vacant, should be conferred on men ordained, as far as may be, with the qualities specified in the examples of Paul to Timothy and Titus. 3. That to all archbishoprics and bishoprics, that should become vacant, qualified persons should be presented within a year and a day after the vacancy took place, and those to be nominated to be of 30 years of age at the least. 4. That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their dioceses. 5. That abbotts,

priors, and inferior prelates should be tried as to their qualifications, &c. 6. That elections to bishoprics should be made by the chapters of the cathedral churches. 7. That all benefices should be conferred on actual ministers, and on no others. 8. That ministers should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, or where there was no bishop from the superintendent. 9. That bishops and superintendents should exact an oath of members, at their ordination, acknowledging his majesty's authority, and for obedience to their ordinary."—Vol. 1. p. 176.

It was, moreover, provided that all archbishops and bishops should exercise no other jurisdiction in their spiritual function than the superintendents exercised; that they were to be subject to the church in spiritual matters; and that in conferring offices in the church they should consult some of the most learned in the chapter, not fewer than six.

When the Assembly of 1573 met—the first after the adoption of this modified episcopacy—passing by the archbishop of St. Andrews who was present, they elected for moderator a parochial clergyman; which certainly did not indicate much respect for the new hierarchy; and business was conducted just as if no change had taken place in the polity of the church.

In the Assembly of 1575, Andrew Melvil, who had just returned to Scotland from abroad, made an attempt to introduce a change in the government of the church, and to commit all church power into the hands of the presbyters; which, in laboured and eloquent speeches, he endeavoured to show, was the true scriptural mode of church government. Melvil so far succeeded in his opposition to the bishops, that a committee of six, of which he was one, were appointed to bring in a report to the General Assembly, on the question of the lawfulness of episcopacy; and although he did not completely carry his point he was able to obtain the following principles to be inserted in the report. 1. That it is not expedient at this time to decide on the lawfulness of episcopacy; but if any bishop should be chosen, who had not the qualifications required in the word of God, he should be tried by the General Assembly, and deposed from his place.

2. That the name "bishop" was common to all ministers that had the charge of a particular flock; and that by the word of God his chief function consisted in the preaching of the word, ministration of the sacraments, and exercise of ecclesiastical discipline.

3. That from among the ministers some might be chosen to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds, beside their own flock, as the General Assembly might appoint.

4. And that within these bounds they might appoint preachers, with the advice of the ministers of that province, and consent of the flock to which they might be admitted. And, 5. might suspend ministers from the exercise of their office upon reasonable grounds, with the consent of the ministers of the bounds."

In the following year, 1576, Melvil obtained an addition to the rules by which the bishops were restricted: "That they should fix upon some particular congregation, with the care of which they were to be entrusted."

The friends of presbytery and the favourers of episcopacy now formed two parties; but the former grew stronger and stronger every year. In the General Assembly of 1577 a plan for a new ecclesiastical government was pushed very strenuously, and all its articles and provisions were unfavourable to the claims of bishops, as a distinct order.

The views of the advocates of presbytery were promoted by the resignation of Morton, the Regent. Melvil was the moderator of the Assembly of 1578, and a deputation from that body waited on the new regent, and informed him that they had revised and new-modelled the whole Book of Discipline. And an act was framed by the Assembly, that until the next year no new bishops should be appointed.

The new form of church polity which had been under discussion, during several successive General Assemblies, being now completed, was first presented to the Regent for his approbation. His answer was on the whole favourable, but rather evasive. It was next presented to the king and parliament. In many of its parts it was merely a copy of "The First Book of Discipline," drawn up by Knox: but in some points this "Second Book of Discipline" differed from the first. A leading principle which runs through the whole is, the parity of ministers: and without mentioning the bishops, such an office is declared to be unscriptural and injurious to the church. Church officers are, in this instrument, said to be four. 1. The bishop or pastor. 2. The teacher or doctor. 3. The presbyter or elder. 4. The deacon; and that no more offices should be suffered in the true church; and that all ambitious titles, invented in the kingdom of Antichrist and his usurped hierarchy which are not comprehended under these four, ought to be rejected." It is de-

clared, that ordination should be by prayer and the laying on the hands of the eldership. This ceremony had been laid aside in the First Book of Discipline. "All bishops should have their particular flocks, among whom it is their duty to reside, and to superintend them, assuming no titles but such as are scriptural. Doctors are those who explain the scriptures, without making practical application, which belongs to the pastor. Elders are mentioned as a perpetual office in the church, whose duty it is to assist the pastor in promoting religion and morality among the people. In short, this document contained a full and connected view of Presbyterian church government as it was afterwards adopted and still exists in Scotland.

In the General Assembly of this year, (1578) proceedings were instituted against the archbishop of Glasgow, with a view of correcting episcopal abuses; and various regulations were adopted respecting the power of bishops, all tending to the point of parity. The archbishop resisted what he conceived to be a shameful degradation. They next proceeded against Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrew's. They also abolished the use of the title of "bishop" on their records, on account of its long abuse. But they were greatly disappointed in not obtaining an act of the legislature confirming their plan of church polity; yet they proceeded as though it had obtained the sanction of the civil government. The influence of the principles of presbytery prevailed so generally, that the two archbishops were induced to sign a paper, nearly such as the General Assembly required of them.

The Presbyterians were much encouraged by the professed favour of the king, who, under the influence of the Duke of Lenox, the new regent, seemed disposed to give his sanction to the new system of church polity, against which he had at first manifested so strong an opposition. Thus was presbytery introduced into Scotland, formally, by the General Assembly, and in some degree confirmed by the sovereign. The feeble opposition made by the bishops and their party is proof enough, that the great body of the people went with the sentiments and plans of Melvil and his coadjutors. Before this time, the ministers of the church of Scotland had not been organized into presbyteries, as was now done; and although the prelates continued to hold their office, they were subjected to many mortifications. In some cases, weak men were appointed bishops by the nobles, under an agreement, that the revenues of their office should go into

the coffers of the patron; as was the fact in regard to Robert Montgomery, promoted to the see of Glasgow, by the Duke of Lenox. The presbytery of Sterling suspended him from his pastoral functions, which sentence, under the favour of Lenox, he disregarded; but was now summoned to appear before the synod of Lothian, to hear the sentence which had been pronounced against him; and when the king forbade the synod to interfere, they declared that while they owed him civil allegiance, they did not acknowledge him as judge in a matter purely ecclesiastical. They declared their purpose to proceed with the excommunication of Montgomery; and when James declared that he would not permit them; their answer was, "We must obey God rather than man." The case was now referred to the General Assembly, which met in a few days at St. Andrew's. The king again forbade them to proceed, upon pain of the guilt of rebellion against their lawful sovereign, but they proceeded to ordain, that Montgomery should be deposed and excommunicated. Montgomery was more affected by this spiritual anathema, than by the displeasure of the sovereign, and though he had appeared so resolute before, he now became very submissive, not to say abject, and threw himself on the mercy of his brethren. But he soon relapsed, and yielding to Lenox and the fascinating influence of ambition, went to Glasgow, accompanied by certain gentlemen, to be installed bishop.

The presbytery again cited him to give an account of a former offence; but the king again interfering, they disregarded his threats, and when about to proceed against Montgomery, agreeably to the order of the Assembly, the chief magistrate of the city pulled the moderator from his chair, and violently committed him to prison.

This, and other like cases, produced a state of alienation between the king and the church of Scotland, which had momentous consequences, and a cordial reconciliation never took place. It is true, that king James, several years afterwards, attempted to conciliate the Scottish clergy, by a very remarkable speech which he delivered to the General Assembly, which met in August, 1590. In the conclusion of this speech he said, "I praise God that I was born at such a time as in the time of the light of the gospel—to such a place as to be king of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk of the world. The kirk of Geneva keep *Pasch* and *Yule*, what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil said mass in English,

They want nothing of the mass but the liftings." Then he exhorted them to go on in their reformation, and stand to their purity, and exhorted the people to the same, pledging his life and crown to defend them against all enemies. This speech produced strong emotions of delight and gratitude in those who heard it. They concluded that all his prejudices were laid aside, and that he now saw their system of church polity in the same light in which they had long viewed it; and that they might now look with confidence to the completion of that ecclesiastical constitution which they believed to be best calculated to disseminate the blessings of religion, and preserve the rights and liberties of the people.

They now petitioned the king and council to confirm all the laws which had been made in favour of religion and morality; and also urged upon the court the importance of endowing schools and colleges, and making provision for the comfortable subsistence of the parochial clergy; but still, the opposition to the archbishops and bishops was unremitting.

In 1592, the General Assembly met in May, and the parliament in June. It was at this time that presbytery received a legal sanction, and became the established form of church polity in Scotland, by an express act of government. The parliamentary sanction given to the new Book of Discipline was most satisfactory to the ministers. It placed them in the situation which they had long wished to occupy; and had the king continued to act in accordance with the favour now shown, he might have succeeded in attaching the whole church and people to his person and government.

For many years, at the close of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth, Scotland was in a state of miserable confusion, both in its civil and ecclesiastical affairs. And while the Presbyterian form of church government had been adopted by the General Assembly, and sanctioned by the king and parliament, the office of archbishops and bishops remained in existence; but the General Assembly, at every meeting, passed acts, calculated to make these prelates feel that they were subordinate to them. And, indeed, the desire to be freed from offices so inconsistent with the plan of church polity, which had been adopted by general consent, became every year more manifest. The reasons for their appointment, however, were still as operative as ever; the clergy consented to have such prelates, to prevent the alienation of the funds of the church; and the king and nobles, because they were of opinion that the constitution of govern-

ment was incomplete, without the third estate, or spiritual lords, as representatives of the church.

Although James while king of Scotland had given his sanction to the Presbyterian form of church government, and had eulogised the kirk of Scotland as the purest in the world; yet, no sooner had he succeeded to the throne of England, upon the demise of Elizabeth, than he threw off the mask, and declared himself the friend of episcopacy, and gave evidence no how equivocal, that he intended to exert all his power to overthrow presbytery and establish episcopacy in Scotland.

In the year 1605, there was a meeting of the General Assembly, July 2, at Aberdeen. The number of commissioners present from the presbyteries was very small. A letter from James was read by Lauriston, the king's commissioner, addressed "To our trusty friends and brethren of the ministry, convened in their General Assembly at Aberdeen," by which the lawfulness of their meeting was recognized. But the ministers refused to receive the letter, until they were constituted by the election of a moderator and clerk, which they immediately proceeded to do. The king's commissioner now insisted that they should now dissolve the meeting; and although they were deeply convinced that the action of a General Assembly was greatly needed; yet their reluctance to oppose the mandate of their sovereign, induced them to resolve to adjourn; but they insisted upon their right of appointing another meeting, which the commissioner strenuously opposed. They however firmly maintained their ground, and adjourned to the 5th of September. With the conduct of this Assembly the king was greatly offended, and the moderator and other zealous defenders of the rights of presbytery, were summoned before the council at Edinburg; and as they defended their proceedings, and continued inflexible, they were sent to the castle of Blackness.

The king now manifested his designs in regard to the church of Scotland by a proclamation, in which he spoke of the importance of bringing the two kingdoms to as great uniformity as possible, in religion.

The parliament which assembled in 1606, passed various acts calculated to introduce despotism, and to re-establish the order of bishops. The clergy assembled in great numbers at Perth and protested against the establishment of episcopacy; reasoning with much force in defence of the Presbyterian polity, and upon the danger of making any innova-

tion in the constitution of the church. This paper was highly offensive to James, who, to show his displeasure, and to mortify if not convince the leading Presbyterian ministers, summoned several of them to London; and when they arrived, ordered them to attend the king's chapel, where by his orders, discourses in favour of episcopacy were delivered in succession, by certain bishops selected by himself. And he also required them to attend a conference before the council, where the points in dispute should be discussed; and his treatment of them throughout, was of the most arbitrary and tyrannical kind; for when they had been detained for a long time from their charges and families; and at a great expense, which they were obliged to bear; instead of being permitted to return, some of them were imprisoned on the most unjust pretexts, and when the remainder were permitted to return, they were expressly confined to particular places in the kingdom. And Andrew Melvil, the most distinguished member of the church of Scotland, and the boldest and most able advocate of presbytery, was kept in confinement, in England, until the day of his death.

By the open declaration of the king in favour of the re-establishment of episcopacy in the Scottish church, the hands of the prelates which had been much enfeebled by the proceedings of several successive General Assemblies, began to be greatly strengthened; and the parliament which met at Edinburg, in 1609, were subservient to all the king's designs, and enacted laws, to restore to the archbishops and bishops the civil jurisdiction which had been taken from them from the time of the reformation; and they now exerted all their influence in opposition to the system of discipline which had been for some time in force in the Scottish church. The bishops were not only restored to the exercise of jurisprudence, but by the king's arbitrary authority, were declared to be lords of parliament. And having made these important innovations, his object was to obtain a General Assembly which would sanction all his arbitrary acts. To accomplish this, the king not only directed the prelates to write letters to the presbyteries, exhorting them to send up moderate men, and lovers of peace and order; but lists of such persons as it was wished they should choose, were sent down to several of the presbyteries. The assembly thus packed, did not disappoint the expectations of the sovereign. By their acts, the king's prerogative in ecclesiastical matters, and the authority of the prelates, were raised to the highest pitch.

The proceedings of this Assembly of 1610, as it advanced the authority of the bishops, so it struck a severe blow at that Presbyterian polity, which Melvil had laboured so indefatigably to have established. The great radical principle which he endeavoured to have acknowledged, was the independence of General Assemblies, which, by the concessions of this Assembly, was subverted.

The bishops obtained undisputed superiority. They were constituted moderators of the inferior ecclesiastical judicatories; they were invested with the sole right of visitation; and while presbyteries were overlooked, the bishops might admit any man to the ministry by calling in for consultation, such of the neighbouring clergy as they chose. They were also authorized to receive all presentations; to appoint to such vacant livings as had been filled by presbyteries; and the oath which they were required to exact of all candidates for ordination or settlement, armed them with a most formidable power. But while by this Assembly so much was conceded to bishops, yet one important principle was maintained, the superiority of the General Assembly to the prelates, by which a provision was made for regaining their religious liberties at a future day.

As some dissatisfaction was manifested by sundry ministers with the acts of this Assembly, the king issued a proclamation enjoining absolute submission on all, and charging all civil officers, of every grade, to see that these acts were duly executed. The king having so far succeeded in bringing the Scottish church into a conformity with that of England, to complete the work so successfully commenced, determined that the Scottish bishops should receive regular consecration from the bishops of England; for this they wanted. He therefore ordered Spottiswood and two of his colleagues to come to London; and at the same time enjoined it on the bishops of London, of Ely, and of Bath and Wells, to perform this service. Spottiswood, it seems, was driven to this, not being willing that the claims of the English church to superiority, should be acknowledged. He complied however; but a difficulty arose. The bishop of Ely maintained that it would be necessary first to consecrate them priests, as they had never received episcopal consecration. Bancroft, the archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, on the other hand insisted that this was unnecessary, because where there were no bishops, ordination by presbyters must be esteemed valid; and that, if this were disputed, it might be doubted

whether there was any lawful vocation in most of the reformed churches. The bishop of Ely was satisfied with these judicious remarks, and the work of consecration was then completed.*

This consecration of the Scottish prelates had a very unfavourable effect on the public mind in Scotland. It was justly inferred, that, according to the principle assumed, none of the distinguished ministers by whose labours religion had been promoted in Scotland, had ever been regularly ordained, and had no warrant therefore for exercising the pastoral office.

The bishops who received consecration in England, when they returned, consecrated their colleagues; and thus episcopacy, according to the purest mould, was established in Scotland. But one thing was still wanting to give legitimacy to all these innovations; the sanction of parliament; a thing not difficult to be obtained, after the king had succeeded in bringing the General Assembly to his views.

But the king was not yet satisfied. He was desirous of introducing into the worship of the kirk of Scotland, all the ceremonies and festivals of the English church; but on this point he found the Scottish people more refractory, than they had been respecting more important matters: and his pertinacity in enforcing certain articles which he had got enacted by the parliament, defeated his whole plan, and produced a revulsion of feeling, which no after concessions could tranquillize. He seems, therefore, in his latter days, to have relinquished his favourite project of forcing the Scottish people to observe Christmas and Easter; and to observe Sunday as a festival and a day of sports. This part of his plan, which related to ceremonies, was therefore very partially introduced; and the articles confirmed by parliament, were, even in Edinburg, openly disregarded.

Charles I., when he succeeded his father, not only adopted the same principles in regard to the church, as had been pursued in the preceding reign, but he went much farther, and attempted, by force, to impose the English liturgy on the kirk of Scotland. Disaffection among the people spread rapidly. The prelates who succeeded those first appointed, were influenced in all their sentiments and measures by a regard to the court, that is Charles and Laud; and they became more and more unpopular, while the Presbyterian ministers were daily increasing in influence with the people.

* The account of this consecration is given by Spottiswood, the principal person consecrated, p. 514.

In the year 1633, Charles visited Scotland, accompanied by archbishop Laud, his prime adviser in ecclesiastical concerns. This high churchman celebrated divine worship in the king's chapel, according to the English liturgy; and in his sermon expatiated with unseasonable zeal upon the benefits which would be derived from a conformity to the English ritual, and upon the reverence due to the ceremonies of the church. He also enlarged on the nakedness of the Scottish forms, in a conference with the bishops, and proposed to introduce the English liturgy, and by composing certain canons to guide public devotion.

Before leaving Scotland, Charles, to show his zeal and reverence for episcopacy, founded the bishopric of Edinburg, appointed the church of St. Giles to be the cathedral, gave to it certain lands and endowments, and named Forbes, a man of some learning but suspected of popery, to the newly erected see.

It being found, that the English liturgy could not be received in Scotland without alteration, it was resolved to prepare one for this church, and also a book of canons. And instead of submitting these to the presbyteries or General Assembly, before they were introduced, the shorter method of giving them force by a royal proclamation was resorted to. This produced a great ferment. A powerful faction was formed, and it was determined to resist the king's proclamation. Some delay in introducing the new liturgy was judged expedient, which was favourable to the Presbyterians, as it gave them an opportunity to collect their forces and concert their measures. But this delay, offensive to Laud and his friends, was not of long continuance. The 23d of July, 1637, was the day fixed on for the introduction of the Liturgy in the cathedral church of St. Giles, Edinburg. Multitudes flocked to the place—the public mind was exceedingly agitated.—When the reading of the liturgy began, there was a great clamour, which increased as the reading proceeded. The bishop of Edinburg went into the pulpit and endeavoured to quiet the multitude, but in vain. From words the infuriated people proceeded to blows; sticks, stones, and other missiles were cast with violence. Women, it is said, were foremost in this tumult, and one cast a stool at the bishop's head, which, if it had taken effect, would have well nigh knocked out his brains. The continued cry of the multitude was, "A pope, a pope,—Antichrist! pull him down, stone him!" And when the bishops left the church they were followed

by the multitude, who, in the most opprobrious language, charged them with bringing into the kingdom, popery and slavery. Such was the violent antipathy to the bishop of Edinburg, that it was with difficulty he made his escape. Similar scenes were transacted in other places, and the disaffection increased daily; and the dislike to the book of common prayer became more strong and inveterate. Still, the king seemed resolved to make no concessions to a turbulent and disloyal nation. He issued another proclamation which was by his order read publicly at Stirling. But no sooner was the reading finished, than Lord Lindsay and Hume, in the name of themselves, and other noblemen and barons, as well as ministers and others, read a solemn protest against the king's proclamation, in which they assert their right of petitioning his majesty directly for a redress of grievances—that the archbishops and bishops could not be their lawful judges, in judicatory civil or ecclesiastical, as they were the persons against whom their complaints were made; until after lawful trial they purged themselves of such crimes as were laid to their charge, and which they were ready to prove.—That neither they themselves nor any other persons should incur any danger in life and lands for not observing such acts, books, canons, rites, &c., introduced without or against the acts of the General Assembly, or acts of Parliament: but that it should be lawful for them, on matters of religion, of external policy of the church, to conform to the word of God and lawful constitutions of the church and kingdom, according to his majesty's declaration of December last. They then proceed to clear themselves of all the evil consequences, which might arise from attempts to enforce upon an unwilling people such ceremonies and innovations as those referred to in the proclamation; and they concluded their bold and solemn protest by a profession that they aimed at nothing else but the preservation of the true reformed religion, the laws and liberties of his majesty's most ancient kingdom, and satisfaction of their most humble desires contained in their supplications and complaints, according to his majesty's accustomed goodness and justice, such as may be expected from so gracious a king towards his loyal subjects, &c. This protest was repeated on two successive days, at Linlithgow and Edinburg. And it is evident, that men guided by conscience and by strong feelings of the injustice which had been done them, when united, and having the multitude on their side, could not be put down nor quieted

by royal proclamations. But obstinacy and a recklessness of consequences were traits in the character of Charles, to which most of his misfortunes may be attributed.

The Presbyterians having determined on resistance unless their grievances were redressed, began to constitute themselves into an organized body, and appointed commissioners to act in their behalf, and to present their petitions to the council. They established what they called, TABLES, one for the nobility, one for the gentlemen, one for the ministers, and another for the boroughs. At these TABLES all matters relative to the common defence and security were discussed; and by a delegation from each of these particular tables, a general table was formed, which finally decided upon what it was necessary to carry into execution. Seldom has any political body existed, which was more venerated than the one now described. They were considered as the bulwark of the rights and liberties of the people, and as the guardians of pure religion; and without legal authority, their injunctions were implicitly obeyed; while the warnings of the council, though sanctioned by the royal approbation, were disregarded.

To preserve the union, enthusiasm, and veneration for the good cause, in which so many were engaged, it was judged to be expedient, to propose and adopt, under solemn sanctions, some public confession or covenant, which might have the effect of binding them the more strongly to the cause which they had espoused, to God, and one another. And as king James had instructed the minister Craig, to compose a Confession of Faith, in which all popish errors should be abjured, and which he himself signed, and which upon a petition from the General Assembly was again subscribed; the TABLES resolved to renew this covenant by their own authority, with such alterations and additions, as a change of circumstances required. Among the additions was an engagement "to defend each other against all persons whatsoever." This solemn league and covenant breathes the spirit of invincible resolution, founded on a deep sense of their rights, and a strong religious feeling of duty and veneration towards God. The perusal of it will evince to every one, that the subscribers were determined, in the attainment of the great ends which they proposed to themselves, to resist the authority of the king himself.

The king was at length aroused from his apathy and security, by the vigorous and determined measures of the Cove-

nanters; but was induced to pursue a policy which in existing circumstances could not be successful. As he did not contemplate a resort to immediate force, he should have endeavoured to conciliate the people by the most ample concessions. But his attachment to episcopacy, and his hope of sowing discord among his enemies, led him to pursue a middle course; and though he was willing to make some concessions, they were proposed in such a manner, as to suggest the idea that he was not sincere. For a high commissioner, he selected the Marquis of Hamilton, a nobleman descended from the royal family, attached to the best interests of the sovereign, yet mingling this attachment with patriotic feelings. He had spent some years of his life in a foreign country, and upon his return, took no decided part in the contests which distracted Scotland; but his extensive connexions and moderate principles, gained the confidence of some of the leading Covenanters; so that they had repeatedly applied to him to present their petitions to the king. The Marquis, though sensible of the difficulty which environed his office, and though doubtful of success; yet felt it to be his duty to undertake to do what he could, to heal the breach which existed. In his instructions, all idea of relinquishing episcopacy was left out of view, and he was merely directed to give assurance, that the canons and service-book should not be pressed, but in a legal way. Information of this nobleman's appointment soon reached Scotland, but no hint of the terms of accommodation which he was authorized to propose. The Covenanters, to guard against disunion in their ranks, held more frequent meetings of the TABLES; measures were taken for procuring arms; sermons were circulated which represented the dangers which might attend the coming of the Marquis; and a paper containing ten propositions, the design of which was to prevent division, was circulated through the kingdom.

The Marquis of Hamilton arrived in Scotland about the beginning of June, and found the kingdom in a most perturbed condition. He was informed by Lord Lindsay, that the people would never relinquish the covenant. When he presented his commission to the council, he found that even there, the friends of the covenant were powerful. His negociations with the Covenanters themselves were soon found to be fruitless; so that he judged it expedient to return to England; but when he came back with fresh instructions he found affairs more unfavourable than before. The new instructions

which he had received, authorized him, indeed, to make large concessions to the Covenanters; but by this time they had come to a resolution not to be satisfied with any modification of episcopacy, whatever; but to insist on its utter abolition, from the kirk of Scotland. He was authorized to give liberty for calling an assembly, on certain conditions; one of which was, that in electing commissioners, the presbyters should elect by their ministers, and that lay elders should neither be capable of voting for commissioners, or of being delegated to the assembly. On this point, there was some disagreement of opinion among the Covenanters. The clergy were afraid that by permitting lay elders to vote, they would be able to give what complexion they pleased to the assembly, as many of them were noblemen and men of influence.

The Covenanters considered and represented the whole proposal of calling an assembly, as insincere; and intended merely to create disunion among them. But the Marquis, to remove such suspicions, declared, that if they would agree to exclude laymen from choosing delegates, and not meddle with civil affairs which belonged to Parliament, he would instantly issue an order for the meeting of an assembly.

About the end of August, the Marquis again set off on his journey to England, and persuaded the sovereign to make all the concessions, which the people demanded. He then hastened back to Scotland, entertaining high hopes of being able to persuade the Covenanters to adhere to their sovereign. But while he was absent, the Tables had, by their own authority, issued orders for the election of members to a General Assembly. The conditions proposed by the king were rejected, as abridging the freedom of the Assembly; as he had sent very particular instructions, directing how commissioners should be chosen.

Hamilton, on his way back to Scotland, met with the bishops, who had taken refuge in England, and informed them that the king had authorized him to call an assembly, to which they were to be amenable; and although they remonstrated earnestly and powerfully against the justice of being arraigned at such a bar, he paid no attention to their objections; except to suggest, that one of them should state their case to the king; and then proceeded on his journey.

Finding that the condition of excluding lay elders from voting, was likely to be a bar in the way of an agreement, he judged it would be best to let it at once be publicly known, what favourable terms his majesty had been pleased

to grant; which he did with warm commendations of the paternal regard and condescension of the monarch, towards his subjects.

The Covenanters, upon hearing that all they demanded was conceded, did not express that joy which might have been expected from patriotic minds; and they seemed anxious to find something that would give a plausible pretext for declining to accede to the king's proposals. This they found in the requisition to subscribe the Covenant abjuring popish errors, which they had formerly considered a test of attachment to the reformation. The true reason of the course pursued on this occasion by the Covenanters can only be accounted for, by supposing that they had no confidence in the sincerity of the king; and the persuasion, that whatever he conceded under the pressure of existing circumstances, he would certainly take back as soon as a fair opportunity might offer. When the various acts of concession were made public, a protestation, evincing the determination of the Covenanters to resist all terms, was read by the earl of Montrose, as representative of the body. Some, however, of the more moderate among them, were of opinion, that the concessions of the king should be thankfully received, and if he departed from them, it would be easy to arouse the spirit of the people again. The danger of disunion was clearly perceived, and the leaders among the Covenanters took every pains to circulate among the people, by popular preachers and emissaries, the opinion, that the king was insincere, and that his only aim was to divide his opponents; and that unless they now stood united in opposition, they would soon be subjected to intolerable tyranny. They also represented, that to subscribe the covenant now proposed, after having subscribed the other covenant, would be perjury.

But all eyes were directed to the approaching meeting of the General Assembly. Great exertions had been made by the Presbyterians to have commissioners of a right character chosen; and these efforts had been, in most instances, successful.

The following narrative of the proceedings of this Assembly, which met at Glasgow, is taken from the letters of a member, and a man of great piety, learning, and moderation; and who was afterwards one of the Scottish delegates to the Westminster Assembly; of which also he has given a particular account.*

* Baillie.

Much anxiety was felt by the ministers and people of Scotland respecting this Assembly; as the six preceding Assemblies that met, were not such, as that the church could own them for lawful Assemblies. The king's commissioner exerted all his influence to get the ministers to consent to aim at small changes; but they were careful not to commit themselves. When his grace, the commissioner, was understood to be approaching Glasgow, some noblemen and many of the people went forth to meet him, and convoy him into the city. The clergy, before the opening of the Assembly, met in three separate companies, for no private house could contain them all together; and each of these appointed three persons, nine in all, to confer with the nobility and barons, and to mature what was to be proposed in public. On the Tuesday immediately preceding the opening of the Assembly, it was put upon old Mr. Somervail, sorely against his will, to preach; the old man, though half blind, acquitted himself pretty well. In his sermon, he insisted boldly on the extirpation of all bishops from the Scottish church, which was offensive to some, but gratifying to most of his hearers.

The first private consultation of the committee of nine, related to the choice of a moderator and clerk. No doubt was entertained but that Alexander Henderson was the most fitting person for the office of moderator; but as he was an able disputant, and much controversy with the bishops was expected, it was doubted whether it would be good policy to put him into the chair; but on running over the names of other ministers who might be thought of for this office, it was concluded, that Alexander Henderson was the only one who could with advantage be selected. As to a clerk, all minds turned at once to Mr. Johnston, who possessed admirable qualifications for this office.

The commissioner was informed, that it was the custom to commence their proceedings with a fast, to which he acceded. They then informed him, that it was also their custom, in the absence of the former moderator, that the oldest minister present should preach, and act as moderator till another was chosen; and they designated old Mr. John Bell, as a suitable person to begin so great an affair. The commissioner claimed it as his right to nominate the preacher, but signified his acquiescence in the one suggested by them; and accordingly, he sent a request to the old gentleman to preach on Wednesday, and act as moderator till another was chosen.

Mr. Baillie proposed that they should imitate the manner

of transacting business in the synod of Dort, and that the delegates from each presbytery should consult together in private, which might enable them to aid one another. The proposal was applauded, but not followed; for when they met, every man was disposed to pursue his own course, independently of others.

The crowd was so great in and about the place of meeting, that it was found almost impracticable for the members to make their way through the closely pressed throng; and the same difficulty was experienced for fourteen days of the session; and what rendered this crowding of the multitude more offensive to serious minds, was, that they showed no manner of reverence for the house of God, but filled the place with noise and confusion.

The commissioner now took his seat in his chair of state. At his feet before, and on both sides, in convenient *forms*, were seated the chief of the council; the high officers, and the nobility; and then the three commissioners from each of sixty-three presbyteries. These were seated in several series of ascending forms or benches, around a low, long table. In the middle, a small table was set for the moderator and clerk.

Old Mr. Bell preached a very good and pertinent sermon, and did not spare the authors of innovations, and the bishops. The only difficulty was, that the old man was not heard by more than one sixth of the people, assembled. When the sermon was over, he came down, and at the small table, where was the moderator's seat, he poured out a fervent prayer, which Baillie says, *he* seconded with affectionate tears, as he hopes did many others.

The commissioner handed in his commission to the clerk of the commissioner of the last year, but made no opening speech as was expected of him; although he showed himself, afterwards, as capable of speaking fluently, as any in the house. Baillie characterizes him, "as a man of sharp, ready, solid, clear wit; of a brave and masterly expression; loud, distinct, slow, full, yet concise, modest, courtly, yet simple and natural language. My thoughts of the man before that," says he, "were hard and base, but a day or two's audience wrought my mind to a great change towards him, which yet remains, and ever will, till his deeds be notoriously evil. His commission was in Latin, but in a semi-barbarous style; yet ample enough to settle all our difficulties had it not been for a clause containing instructions." The commissions of the delegates, three

ministers and one elder from each presbytery, were now handed in to the moderator and clerk, expressed nearly in the same words. They were commissioned to "reason, vote, and conclude, in the name of their presbyteries, in all things proposed, according to the word of God, and the Confession of Faith, of the church of Scotland, as they would answer it to God and the church."

Now arose the keenest dispute which occurred during the sessions. It was strenuously pleaded, and insisted on, by some, that the validity of the commissions ought first to be discussed, that none might be permitted to vote for a moderator and clerk, but such whose commissions should be found valid. This was a deep scheme of the commissioner, and his friends. They intended to bring into question the rights of elders to a seat in the body, and also to challenge those of many ministers, who had been placed under censure by the bishops. But on the other side it was argued with great force, that custom, equity, and necessity decided, that the choosing a moderator and clerk, should be the first thing, and should precede all examination of the validity of commissions. After a warm and able discussion of the point, the commissioner asked leave to retire with his council for consultation. After a long stay, he returned, and expressed his consent to their proceeding in the choice of a moderator and clerk, with the protestation, that the voting of no commissioner should prevent him from being brought into question, if there should appear any just exceptions to his commission. Protestations were also entered on the other side, that his grace's protestations should not hinder the discussion of the office and alleged privileges, of the pretended bishops. The acting moderator now called them to give their votes for moderator, but before the election took place, a paper was presented in the name of the bishops, which the commissioner demanded to be read. But it was argued, that no paper could be received or read, until the assembly was constituted, for until then, it was not an assembly which could transact any business; but, afterwards, any paper which his grace might choose to present, might be read, subject to be answered by the Assembly, if they should think it necessary. The commissioner now attempted to have the paper read by the pure exercise of his own authority; but, immediately, a confused clamour was excited, and from a multitude of voices the words vociferated, "no reading—no reading." This greatly offended the commissioner, as he protested, that the refusal

to hear the paper then, was an act of injustice. There was now nothing but protests from both sides of the house, until all were weary of them, except the clerk, who with every one received a piece of gold. The commissioner particularly protested against calling the bishops *pretended*, who were authorized by the king. The Earl of Rothes protested, on the other hand, that they must be considered *pretended*, until their claims and titles were fairly tried by the Assembly. Another attempt was made by Mr. Bell to proceed to the election of moderator, but again the commissioner represented, that the persons appointed by the king as his council, were also entitled to be his assessors, and to sit and vote in the Assembly. To this it was strongly objected, that the king appointed but one commissioner to the General Assembly, and no others could lawfully be sent to sit and vote;—that the noble personages in question, were not mentioned in the commission of his grace, to perform any other part, but to be his counsellors. Against this his grace again protested; and others, in answer. At length the moderator was permitted to be chosen. Mr. Henderson was elected by an almost unanimous vote; upon which he made a handsome speech, in the way of acknowledgment. It was also determined, after some dispute, to hold but one session in the day, and to sit from ten or eleven A. M., to four or five P. M. "So," says Baillie, "we were all relieved from the expense of a dinner. An early breakfast put us all off till supper, for, commonly, we sat an hour with candle-light. We ended this day with the moderator's prayers. Among that man's other good parts, that was one, a faculty of grave, good, and zealous prayer, according to the matter in hand, which he exercised without fagging, to the last day of the meeting." In the third session, it was the order of the day to choose a clerk, upon which another controversy arose, as the commissioner was not well satisfied with the nominations, and wished a young man to be appointed, who, he knew, would be subservient to his views. But, at length, when the votes were given, it was found that Mr. Archibald Johnston had received all the votes, except one. Upon being sworn into office, Mr. Sandiland, the son of the former clerk, delivered into his hands, two volumes of registers or minutes; testifying, that his father had never had any more of the records, in his possession. These now delivered, contained the acts of the Assembly, since the year 1590. The moderator now made proclamation, that whoever had in his hands any part of the

church records, should bring them forth and deliver them to the new clerk: upon which, Mr. Johnston informed the Assembly, that the missing records had, by the good providence of God, come into his hands; which he exhibited;—five books in folio, four of which were written and subscribed, and margined in the known hands of Gray, and Ritchie, clerks to the General Assembly. These contained a full record of the acts of the Assembly from the reformation in 1560, to the year 1590. A committee was appointed to examine these records, to ascertain whether they were authentic and complete, and to report their judgment to the Assembly.

The commissioner now renewed his application for the reading of the paper which he had before presented; but it was again objected to, as out of order, until the commissions were canvassed. This being carried, the commissioner, after declaring that he knew not what the paper contained, protested against the decision of the house, and required that his protest should be inserted on the record; but this was overruled, as the Assembly was not regularly constituted until the commissions were examined. Much discussion arose on this point also, and the counsellors of his grace, alleged and insisted, that if the bishops were to be put on their trial, they should have the opportunity of objecting to their judges, before they took their seat; but the moderator, with some tartness, set aside their plea. The whole of the third session was occupied with the aforesaid matters.

In the fourth session, which was on the 24th of November, the business was long retarded by the absence of the king's commissioner, who did not make his appearance until 12 o'clock; which delay was not occasioned merely by his sitting long at his sumptuous breakfast, but by the long private consultations which he held with his council; and by his correspondence with the government at London. On this day, the moderator appointed preachers for all the churches; and from this duty no one was permitted to excuse himself; however desirous to decline such a service, on such an occasion.

The commissions of one hundred and twenty delegates from presbyteries and hurghs were now read, in the order of the roll; and exceptions were entered against no more than thirteen; but his grace informed the Assembly, that his silence now, should not debar him from hereafter excepting to any of the commissions, if he should judge that there was

good ground. The first objection offered was, by Mr. Robert Elliott, to the election of the lord treasurer, from the presbytery of Peebles, as having been brought about by the exercise of an undue influence, by the lord treasurer himself. On this, a long discussion arose, in which the lord treasurer vindicated himself, at great length, and complained, that a member was permitted to libel a prime officer of the king's government; and appealed for justice to the king's commissioner, who promised him all reasonable satisfaction. The moderator, however, "admonished the treasurer to speak of the man in no other terms than was due to a minister of Jesus Christ." After much debate, the commission was approved; and the conduct of the protesting member received no other censure, than a few words from the moderator. But there arose a still hotter controversy, respecting the comission of Lord Dun, who had been delegated as an elder. On the back of this commission, there was an inscription containing the approbation of the TABLES, at Edinburg. The presbytery which commissioned him was that of Breakin. The clerk, after reading the commission itself, inadvertently read the endorsement; the king's commissioner catched at the advantage, and required a duplicate of that commission with the endorsement, under the clerk's hand: this was refused, and his grace offered his protest. The commission, however, was referred, with another, to a special committee, and both rejected. Several others were rejected for some informality. But what excited some surprise, the commissions, both from the presbytery and college of Glasgow, were laid aside; of the college, because it contained four names, and one a non-covenanter. No university, before, had ever attempted to send more than one delegate. Much painful altercation arose in regard to this matter. The censure appeared to fall on the principal, Dr. Strong; but to increase the difficulty, some member procured a copy of this commission, without the leave of the Assembly, and put it into the hands of the king's commissioner. This was considered a great dereliction of duty, and a large meeting of ministers was held to search to the bottom of this affair; before whom, the principal, and Mr. Wilkie, who was supposed to be implicated with him, were solemnly expostulated with, and urged to withdraw the commission. Almost all concerned were brought to a sense of the impropriety of their conduct, except the principal, who remained obstinate, until near the close of the Assembly, when he followed the example of the rest, who had subscribed

their names to a paper of acknowledgment; but his conduct, at the last, was not satisfactory. The commission was, after much debate, rejected; but the university were permitted to hold a meeting and make out another, with one delegate. This, however, they neglected to do, which disposed some to deal rigorously with Dr. Strong, as though he and his associates declined the authority of the Assembly; but by the interposition of men of more moderate counsels, the design was prevented, and a committee was appointed to visit the college, at the head of which was the Duke of Argyle; not with the view of ejecting the principal or any of the professors, but of introducing as adjunct professor of divinity, Mr. David Dickson. But this committee was never convened, and, of course, nothing was done.

In the fifth session, Nov. 26th, the Assembly was still occupied with the commissions, to which exceptions had been taken: and one Thomas Mackenzie, having presented a commission which was rejected, being a bold, pragmatical man, gave in a protestation against the right of ruling elders to sit in the General Assembly. This produced instant excitement. Mr. A. Ramsay got up in a storm, and with great confidence, undertook to prove from scripture, fathers, consent of reformed churches, the uniform practice of the Scottish church, and acts of Assembly, that ruling elders were lawful and necessary members of Assemblies. The commissioner professing his own inability to discuss the subject, promised to produce some one who would prove the contrary; but the attempt was never made.

On Tuesday, Nov. 27th, the sixth session was held, in which the committee to whom was referred the books of the Assembly, to ascertain whether they were authentic, reported their judgment in favour of the authenticity of these volumes, with their reasons. The commissioner, who now seemed disposed to object to every thing, declared that he was not satisfied with the report. The vote was not now taken on this report, but the members were directed to come prepared to vote, at the next session. Committees were now appointed; after which the long-urged protest and declinature of the bishops, was read. This being the most important business of this Assembly, several noblemen, acting as elders, entered their protest against the conduct of the bishops; insisting, that as they declined to appear, they might be tried being absent.

It appeared now, that the number of protesters against the Assembly, concerning which there had been a sounding ru-

mour, was very inconsiderable; and some protests which had been presented were withdrawn, as in the case of the presbytery of Glasgow. The moderator, in relation to the protestation, against the right of ruling elders to a seat in the Assembly, now caused a paper to be read, supposed to have been prepared by young Mr. Calderwood, who was understood to occupy a room near the Assembly, where he could readily be consulted.

On Wednesday, it was rumoured, that it was the purpose of the lord commissioner to break up the Assembly, as far as his presence was essential; and to return immediately home. This news caused much regret; and as he had used freely his privilege of protesting against whatever he disliked, it was conjectured, that he must have received fresh instructions from the king, requiring him to return. But some who pretended to know more of the policy of the court, asserted, that, from the beginning, this course had been resolved on.

The first thing which came up, this day, was the report of the committee on the records, which had been postponed, the day before. Inquiry was now made, whether any one could allege any thing against the authenticity of these books. The commissioner, as before, expressed his entire dissatisfaction, that they should be acknowledged as the authentic registers of the Assembly; but the members, almost with one voice, declared, that they received them as authentic. The preservation of these records, for so many years after they had disappeared, was considered a very remarkable providence; inasmuch, as if they had fallen into the hands of any of the abettors of the court in their oppressive treatment of the church of Scotland, they would undoubtedly never have seen the light; since they contained the proceedings of those Assemblies which had most faithfully and courageously resisted the impositions so often attempted by royal authority. The moderator, in reasoning with the marquis, respecting these records, took occasion, to speak of the ancient unity and orthodoxy of the reformed church, in illustration of which, he read in Latin, a noble testimony, taken from the "Harmony of Confessions," and commented on the same, in English.

The next business was, the declinature of the bishops. To this paper two answers were read by the clerk; both sufficiently crude: but they underwent considerable modifications, and both contained a substantial answer to the reasonings in the aforesaid paper. The longer of the two, passed the revi-

sion, and received the corrections, of Mr. David Calderwood: the other, was prepared by Mr. Andrew Ramsay. The moderator having observed that most of the exceptions of the bishops against the Assembly, were nearly the same which the remonstrants had employed against the synod of Dort, read the answer given to the paper of the remonstrants, by the English divines, who were members of that synod. Upon this Dr. Balcanqual, who had been a deputy to the synod of Dort, requested permission to speak. He said, that the case of the remonstrants differed from that now before the Assembly, in two material points. 1. The errors charged against the remonstrants, were fundamental; whereas the bishops only differed from us in matters of discipline, which the church had determined, not to be essential. And 2. The churches of Holland, or their deputies, were not bound by oath, as the Assembly was, to support either side; but their oath was, to try every doctrine by the word of God. Baillie says, of this man, "that he was quick and eloquent, but seems not to be of any profound solidity." And he declares, that his argument was unsound in every part. The moderator took it upon himself to reply, and, according to our author, went as much into extremes, on the other side, by denying that Arminian errors were fundamental; and he ran out to such length in discoursing on the first particular, that he had no time to notice the second. After much had been said, the moderator gave a short and pertinent answer to the exception of the bishops, proving that those who had opposed the Novatians and Donatists were not thereby disqualified for sitting in judgment on these schismatics: at this rate, an impartial tribunal, for the condemnation of error, could never be found: and he denied that the charges against the bishops related only to matters of discipline: he showed, that the principal accusations respected their encouragement of both Arminianism and Popery, which the doctor himself judged to be fundamental errors. The moderator declared it would be the duty of the next Assembly to sit in judgment on the bishops, notwithstanding their declinature. The commissioner, at this stage of the business, delivered to the clerk, to be read, the king's last instructions, in which he prohibited the Assembly from entering into any examination of the right of episcopacy, any thing in the service book, the Perth articles, or any part of discipline authorized by the canons; nor was it permitted to try the articles of Arminianism, nor even to touch some of the Popish errors, which had

found favour with the prelates. The moderator made a learned and eloquent speech, in reply. But when he proposed the question for decision, whether they were the lawful judges of the bishops, the commissioner delivered an affecting valedictory, which drew tears from many eyes. He spoke much of his sincere endeavours to serve God, the king, and country; and expressed lively sorrow, that he now felt it to be necessary for him to depart. He then alleged various acts of the body, since it met, which rendered it necessary for him to put an end to an Assembly, which had been called with privileges the most free. After much explanation and vindication of the Assembly, by some of the leading noblemen, the commissioner cut short all further debate, by declaring that nothing done by the Assembly would be lawful; and he charged them to proceed no farther. While he was going, the Earl of Rothes delivered to the clerk a protest—which he had prepared for such an exigence—against the departure of his grace. And to many, his departure seemed to be injudicious and abrupt; and they were of opinion, that much evil would have been prevented, if he had only remained a few days longer, and no prejudice done to his majesty's service.

When the commissioner and his counsellors were gone, it became a grave subject of consideration, whether the Assembly should continue their proceedings; and it was now seen, how wisely the presbyteries and burghs had acted, in the choice of their delegates; for had it not been, that that Assembly contained some of the first men, for integrity, judgment, and firmness, from the nobility and gentry, and a selection of the wisest and most orthodox ministers, the Assembly might have ended in confusion, like that of Aberdeen. Only a few members departed, some on the pretext of sickness, and others, because their commissions expressly bound them to remain only on the condition that the Assembly had the permission of the king to sit, and transact business. But the great majority of the members resolved to proceed regularly in the business before them, which was, the question, whether they were judges of the bishops' declinature. The vote passed, unanimously, in the affirmative. And Providence, at this moment, seemed to smile upon them and afford them encouragement; for the commissioner and his company had scarcely left the house, when Lord Erskine, a noble youth of great promise, requested an audience; and, with grief and tears acknowledged, that, contrary to the conviction of

his own mind, he had hitherto withheld his hand from our covenant, and his person from our meetings; wherefore, he besought the Assembly to pray to Christ for his forgiveness, and humbly intreated that he might now be received into our covenant and society. All embraced him joyfully, and admired the seasonableness of God's mercies and comforts towards them, in the time of their perplexity. At the same time, two preachers made application to be admitted to subscribe to the covenant, and were accordingly received.

On Thursday, Nov. 29th, the eighth session was held. The Duke of Argyle, the chief of the marquis's counsellors, came back, this day, and being intreated by the Assembly, though not a member, to remain and witness their proceedings, and to help and encourage the church of God, he consented to do so, and to the end fulfilled his engagement, which afforded great joy to the Assembly. Indeed, no circumstance was better adapted to confirm and encourage the members, than the presence of Argyle; for he was not only the greatest subject in Scotland, but had favour both with King Charles and the commissioner. His presence, also, had the effect of restraining the Assembly from desperate extremities; and he took care to suffer nothing to be said or done, prejudicial to the person or authority of the king. When young Calderwood preached a sermon before the Assembly, and had for his text, "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord," and encroached too much on the actions of the king of Great Britain, Argyle gently admonished him, to let authority alone; which the moderator seconded; and after this, all were religiously careful not to transgress, in that particular. It was found, however, that Argyle's continuing with the Assembly was exceedingly displeasing, both to the king, and to the commissioner. Nothing else, as appears by the letters which passed between them, was the cause of the breach which took place between the king and the duke. And between the commissioner and him, the quarrel rose so high, that it was thought they would challenge one another. The conduct of the duke, on this occasion, was certainly very noble and disinterested; for he ran the risk of his head and all he was worth, to aid and promote the cause of the church. Indeed, he had promised to Rothes and Loudon, that when the hour of extremity came, he would not be found wanting to the cause of God and his country. He produced in the Assembly, this day, letters from three counsellors, in which they declare that they had subscribed

the confession, as it was professed in the year 1580, even as Argyle himself had done. Communications were also received from several other counsellors, to the same amount. The better part of the council having come over to the side of the Assembly, the commissioner was much chagrined; but the friends of the Scottish church were greatly animated and rejoiced.

On Friday, the 30th of November, was the ninth session. This day was spent in trying the late corrupt Assemblies; the causes of all the evils which now afflicted the church. Baillie remarks, "We ended the sooner, that the committees might have the more time for their diligence. Such small privy meetings are most necessary, for otherwise affairs cannot be expedited; yet I see not why the inconvenience for which we abolished privy conferences, (caucuses) shall not arise in the committees; only the name seems to be changed."

Saturday, Dec. 1st, was the tenth session. On this day, "three closed processes before the presbyteries" were presented by Mr. David Lindsay. The first against David Mitchell for Arminianism; the next against Dr. Panther, for verging towards Pelagianism, in regard to original sin; the third against archdeacon Gladstones, for drunkenness and atheistic profaneness. These processes were read and considered, but sentence delayed; because many of the charges against them related to Arminianism; and it was thought expedient, to appoint some persons to speak, at the next meeting, against these errors. Mr. Dickson and Mr. Baillie were appointed to this duty.

Monday, Dec. 3d, the Assembly held its eleventh session. "The first action was the appointment of preachers for the week;" for every day in the week, except Saturday, there was a sermon in the morning for the people, in two churches: although, in some instances, the appointment fell upon persons whose sermons were not entirely satisfactory. Yet, by many good sermons the people were edified, and injured in one thing only, that, afterwards, they liked their own preachers the worse.

Mr. Dickson now delivered a long and most ingenious discourse, on Arminianism, pursuing a plan peculiar to himself, which he had invented before, in a course of lectures which he delivered on the new covenant. But no copy of this discourse could be obtained, for like all this man's productions, it was extempore or unwritten. In this session, sentence of deposition was pronounced against David Mitchell, and a

number of others, especially the ministers of Edinburg, who had been thrust in upon the people without their consent.

On Tuesday, Dec. 4th, the twelfth session, Mr. Robert Baillie was called on for his observations on Arminianism, which he read from his manuscript; and which was so highly esteemed, that he was troubled by applications for copies, which occupied his leisure for several days. Mr. John Robertson, who had been appointed to that business, brought in a paper, in which it was ably shown, that all the acts of the six last Assemblies were null and void. Upon the hearing of which, it was immediately decided by a vote, that the acts of these assemblies were without authority.

Wednesday, Dec. 5th, the moderator, by way of clear consequence, inferred from the act of the preceding day, declaring the acts of these Assemblies null and void, the freedom of all from the oaths of conformity which they might have taken in obedience to the bishops; and also, the validity of admissions and depositions of ministers by presbyteries lately, without the consent of the bishops. These inferences were not only stated in argument, but entered on the records of the Assembly.

On this day, Dr. Robert Hamilton, procurator of the bishops, was deposed for sabbath-breaking, profaneness, and contempt of the authority of the Assembly.

Dec. 6th, was the fourteenth session. Most of this day was spent in hearing long and tedious treatises against the liturgy.

Dec. 7th. The case of the bishops came before the Assembly, this session. Some few sent in their submission, and professed not to have approved the late proceedings of the other bishops. Each case was taken up separately, and the Assembly not only deposed, but excommunicated them. Some, who were in favour of deposing them from office, were opposed to their excommunication, until they should be admonished and otherwise dealt with. All the declining bishops were, however, both deposed and excommunicated.

Saturday, Dec. 8. The Earl of Rothes, Duke of Argyle, and some others, judged it necessary to repair to Edinburg, to counteract the proclamation and other measures of the king's commissioner, calculated to be prejudicial to the Assembly. But before they left the house, the subject of episcopacy was brought under consideration, and produced some discussion, and no small perplexity, in some minds. The question was, how to reconcile the two covenants which had

been subscribed. The commissioner and his advisers insisted, that a subscription to the covenant, when a modified episcopacy existed, bound the subscriber to the support of that part of ecclesiastical government; but the rigid Presbyterians, by the counsel of Calderwood, held, that Covenanters were bound to abjure every form of prelacy. All, except a very few, however, voted to have every thing of this kind removed from the church; and thus, at last, THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND DIVESTED HERSELF OF THE LAST REMAINS OF PRELACY, which had ever been the source of various evils. And at the suggestion of Argyle, the Assembly decided the question respecting the true interpretation of the Covenant of 1580, by declaring, that the subscribers renounced episcopacy, by their act of subscription. Mr. Robert Baillie, however, could not fall in with this interpretation; for, although, he was as much opposed to prelacy, as any man in the Assembly, yet he was of opinion, that a distinction ought to be made between such episcopacy as existed in the days of Knox, and that lately imposed by tyrannical enactments.

Monday, Dec. 10. This was the seventeenth session. The first subject of discussion, this day, was in relation to the Perth Articles, which, by an almost unanimous vote, were declared to be opposed to the Covenant; Baillie, as in the former case, not being able to concur with the majority.

As the removal of abuses had been pretty thoroughly gone into, one of the lay members moved that a committee should be appointed to inquire what measures were needed to promote good order and sound morals: which should be authorized to receive overtures and suggestions from all quarters. When this committee met, they had abundance of matter laid before them; but they adopted the wiser course, of examining into the acts of former assemblies, to see whether suitable acts had not already been passed; and upon examination, they found, that every thing needful was provided; and they, accordingly, reported such select acts as were accommodated to the present times, to the Assembly; which were now renewed, and ordered to be published, as in full force.

On this day, also, the bishops of Edinburg and Aberdeen, who had been among the most zealous in introducing popish ceremonies and prelatical abuses, were deposed and excommunicated.

Tuesday, Dec. 11. The process against the bishop of Orkney came up; and the charges against him for immoral conduct and the neglect of the duties of his office, being proved

to the satisfaction of the Assembly, he also was deposed; but as he had not been summoned, the moderator interposed to prevent his excommunication, at that time; although, he admitted, that no one more richly deserved it.

The same sentence was pronounced upon the bishop of Glasgow; and excommunication, also, unless he should give satisfaction, in a reasonable time.

Wednesday, Dec. 12. On this day, the proceedings against the bishops were terminated. The two last brought before the Assembly, were those of Dunkeld and Caithness. Both these had submitted themselves to the Assembly, and only requested to be retained in the ministry; and, accordingly, they were treated with lenity, and their request granted; although, it was admitted, that their acts had been as unlawful and injurious as those of most of the others.

Mr. James Cunningham, weary of the injuries of his patron, Lord Dumfries, asked leave to transport himself to some other point, where he might find an opening. It was thought that he had his eye on the richer and more eligible living of Paisley; but although his request was granted, yet the result was not to his mind; for while his own parish were disgusted with his anxiety to be separated from them, the other parish to which he aspired, were equally disgusted with his manifest solicitude to become their pastor. Much the same thing happened to another distinguished preacher, Dr. Dagleish, whose learning and eloquence were sufficient to have made him acceptable to any people; but when it was seen how great his desire was to become the minister of a certain parish, it disappointed all his aspiring hopes—"*Sequentem fugimus; fugientem sequimur.*"

Thursday, Dec. 13th. This was the twentieth session; in which, the moderator, in the morning, preached a learned sermon to a great multitude of auditors, from Psalm cx. 1. "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." After sermon, he proceeded, in a most solemn and grave manner, to pronounce the sentences of deposition and excommunication upon those who had fallen under those censures, by the acts of the Assembly. On witnessing this awful transaction, Mr. Baillie appropriately remarks, "My heart was filled with admiration of the power and justice of God, who can bring down the highest, and pour shame on those suddenly, even in this world, by means all utterly unexpected, who will sin against him pronely, with an uplifted hand. And withal, I

heartily pitied those who were excommunicated, remembering the great gifts of some, and eminent places of all; whence their ambition and avarice had pulled them down to the dunghill of contempt. We have many arguments daily to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, to be very lowly, and to desire to pass over our life in obscurity, that so we may eschew many snares of the devil, and occasions of shameful error."

This day, process against Mr. William Annan, came up. The man is said to have possessed very great gifts; but profaneness, and a violent opposition to all he counted puritanism, spoiled all. The charges against him, were, "that he had maintained saint's-days, inveighed against extempore prayer, was frequently drunk, and a common swearer; and that he had deserted his flock for more than eight months." He was unanimously deposed.

Mackenzie, archdeacon of Ross, was also deposed, this day, for many scandalous crimes.

Friday, Dec. 14th. This session was spent in various more private concerns. Several ministers who had signed the bishops' declinature, came forward and confessed their fault, and were received, or referred to their presbyteries, to give satisfaction. St. Andrews, put in their supplication, to have Mr. Alexander Henderson placed among them; but this was opposed by the delegates from Edinburg, who alleged, that the moderator had already been elected for Edinburg. The contest between these two important places, for the ministry of Mr. Henderson, lasted two or three days. As he found that he could not be permitted to stay where he was, he inclined much more to St. Andrews than to Edinburg; but when the vote of the Assembly was taken, it was in favour of Edinburg, by a small majority.

Saturday, Dec. 15. Order was this day taken for the meeting of provincial synods, and a resolution passed, for the visitation of the Old College of Aberdeen, to correct the abuses which had sprung up under the administration of their late bishop.

Monday, Dec. 17. Much business was this day despatched, and the minutes of the transactions of the former sessions, were read, corrected, and approved. A visitation of the College of Glasgow was ordered; and a large and respectable committee appointed, on this service. Several attempts were made to bring Dr. Strong before the Assembly; who had not made his appearance, since their regular commis-

sion of the college had been condemned; but his friends found means to excuse, or at least to shield him, so that no public censure was passed upon him. Much was said about transporting Mr. David Dickson to Edinburg; but Lord Eglinton made such earnest opposition to the measure, that the design was relinquished, for the present.

Tuesday, Dec. 18. The principal part of this session was occupied in considering, censuring, and removing, certain practises, by which the sabbath day was desecrated; particularly, a Sunday-market, in Edinburg; and also Monday-markets, in several places, which led unavoidably to sabbath-breaking. Mr. Guild received commendation for his efforts to put down Sunday-fishing, in the north; the moderator urged the passing of an act to suppress the practice; but Mr. John Robertson, who was better acquainted with the acts of Assembly than any other member, found an old act of 1602, prohibiting all sorts of fishing and milling, on Sunday.

Mr. James Affleck, who had been dealt with for Arminianism, gave in a written exposition of his views, which rendered him more suspicious than before. Upon being asked, whether he would subscribe the articles of the synod of Dort, he said that he had never seen them! The Assembly referred him to his presbytery; ordering, that if he did not consent to subscribe the articles of Dort, he should be deposed; yet, he offered to subscribe the Covenant, with the Assembly's declaration.

Wednesday, Dec. 19th. Many applications from ministers for leave to transport themselves, and from the people to have ministers transported to them, were received; but the Assembly did not comply with any of them.

The minister of Paisley was this day deposed. Many erroneous doctrines were laid to his charge; and the people of that town were almost universally opposed to him.

St. Andrews having been disappointed in obtaining Mr. Alexander Henderson, now put in a supplication for the transportation of Mr. Robert Blair, to be their minister. This gave rise to an affecting scene. The town of Air, of which he was minister, deprecated his removal with tears; and Mr. Blair himself opposed the motion with as much earnestness as the people, alleging, that his affection for his flock, and success among them, rendered him altogether averse to a removal. Besides, he considered that the burden which would fall upon him as minister of St. Andrews, in the present situation of the people, was more than

he was able to bear. Notwithstanding, because it was so important to have a minister at St. Andrews, who might influence the students; and Mr. Baillie, though he could not vote for the transportation, yet testified, that he had never known any man living, who had so great a dexterity to insinuate the truth into the minds of young scholars; it was determined that he should be transported; and Mr. Blair, though sorely distressed, yet made it matter of conscience to obey the orders of the Assembly.

It was also resolved, this day, that ministers should not accept of any civil office, nor consent to serve in parliament.

A draught of a petition to the king was read and approved. The only circumstance in the presentment of this petition, which offended the king, was, that it was subscribed by none of the nobility, but only by the moderator and clerk.

Thursday, Dec. 20th. This was the closing session. Divers acts were passed this day, as may be seen by an inspection of the printed acts of Assembly, for this year. The clerk was directed to print certain papers which had been presented; and was chosen to be advocate for the church; and Dr. Dagleish to be its agent. The next meeting was appointed to be at Edinburg. And, at the close, "the moderator acknowledged the great goodness of God and the king; thanked greatly the town of Glasgow, and gave them much commendation for their care and pains to give the Assembly all contentment;" he also thanked the Duke of Argyle for his presence and assistance, from the beginning to the end. Mr. John Barr, then "took up the 133d Psalm; and then the blessing was pronounced; and all departed with great comfort and humble joy, casting themselves, and their poor church, into the arms of their good God."

ART. IV.—1. *The Application of the Roman Alphabet to all the Oriental languages; contained in a series of papers published in various Calcutta periodicals.* Serampore Press, 1834.

2. *Correspondence on the Mode of Educating the Natives, &c., reprinted from the Bengal Harkaru, of October,* 1836. Harkaru Press, Calcutta, 1836.

3. *Mati Ki Injil, or the Gospel of Matthew in Hindostani. Translated by the Rev. H. Martyn, and transfer-*

red into the Roman Character by the Rev. J. Thomas. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

The theory of the conversion of a heathen people to Christianity is very simple. They are sinners, and can be saved only through the applied atonement of Christ. They are ignorant, commonly of nearly all useful knowledge, and universally of all spiritual knowledge, and must be instructed. Hence Christian ministers and teachers, schools and books, must be employed. As the expense of this instrumentality will not be defrayed by those, whose every other evil is more desperate on account of their entire insensibility and indifference to their condition, the church must provide the requisite funds from the bounty with which her Lord has blessed her. And as all human exertions for the salvation of men will be made in vain without the influences of the Spirit of all grace, unceasing prayer must be offered by all who love the prosperity and long for the extension of the Redeemer's cause. All this is very plain.

But in the effort to carry this theory into effect, new and serious difficulties often arise, and questions occur which require the gravest consideration. Talents and wisdom and learning, and the teachings of the Spirit more than all, are needed to apply principles of undoubted truth, and even of the greatest simplicity, to cases that are complicated in themselves, embarrassed by peculiar usages or laws, and which will be referred to in all coming time as precedents to regulate the conduct of many millions. It is a very simple law that a man shall have but one wife, and it is easy for us to admit that divorce shall be allowed only for infidelity; and that a Christian should marry "only in the Lord;" but these are laws that are very frequently broken among heathen people, and when the missionary attempts to enforce their authority, he is often greatly perplexed to know what course to pursue. He may find that a convert has been living, during the years of his ignorance, with several wives—shall he be required to dismiss them all excepting the one first married? Perhaps he may have children by others, and not by her; and at any rate, he is well assured that to dismiss them is but to consign them to a life of infamy; and still further he may thus transgress the civil law of the land. Or, to state another case, a convert has been betrothed in childhood to a person who is still an idolater. What advice shall be given concerning such an engagement? It has the sanction of the civil law and the sa-

credness of compact to enforce it, with all the indignation of the community at any departure from universal usage; yet it was made without any reference to the wishes of the parties most deeply interested, and its fulfilment would now require unequal union with an unbeliever, the union for life, in the dearest and most sacred of all earthly relationships, of a Christian and a heathen. In a great country, like India or China, where there are such myriads of people; where society has been existing for ages, and usages have the force of laws, and yet where both usages and laws must be overturned, modified, or purified; where religion is a vast and complicated system, having its ritual as well as its doctrines, its priests as well as its gods, its ten thousand connexions with the domestic and social life, the employments, the property of its votaries; where the corner stones are now laying on which shall rest the whole weight of the Christian temples in which millions shall worship God; where measures are now commencing which shall make Christianity to be as generally diffused abroad, and as intimately interwoven with the framework of society, as heathenism has been in past ages; it is surely preposterous to suppose, that the field of exertion is not large enough to afford employment for men of the first talents. There are few such men, and those are least likely to think themselves highly gifted who are most favoured; but of all presumption that is at once most extreme and most silly, which would lead any man to decline engaging in missionary service, because, forsooth, his superior talents fit him to take charge of "a city congregation," or to become a professor in some college! Merely remarking that the question of *where*, as to duty, should be determined by a careful examination of one's talents, of the wants of different parts of the great field, and of the leadings of providence, and the guiding of the Spirit in our best religious hours; we proceed to give our readers some account of the pamphlets whose titles we have placed at the head of this article. They will be found to exemplify the remark, with which we set out, that it is often difficult to apply general principles to actual life, and to determine the course of duty even where men are of one mind as to the object of their exertions.

Two general subjects are treated of in these publications, which are quite distinct from each other, and should be judged of according to their respective merits. One is the question concerning the proper place of the English language, as a means for elevating the character of the Hindus; the other is the expediency of using the letters of the Roman

alphabet to write the native language of that people. These subjects have been of late years, often discussed in connexion with each other, because, we presume, many of the prominent and cordial friends of the former have been the zealous advocates of the latter. Yet this connexion has been thus far unhappy, that it has occasionally involved the discussions in some confusion, and has prevented in many instances the merits of either question from being duly appreciated. It is quite obvious that the English language might be employed by common consent as a means of improvement, without any attempt being made to change the mode of writing the native languages, just as we may study the Hebrew or the Greek, and yet continue to write our own language in the Roman letters; and it is equally plain that the Hindu languages might be written in Roman letters, without any reference whatever to the use of the English language, numerous examples of that kind being witnessed in modern times. The two subjects are distinct, and should, for the sake of clearness, be so considered.

Both these subjects are interesting to the general scholar, not only as they are connected with the literature of a great nation, but also as they involve new applications of received opinions, and as they illustrate the position that the streams of knowledge are now flowing in reverted currents, back to the countries from which they seem originally to have proceeded. The western nations are now the repositories of learning, and as knowledge, like water, seeks a universal diffusion and a common level, we may hereafter see many illustrations, similar to the one now exhibited in India, of the introduction of western knowledge among eastern people. But these are not merely questions of general interest; as Christian reviewers we regard them as highly important, because they involve in their progress considerations directly bearing on the duty of the church and her missionary boards and agents. If the English language is to be made part of the system of means by which the natives of India shall be induced to renounce Hinduism and to embrace Christianity, and if it is expedient to introduce a change in the mode of writing the native languages, then let our missionary institutions at home, and our missionaries in India, give that attention, application of their time, and proportion of their funds, to these objects, which their relative importance requires, or which may be necessary in order to their successful application to the existing

circumstances of the Hindu people. But if these subjects are, as the most respectable of our Indian contemporaries has ventured to characterize them, merely an *Anglo mania*, the less the attention given to them by sober-minded Christians and missionaries, the better. Whatever men of "learned leisure" may do, it is not befitting the character or the object of Christians, and particularly of the few Christians in India, to waste their resources and their exertions upon impracticable projects.

We do not intend to discuss minutely, in this article, the merits of the question concerning the proper place of our language among the means by which the improvement of the Hindus is to be effected. From the statements and views contained in a paper relating to India in our last number, our readers have perceived that this question is already beyond the reach of mere inquiry; it is in actual experiment, and no speculations are likely to arrest or even greatly to modify the progress of that experiment. Various causes are operating to induce the Hindus to seek the knowledge of our language; causes which will continue to exert an influence while the British power is in the ascendant. The English language would become, in two or three centuries, as generally understood as the Persian language is at present, even if the British authorities were as ignorant, and as indifferent to the mental improvement of their subjects, as were their Mohammedan predecessors. The present rulers of India are themselves highly intelligent and disposed to maintain their European literary character, and they are also convinced that it is their duty to promote the general improvement of the Indians, and are actually employing appropriate though inadequate measures to effect that object. It is perfectly reasonable, therefore, to expect that the knowledge of the English language will advance with a continually accelerating progress, until all the higher classes, and the multitudes who are, in various ways, directly connected with the details of the administration of the government, or directly affected by its measures, shall have become at least able to read and speak our language; many will also acquire an intimate and general acquaintance with our literature.

The influeuce of correct knowledge on the religion of the Hindus was pointed out in the article referred to above, and, if there were no other consideration connected with the subject, that alone would both justify and require the strongest and best efforts to secure the advantages of this western

knowledge, without the serious evils which will result from it, if not controlled and directed by Christian wisdom.

We are by no means prepared to adopt the wish of some ardent philanthropists, that the English language should be made the common language of the Hindus, and ultimately of all nations. It is too difficult to acquire, too unpronounceable, too peculiarly English, to admit of becoming the universal language, were there no difficulties previously to be overcome in the existence of other languages, the preference and prejudices of other nations, the entire want of time, facilities, and capacity amongst the great mass of men. But we think that it may be made the learned language of the Hindus, and exert an important influence on their mental and moral elevation. They are an extremely ignorant people, without any valuable literature; while but few of them are acquainted with their own literature, defective as it is, and erroneous at the best. How shall they become enlightened? Two answers have been given to this question; one recommends the translation of useful works, and thus the enriching of the vernacular languages, at present confessedly poor and worthless, except as a medium for the communication of knowledge; the other encourages the natives to learn a language already rich in every department of human and divine knowledge, and then to translate books for themselves, or, which would be more advantageous, to prepare original works.

The former plan must be pursued in the first instance, or in the primary efforts to instruct the people in those branches of knowledge which are not contained in their own books; it is the only plan by which Christian knowledge, for example, can be at first conveyed in a written form. But to depend on this mode exclusively for the supply of the general intellectual wants of the Hindus, would require, in their present circumstances, a host of translators at a great expense; and their translations would have to be published by the government, or by some benevolent society; and if these difficulties could be surmounted, a still greater one would remain in the apathy of the people. The translations would become a prey to the white ants long before any demand among the people would cause them to be removed from the depository in which they should be placed when taken from the press. This plan, if contemplated as a general system for elevating the character of the Hindus, is chargeable with the capital error of inverting the natural and necessary order of things. It provides aliment for the mind before there is any

appetite for it. Besides, no language is likely to become richer in thought, or more copious in words, without a progression in knowledge on the part of those who speak it. Their language, in truth, is merely the channel through which their thoughts must flow. The fountains of thought and ideas must first be opened. But how can the slumbering minds of a people be reached with the greatest facility? How can the fountains closed for centuries under the despotism of heathenism, be unsealed? Not surely by the aid of the simple vernacular, destitute of all useful knowledge —ex nihilo, nihil fit—nor to any advantage by employing translators to translate foreign works into the vernacular; this would be only to dig channels in the plains and to fill them partially with water: the fountains would still be sealed up, the minds of the great mass of the people would remain in total apathy.

The second plan has at least this advantage over the one we have just reviewed, that it advances *pari passu* with the various causes which lead the natives of India to seek a knowledge of the English language. Those causes are unquestionably much more numerous and weighty, than any motives which would induce the natives to appreciate the best translations that could be offered to them; this mode has, therefore, greatly the preference in regard to the criterion of *practicability*, which, it is needless to say, is all important in estimating the merits of any scheme. If those causes be chiefly of a selfish and ignoble character, we must remember that such considerations are better suited than more generous motives to the corrupted minds of the Hindus, and at any rate we must have reference to the actual state of things, rather than to a better state of things which does not exist. Whatever be the considerations which induce a Hindu to learn our language, they are thus far useful, that they break up the apathy of his mind, and dispose him to receive knowledge, and even to make exertions to acquire it. This is an important stage in the much talked of "march of intellect," and we may hope that when his mind has become partially enlightened, he will perceive so wide a field before him that he will make new efforts to explore it. We think this plan has all the advantage of greater simplicity, of being attended with less expense, and of having the testimony in its favour of our own experience, or rather that of our forefathers. The chief additions to both our language and our literature were not derived from translations, made by the Latin monks or other

persons into Saxon "for the benefit of the natives," but from our ancestors having first studied themselves the Latin and other foreign languages, and then having transferred their treasures into our vernacular; still more valuable were the original works, which their knowledge of foreign languages enabled them to prepare for the common advantage of all their countrymen, and of ourselves, their descendants. This is the process that must be exemplified in every unenlightened nation; and, while we highly approve of preparing without delay the best versions of important books, and especially of the sacred scriptures, we still believe that no *standard* translations, and still less any valuable native literature, can be provided until the natives themselves become translators and authors, competent for the great work which is to be performed by having suitable education in their own and in some foreign language. The "authorised" version of the Hindu bible must be made in future years by learned natives, who are acquainted alike with the original languages of the sacred writings and their cognate dialects, and with the idioms and all the significance of their own tongue; and whose minds are imbued with the grace of God, and inspired with the love of the precious truths revealed in the sacred volume. The future Hindu clergy should undoubtedly be well acquainted with the original languages of the sacred scripture; in the mean time, and for all classes of the Hindu literati in their transition state from the miserable mythology of their country to the certainty and freedom of pure knowlege, our language for obvious reasons must be the medium through which their most valuable attainments will be made.

The second question discussed in these pamphlets, though of less immediate importance than the one we have been reviewing, is yet a subject of much interest, and eventually it may become one of great moment. Should the native languages of India be written in the letters of the Roman alphabet?

There is the appearance of presumption in agitating this question. Who, it may be asked, is entitled to make a proposition of such a character, if the people themselves, whose language is the subject of the speculation, do not favour the change contemplated? This question better suits the latitude of Princeton than of Calcutta. In India, the proportion of readers, or persons acquainted with any written character, is very small; and they are endowed with no expansive feeling of benevolence that would prompt them

to promote the diffusion of knowledge among their generally illiterate countrymen. The persons, who are chiefly employed, in promoting the mental improvement of those eastern millions of the human family, are foreigners. The much larger part of them are from Great Britain or the United States. Probably nine-tenths of all, who are practically interested in the great object of native improvement, are accustomed to speak the English language either as their vernacular or their common tongue. The question is therefore one of which they seem to be the proper judges; although, obviously, it should be decided according to its own merits.

The history of this Roman-letter enterprise, will throw some light on the question of its expediency. Foreigners in India have always found it necessary to transfer many of the native words into the letters of their own alphabet, in order to be intelligible to their readers who are unacquainted with the letters of the native alphabet. Names of towns, persons, peculiar usages, could be communicated only in this way. Convenience, also, recommended the plan in many instances, in preference to writing the uncouth characters of the native alphabets. A missionary, for example, would greatly prefer writing his Hindu sermon in the familiar Roman letters than in the Deva Nágarí, requiring hours from his unpractised hand to write a single page. In these cases, every individual followed his own scheme in representing the sounds of the native words and letters; commonly they were written from their sound as caught by the ear, without reference to the letters of the native alphabet in which they were expressed. In every language this method is attended with uncertainty, of which in our own tongue we have a striking example mentioned by Sir William Jones, in the sentence "a mother bird flutters over her young;" where e, i, o, u, and ou, with ea in heard, are six different ways of representing nearly the same sound. Hence it is easy to perceive how the confusion originated for which Indian names are so celebrated. "It would appear," says one of the writers before us, "that they who first had occasion to write in English the names or words of the east, bethought themselves of the sounds in that language which came nearest to those they desired to represent, and spelled the words accordingly: thus *sipahee* [a soldier] was very generally spelt *seapoy*, doubtless from the similarity to the well known word *teapoy*, and in the jargon of the day, *Surajood-doula* was corrupted into *Sir Roger Dowler*, and *Allahabad* became known as

the *Isle of Bats.*" The reason given for these amusing misnomers is hardly a serious one; but the method of writing from the ear was, no doubt, the parent of a thousand absurdities, and words are often met with in English works on India whose etymology would perplex the sagacity of Johnson or the industry of Webster.* Mr. Halhed is said to have been the first who proposed a regular system for expressing the native letters, in the preface to his code of Hindu law, published in 1775. His system, which we need not describe, was inconvenient. When the Asiatic Society was formed, Sir William Jones devised the system that bears his name, which has always been employed in the proceedings of that society. It is substantially the Roman alphabet, as used on the continent of Europe; the consonants having one invariable sound, and three of the vowels a long and a short sound each, the long being denoted by a mark above, while *e*, and *o*, and the dipthongs *ai*, *au*, have each but one uniform sound. This system has two difficulties to an English ear. The short sound of the *a* is precisely the English *u*, which is nearly heard in the last syllable of Americ*a*; and the long *i* is the usual *i* which we have in police. It has, however, the decided advantages of simplicity, and especially of corresponding admirably with the alphabets chiefly used by the Hindus, their three vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u*, having each a long and a short sound, denoted by a slight modification of the same radical letter for each of these vowels respectively; and the other two vowels and the dipthongs having but one uniform sound. In the certainty and the fewness of their vowel sounds, which are never embarrassed with exceptions, the Indians have greatly the advantage over us—an advantage which foreigners can appreciate when they attempt, like some of the German missionaries, to acquire the language both of the natives and of their English rulers. This mode has never become generally popular among English or American residents in India. It seems too great an effort for them to pronounce *fakir* as *fukeer*, or *Ranjit* as *Runjeet*. That which would have been no stumbling block to a native or to a Frenchman or an Italian, has ever proved a serious barrier to prevent the reception of this alphabet; though, probably, its want of success should be ascribed in

* The natives have some curious perversions of English words to boast of, though to us far less significant than the English ones above cited—e. g. *beefee-steekee* for *beef-steak*, *ha-ees-pursedunt* for vice-president, *hookum-dar?* for who comes there?

part to the fact that no elementary works were prepared in it to assist Europeans in studying the native languages.

Another scheme of more recent date has been greatly more popular among Europeans in India—that of Mr. Gilchrist, who has acquired some reputation as a teacher of some of the Hindu languages. According to his plan the long and short *a*, *i*, and *u*, are represented respectively by *u*, and *a*; *i*, and *ee*; *oo*, and *oo*: the dipthong *ai* of Jones, which is heard in our word *aisle*, Gilchrist represents by *ue*; and the dipthong *au* of Jones, pronounced as in German and Italian, like *ow* in *now*, is denoted by *uo* according to Gilchrist: in both schemes *e* has the sound of our *e* in *there*, and *o* the long sound of that letter in *no*. The consonants are nearly the same according to both methods of representing them. The advantages of Gilchrist's scheme are confined to the short *a*, and the long *i*; perhaps the long *u* should also be placed to his credit, as many persons would more readily write *oo* than *u*. But these advantages can be appreciated only by an English reader; a foreigner from any part of Europe would be perplexed by such a representation; while a Hindu, who never combines two vowels into one sound, would be greatly embarrassed. The dipthongs would be sufficiently difficult for him to master; to place before him all the various double letters of this scheme designating single sounds, would lead him almost to despair of ever becoming familiar with them. As for the two dipthongs according to Gilchrist, *ue* and *uo*, and his representative of the short *u*, it is preposterous to require men of unsophisticated taste to swallow such unnatural compounds. This system is at present the popular one, so capricious a thing is public taste! Fortunately we can account for its reception, without impeaching the talents of its advocates, though our explanation accords but little credit to their disinterestedness. Its English *u* and *ee* were strong recommendations to English people, and Mr. Gilchrist spared no pains to have the market well supplied with elementary books, prepared according to his peculiar scheme.

Within the last four or five years the whole subject has been investigated anew. A number of influential and active friends to the education of the natives have warmly advocated Sir William Jones' system, somewhat modified, and have proposed substituting the Roman letters for the native, a measure which does not appear to have been contemplated by that eminent man. This proposal has been strongly op-

posed, and treated with ridicule as visionary, and with no little severity, because it is supposed to be fraught with evil. The pamphlets at the head of this article are some of the fruits of the discussion. The proposal seems to have acquired many friends in India; and if it can be established in that country, a similar plan will probably be adopted for other eastern languages. The practicability of representing the difficult Chinese sounds in Roman letters has been discussed, we perceive, in the Chinese Repository, and the conductors of that periodical seem to be decidedly favourable to the scheme.

This sketch of the history of the Roman-letter enterprise will have prepared the way for some remarks on the general subjects which it involves.

There can be no doubt as to the practicability of representing the sounds of the Hindu or of any other language by the letters of the Roman alphabet. Alphabetical characters are purely arbitrary, having no connexion with the objects which they are intended to represent but what has been designated by the consent of those who employ them. They can, therefore, be made to represent any thing; the same characters may represent different objects; or they may represent the same objects, and yet be called by different names, like the numerical figures, (1, 2, 3,) which are arbitrary signs, called by different names among different nations, and yet denoting the same value among all who use them. In this respect alphabetical letters differ widely from alphabetical pictures, or hieroglyphics, as these derive their value from their representing objects, so that all who see them may understand their meaning from simple inspection. It is obvious, therefore, that the letters of the Roman alphabet admit of application to whatever extent people are willing to use them; and they have accordingly been preferred by several nations, the Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, Sandwich Island, Society Island, and some of the Indian languages, have all been written in this character. In regard to the Hindu languages, no insurmountable difficulty has been met with. Some of the consonants in the Roman alphabet are not used; for example, *k* only is written, where in English either *c* or *k* would be employed. To express some additional consonants in the Hindu alphabet, diacritical marks are attached to the Roman letters. The vowel system has been already explained. We need advert to no other proof of the practicability of presenting Indian words in a

Roman dress, than to the gospel of Matthew, in Hindustáni, at the commencement of this paper. It is from the translation of the lamented Henry Martyn, which had previously been printed both in the Deva Nágarí and in the Persian characters, but which in its present form is equally legible, and far more beautiful.

Some important considerations recommend the substitution of the Roman for the Hindu alphabet. The former is perfectly legible, both in its written and printed form; it is written with the greatest possible facility; it admits the use of capital letters, and also of italic letters, without inconvenience or injury to the beauty of the printed page; whereby proper names, the beginning of sentences, emphatic words and phrases are indicated in a simple, and yet an unequivocal manner. These advantages have secured for the Roman letters their widely extended preference among western nations; it seems more desirable that they should receive a similar preference among the nations of the eastern world, as the alphabetical characters employed by them, if they are equally legible, which is more than doubtful in regard to many of them, are certainly much more difficult to write, and do not admit the employment of capitals or italics.

The smaller number of letters, and the absence of compounds, in the Roman alphabet as Indianized, are worthy of notice. One of the advocates of the proposed substitution says:

"In most of the Indian alphabets, there are about fifty letters, with innumerable compounds, which greatly perplex and retard learners. Now all these can be perfectly represented by twenty-four simple English letters, with the occasional use of these three simple marks, (ʻ), (.), (_). This, it is plain, must make the progress of every learner more easy and rapid."

Another writer presents strongly, and, we doubt not, justly, the advantage in point of expense which would be obtained by the contemplated change:

"It is a fact that, from the intricacy, the complexity of most of the Indian characters, it is utterly impossible to reduce them to so small a size as the Roman may be, without rendering them altogether indistinct, or even illegible. In this way twice the quantity of typal matter, twice the quantity of paper, and nearly twice the quantity of binding materials and labour, must be lavished for nought. Now, considering that we have to provide books for a hundred millions

of people, this surely is a consideration of too grave and important a nature to be overlooked."

Such a consideration, in any country, would deserve great regard; but in India, where the great mass of the people are so extremely poor, it cannot be appreciated too highly. The time will come, we hope, when every Hindu will be anxious to possess a bible: but while the sacred scriptures make three octavo volumes, as at present, there will be little hope that the poor labouring classes can afford to make such a costly purchase.

The multiplicity of dialects in India, supposed to be nearly one hundred, each of which has a peculiar character when written at all, is regarded as a great barrier to the extension of knowledge and the improvement of the people. They are the boundaries by which the existing and universal ignorance of the Indians is fenced off into districts, rendered thus the more inaccessible. This is the more deeply to be regretted because, as we understand on the authority of one of the most learned and experienced members of the missionary fraternity in India, two thirds of the words in common use throughout that country are the same. In a communication from which we have already quoted, this is made the foundation of an important remark.

"The Sanscrit is the common root of all the Indian dialects. But at present each dialect has letters of a different figure; and this leads the Hindus of one province to suppose that the Hindus of another province speak a totally different language. Consequently they are apt to regard each other as strangers and foreigners. Now, if all the Indian dialects were presented in the same character, it would be seen and felt that the natives have all fundamentally the same language, and that without much difficulty a community of interest, and a beneficial reciprocation of thought might be effected to an extent at present unknown, and from the repulsive aspect of so many written characters deemed utterly impracticable."

Other advantages have been adverted to, such as facilitating the acquisition of the English language, the study of which it is deemed important to encourage; saving both time and expense alike to Europeans and to those natives who are obliged to learn several dialects; the gradual formation of a common language. We consider the formation of a common language for all the natives of India of the highest importance to their social, intellectual, and religious improvement;

and any fair experiment to effect so great a good deserves our cordial approbation.

These considerations show the decided superiority of the Roman letters over the letters of the different Hindu alphabets. As to the propriety of employing the former to express those dialects which have not yet been reduced to writing, there can be but one opinion. They should by all means be preferred; and we are glad to learn that the Baptist missionaries, with the approbation of the board in this country, have resolved to employ them in writing some of the dialects in Asam. The same course had been previously pursued in the islands of the Pacific by the missionaries of the American board, and of the London Missionary Society.

The expediency of substituting the Roman characters for the native, in dialects already written, is obviously a question of greater difficulty. It becomes us, at this distance from the field of experiment, to speak with diffidence on such a subject. Yet it is one of general interest, and one of practical importance. Our foreign missionary institutions may have occasion to act concerning it. We venture, therefore, to give our opinion in favour of fully and fairly endeavouring to make the substitution proposed. It must be conceded that there are serious difficulties to prevent the accomplishment of such a measure. These appear to arise partly from the natural and strong preference of the natives for their own character, but chiefly from the diversity of sentiment which seems to exist in regard to the propriety of making the change among those who must be the agents in effecting it, if it be ever made. The former difficulty is less formidable than it would be, if the number of natives were greater who could read their own language, or if they were more zealous in extending the benefits of education among their countrymen, or if their printed or written books were either more numerous or more valuable. But while not one tenth of the Hindus are acquainted with the letters of any alphabet, and those few are almost totally indifferent to the instruction of others, and while their entire literature might safely be allowed to pass away from the libraries of the people into the museums and other collections of remarkable things, we may safely consider this obstacle as not insuperable. It is one, also, which will gradually diminish as the number of natives becomes greater, who apply themselves to the acquisition of European knowledge.

The diversity of sentiment among Europeans in regard to

this scheme, or rather the opposition of many of them to all efforts to effect a change, we think a much more serious difficulty. Unless it can be removed, all the efforts of those who are friendly to it must labour under embarrassment, and the time of accomplishing it will be long delayed. If the authorities of the country would direct the natives in their employ, and the scholars in their schools, to learn the Roman characters, not to the exclusion of the native by any means, but in addition—which would be an easy task, requiring but a few days' attention—giving them also to understand that *ultimately* it should be exclusively used; and if the missionaries* would give a similar recommendation to their pupils, and to the múnshís occasionally employed by them, we should hope soon to see the Roman letters completely acclimated and naturalized in India. Some temporary inconveniences would, of course, be experienced, but they would gradually disappear, leaving the Hindus in the possession of all the advantages which lead us so decidedly to prefer the Roman character to every other for writing our own language. We are quite disposed to believe that the government authorities and the missionary body could, during the present generation, fully secure the substitution proposed with all its benefits. They have the chief control of the literary, or at any rate of the educational weal of India in their hands. By kind, decisive, but not precipitate influences, without any compulsion, they could make the Roman letters to be a hundred fold more generally used among the Hindus, than the letters of the Persian or Arabic alphabet, whose widely spread reception, induced partly by example, and partly by the oppressive employment of the Persian as the language of the government, is an instructive proof of what may be accomplished by the influence of foreign rulers.

* A recent letter from a missionary in India, which we have had the pleasure of seeing, contains a paragraph worthy of being quoted here. Referring to this Roman-letter enterprise, he says:

"I think the prospects of that cause never were so bright. The Benares brethren have a new edition of the New Testament now in the press, in the Urdu and the Roman character. The Calcutta Bible Society are about to publish an edition of the New Testament in the same character; they sent a circular, previously, to consult all the missionaries and many others as to what character, and quite a majority reported in favour of the Roman. I think if the friends of the cause be united and stedfast they will soon gather a moral power that will carry the enterprise." This extract relates to the Bengal Presidency in India, by far the most important and influential of the three. In Madras and Bombay but little progress appears to have been made towards effecting the desired substitution.

The Persian alphabet conferred no advantages on the people of India; we could cordially wish that the British rule might be the means of establishing the more perfect Roman alphabet. We shall then have another illustration of the goodness of Providence in placing the destinies of that great nation in the charge of a liberal, intelligent and benevolent Protestant government.

Another question might be started, which we shall briefly mention and dispose of. Is it expedient to persevere in making efforts to establish the Roman alphabet, when the probability is that, for a long time, especially if the opposition of Europeans in India should continue, it can obtain only a partial reception, and be no more than one of the already too numerous characters employed to express the Hindu dialects? This question does not seem difficult to answer. Provided the natives are also taught their own characters, no particular evil, as it appears to us, would result from their learning the Roman. The benefits of the proposed change would still recommend its adoption.

But we would not willingly despair of seeing the Roman letters as generally employed in the eastern as in the western world. We are aware that to most oriental scholars, who have learned to love these languages for their own sakes, this proscription of the Asiatic alphabets will seem revolting. But, not to mention that mere taste must yield to general utility, the prejudice in question seems to rest, at least in part, upon a mere illusion. The man who has been accustomed to associate a given language with a given character, and to regard the latter as an essential element of the former, is prone to imagine that the language, if invested with another dress, must lose its identity, and that it would appear to those who learned it in its new dress, no less strange and unnatural than to himself. But this mistake is easily corrected by a glance at the analogy of other cases. Does Hebrew suffer from the loss of its old alphabet? Is Arabic the worse for being written no longer in the Cufic character? Or does modern English suffer in comparison with black-letter? The truth is, that some of the alphabets now deemed most sacred are themselves usurpers, and were once gross innovations; and the practical error of our sticklers for old alphabets consists in their determining the question by the first impression on themselves, and not by its probable effect on those to whom the old forms shall be as little familiar and as little dear as the old Samaritan and Cufic characters are to

the modern orientalist. In behalf of the next generation, then, at least, we may indulge a wish for the extension of our alphabet; and if we may not hope to have a universal language to the eye, according to the suggestion of Sir John Herschel—who supposes that thirteen simple vowels and twenty-one simple consonants would be required to write the English language, and that about forty characters would be sufficient to write every known language,—if it be too great a release from the evils brought on our race, by the presumptuous pride displayed at Babel, to expect either a common language, or a precisely similar character, why may we not aspire after the benefits which are tangible and within our reach? Why should not all civilized nations unite in efforts to banish every outlandish character? The Hebrew and the Greek we would by all means leave untouched; they contain the original holy scriptures; like the vessels of gold in the temple at Jerusalem they are sacred; we would cherish them and guard them from common uses. But for the sounds of all other languages and for all common purposes, we should like to see the Roman character, like the dominion of the imperial city over the nations, established supreme over all barbarian alphabets throughout the world.

ART. V.—1. *Constitution of the American and Foreign Bible Society, formed by a Convention of Baptist Elders and Brethren, held in the Meeting House of the Oliver street Baptist Church, New York, May* 12 *and* 13, 1836.

2. *Proceedings of the Bible Convention of Baptists held in Philadelphia, April* 27—29, 1837.

3. *Report of the Board of Managers of the American and Foreign Bible Society, embracing the period of its Provisional Organization. April,* 1837.

4. *Christian Review and Translations of the Bible, Nos.* 5 *and* 8. *March and December,* 1837.

5. *First Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Bible Society, presented April,* 1838.

WHILE the existence of different religious sects in the world opens a wide field for the exercise of Christian charity,

the most rational foundation for that charity is laid in the principles of the separation. Each Protestant sect admits, and with great propriety, that a way to heaven may lie through the territories of all other Christian denominations, and that every one of the numerous forms in which the truth is held and preached, may be instrumental in producing and sustaining a saving faith in Christ. We expect to find true piety in every division and under every name of the Christian church. The various denominations of Christians, which have gained any considerable note in the world, have kept up by means of their forms of worship, doctrine and order, their broad distinctions from one another; while, as to degrees of practical piety, no one of these prominent and prosperous sects has probably varied more from the others, than the same sect has, in different times and circumstances, varied from itself. We are, therefore, as reasonably bound to cultivate a fervent charity towards the members of other denominations as towards those of our own. We know not at what point in the progress of the sincere but mistaken upholders of error, our charitable regards should stop. In this state of mingled truth and error, it is impossible for man to fix the precise line where the light of saving truth is bounded by the verge of total darkness. No mere man since the fall can be supposed to have held the truth in perfection, and since sanctifying grace does always co-exist with some degree of doctrinal error, who shall presume to tell the precise degree of error which limits the saving operation? Who is prepared to say how much false doctrine is the most that a man can hold and still be saved?

We make due distinction between error itself and those who hold it. To regard a heretic with charity is one thing; it is another to countenance his heresy. We do not deem it a light matter that false doctrines so widely prevail in the world, that men are so easily captivated by them, and that the church is so deeply troubled and broken into so many fragments; yet when the abettor of error evinces the Christian spirit in even the smallest degree, we are bound to receive him with kindness and extend towards him all the offers of Christian fellowship, which may consist with the safety of those concerned. The error may be dangerous, while it still has not ruined the man. It *may* prevent his being a child of God, but does it actually prevent him? And if not, ought not the spark of life, in its perilous exposure, to be fanned and guarded, and tenderly nourished up unto life eternal?

These remarks are suggested by the view we are about to present to our readers, of the several matters connected with the documents named at the beginning; and our reasons for offering them here are these two: Because the principles stated are involved in our general subject; and because they indicate the spirit in which we propose to subject the matters before us to this public examination.

The Baptists in the United States have shared, in their measure, the general improvement which has distinguished, for the last several years, the progress of religion in this country. Their numbers have increased, perhaps, in fair proportion to the increase of other denominations; the civil regulations of some important States of the Union afford them greater facilities for maintaining their peculiarities than they could formerly command; the zeal of some portions of their body, in elevating their intellectual and religious character has had praiseworthy developement; their missionary spirit has, from several peculiar causes, been greatly enlivened, and the general results of their growing strength and activity, both at home and abroad, must be gratifying to every friend of pure and ardent piety.

In some recent acts of large bodies, representing the most important branch of the Baptist denomination in this country, they have assumed a position before the Christian public, which, as a matter of history is new, and, in its ecclesiastical aspects, bold and startling. We allude to their late proceedings relative to the translation of the bible.

The history of these transactions is substantially as follows:

In the year 1835, one of the Baptist missionaries wrote from Calcutta, to the secretary of the American Bible Society, inquiring whether money could be obtained from that society to aid in printing and circulating the Bengalee bible, translated on Baptist principles. The subject was submitted to the board on the sixth of August, 1835; it was discussed freely at that meeting, at the next regular meeting of the board on the fifth of November following, at adjourned meetings on the nineteenth of November, the third of December, and the fourth of February, 1836; and on the seventeenth of February, after the long and serious discussion above mentioned, the board passed, by a large majority, the following preamble and resolutions:

"1. By the constitution of the American Bible Society, its managers are, in the circulating of the holy scriptures, restricted to such copies as are 'without note or comment,'

and, in the English language, to 'the version in common use.' The design of these restrictions clearly seems to have been to simplify and mark out the duties of the society, so that all the religious denominations of which it is composed might harmoniously unite in performing these duties.

"2. As the managers are now called to aid extensively in circulating the sacred scriptures in languages other than the English, they deem it their duty, in conformity with the obvious spirit of their compact, to adopt the following resolutions, as the rule of their conduct in making appropriations for the circulation of the scriptures in all foreign tongues.

"*Resolved*, That in appropriating money for the translating, printing, or distributing of the sacred scriptures in foreign languages, the managers feel at liberty to encourage only such versions as conform, in the principles of their translation, to the common English version, at least so far as that all religious denominations represented in this society can consistently use and circulate said versions in their several schools and communities.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of the above preamble and resolution be sent to each of the missionary boards accustomed to receive pecuniary grants from this society, with a request that the same may be transmitted to their respective mission stations where the scriptures are in process of translation, and also that the said several missionary boards be informed that their applications for aid must be accompanied with a declaration, that the versions which they propose to circulate are executed in accordance with the above resolutions."

This act of the managers was approved by the American Bible Society at its annual meeting, on the twelfth of May, 1836.

At the annual meeting of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions in Hartford, April 27, 1836,* a letter was communicated from the secretary of the American Bible Society, announcing the appropriation, by the board of managers, of five thousand dollars to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, to promote the circulation of the scriptures in foreign tongues; stating, however, that this appropriation was made in accordance with the resolutions of the board above given. On this communication, the Baptist board unanimously adopted the following preamble and resolutions:

* See Report of the Managers of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, p. 24.

"Whereas this board, at their annual meeting, held in Salem, in April, 1833, adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the board feel it to be their duty to adopt all prudent measures to give to the heathen the pure word of God, and to furnish the missionaries with all the means in their power to make the translations as exact a representation of the mind of the Holy Spirit as may be possible;—*Resolved*, That all the missionaries of the board who are, or, who shall be, engaged in translating the scriptures, be instructed to endeavour, by earnest prayer and diligent study, to ascertain the meaning of the original text; to express that meaning as exactly as the nature of the languages into which they shall translate the bible will permit; and to transfer no words which are capable of being literally translated: And whereas the board still adhere firmly to these resolutions, as expressing, in their judgment, the only true principle on which translations can be made; and as uttering what they believe to be the decided opinion of the great mass of the denomination, whom they represent, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the board of managers of the American Bible Society be respectfully informed that this board cannot, consistently and conscientiously, comply with the conditions on which appropriations are now made; and cannot therefore accept the sum appropriated by the board of managers on the 17th of April, 1836."

From the time of passing the above resolutions, to the annual meeting of the American Bible Society, on the twelfth of May following, the interval was improved in summoning the largest possible representation of the denomination to convene in New York on that day: on the presumption, that the society would approve the act of its board; and with the avowed purpose, in that event, to propose, at once, a separate "organization for bible translation and distribution in foreign tongues."

The American Bible Society did, as above stated, approve the resolutions referred to. Whereupon the Baptist convention, then assembled, immediately adopted resolutions, declaring that "the American Baptists enjoyed great facilities for prosecuting the work of faith and labour in giving the word of God to the heathen;" and resolving "that it is the duty of the Baptist denomination in the United States to form a distinct organization for bible translation and distribution," and they appointed a committee to report a constitution, nominate officers, and prepare an address to the American public. The

next day a constitution was adopted, designating the new institution as "The American and Foreign Bible Society, the single object of which shall be to promote the wider circulation of the holy scriptures, in the most faithful translations that can be procured:" officers were appointed, and a resolution passed, providing, "that the first annual meeting of the society be held in Philadelphia, on the last Wednesday of April, 1837, and that the doings of this meeting and of the society be submitted to such of the brethren, from different parts of the United States, as may then and there meet in convention, for the purpose of securing the combined and concentrated action of the denomination in the bible cause." The convention at Hartford, in April 1836, postponed the whole subject to the same last Wednesday of April, which was also the time for the annual meeting of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions at the same place.

There were, consequently, three distinct voices convoking the Baptists of the United States in Philadelphia on the said last Wednesday of April, 1837:—The committee appointed by the conference at Hartford, the first annual meeting of the embryo bible society, and the annual meeting of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions;—all bearing on the absorbing question of bible translation, and altogether adequate to convene what the president called "the largest body of baptized believers in the world, by a delegation unparalleled either for number or influence among them." The occasion was deemed "a crisis" to the denomination, and the strength and wisdom of the body were put in full requisition. The organization previously formed in New York was apparently disregarded, except to be pronounced presumptuous and premature, and the question of a Baptist bible society came up de novo. The proposal was strongly sustained, and the society was organized, and earnestly commended to the people of their connexion throughout the United States.

The design of this article requires that we here take particular notice of the views of the denomination, and of the bearings of the new society, as they were disclosed in the debates and other proceedings of that convention.

The two questions raised respected, 1st, The expediency of a distinct organization for bible distribution; and 2d, The extent of the object which that organization should contemplate. The alternative in the first question was, either to create a new society to do what the Baptists could not conscientiously do through the American Bible Society, or to

commit that department of their enterprise to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. The second point brought up the question whether the new society should confine its operations to the foreign field, or engage also in home distribution.

On the first question it was argued against the new organization: That it would render their system of benevolent action needlessly complicate; that the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions had hitherto proved itself competent to conduct the work of bible translation and distribution, which, as a part of the missionary work, belonged to that board; and to create another instrument to do a part of the proper work of that board, would imply a suspicion of malversation or incapacity in that institution, which had not yet been charged upon it: that the Baptists of the United States had too partially expressed their wishes for such a society to warrant that body to form one: that the American Bible Society was formed rather on principles of conciliation, than by compromise of opinions, and a sectarian organization would dig the grave of great bible society principles: that the disunion of Christians in the work of distributing the bible, appeared ill before the world: that the American Bible Society, embracing different denominations, had been the means of joining hearts together which had otherwise been alienated: that the brethren were painfully divided on the question of separating from that society; and that such a separation was fraught with serious consequences, would prove a bar to union in all time to come, and ought not to be urged, except for very powerful reasons.

In favour of a distinct society, it was asserted: That the American Bible Society had attempted to govern the consciences of Baptists: that the Baptists were able and bound to give the true unmutilated bible to all the world: that the Baptists in the United States had extensively expressed their desire for such a society, and that the organization would, by the increase of Baptist resources, and the progress of Baptist principles, come into increasing demand.

The reasonings against the new organization, although of a liberal tenour, savoured of no indifference for Baptist principles. They were respectful and conciliatory, implying confidence in the American Bible Society, and admitting that it afforded the Baptists ample facilities for circulating the scriptures in a form which favoured no sectarian principles more than their own. They betrayed also the suspicion that

the project of a new society verged towards the proposal of a Baptist version of the bible in the English tongue, and alarm less the present proceedings should occasion another subdivision of the denomination.

In favour of the new society there appeared an ardent and exclusive zeal for the peculiarities of the sect. The purpose was more than intimated of renouncing participation in Paedo Baptist operations, and of pushing, at all hazards, the enterprise of making a Baptist bible for all the world. The advocates of the measure seemed to presume that the kingdom was given to the Baptists, and that the pregnant signs of the times summoned them forth to the sure and speedy conquest of the earth. One of the most prominent speakers of the convention "would not fetter the new society, to hinder its doing soon what may not now perhaps be done;" "a precaution unworthy the majesty of truth, and unbecoming the dignity of the great denomination for which we act;—the only denomination as we profess to believe, that is willing to follow the Redeemer whithersoever he may lead, and dares to re-echo to the world the whole and whatsoever he has said."

The other and most agitating question related to the limits they would set to the operations of the new society; whether they would confine it to the foreign field, or employ it also in home distribution.

It was argued in favour of the limitation: That the denomination called for the new organization to engage in foreign translation and distribution only; that the proposed enlargement of the society's powers was not warranted by the resources of the denomination, embracing not above 250,000 real supporters of benevolent enterprise, with literary and theological institutions upon their hands, and not a single institution endowed;* that the American Bible Society had resolved to complete the home supply, and was able to do

* "Much had been said with regard to the strength of the society, and the glorious laurels that were to be gained by it. Now what were the facts in the case? We had 500,000 communicants, and no doubt the greater part of them were good people; and when he had said that, he had said all. The Baptist ministry were men of heart, and they had done gloriously. He argued, that the real supporters of benevolent enterprise in the Baptist denomination did not number more than 250,000 souls. He next adverted to the condition of the literary institutions, and theological colleges and schools, and lamented their want of funds. He mentioned as an extraordinary fact, that not a single institution was endowed." (Speech of Mr. Thresher of Boston, as reported in the proceedings of the Bible Convention.)

it, and, therefore, another society with a home department would be superfluous; that the proposed extension would draw a line of broader distinction between the Baptists and the rest of the great protestant family, and involve the interests of the bible cause in needless complexity; that the delegates to that convention had no authority to meddle with the home distribution, having been appointed with reference to a society for foreign operations, and no other; that the foreign department was the only one in which the brethren could unite; and that restricting the society to the foreign field would counteract the impression that has gone abroad, that the denomination was about to put forth a Baptist bible in the English tongue.

Against restricting the operations of the society to foreign translation and distribution, it was insisted: That the Baptists, ill-used as they had been, were impelled to withdraw from the American Bible Society altogether, and were now too highly incensed against the society to do any thing any where through its agency; that such a restriction would disable the society from doing any thing successfully, and imply a distrust of the denomination, lest they should, at some time and without good reasons, undertake to mend the English version of the bible; a step which would not be taken immediately, and ought not therefore be a source of apprehension; and that the limitation would imply that the received English translation ought never to be amended, and the real mind of the Holy Spirit on the ordinance of baptism never given to the world in intelligible terms.

We have thus sifted out all that seems to have been intended as argument, on both sides, from the printed report of the long and desultory debates of that convention. The proceedings of the body, even as they appear in the printed report, remind us at every step of the justness of an expression of Dr. Wayland on the floor of the convention, that "it seemed as if brethren hardly knew for what they had come together." We pass no strictures here on the debates in general. Our concern is only with the arguments on the points before us. It would give no satisfaction, either to ourselves or our readers, to attempt to reconcile the dignity and weight of those discussions with the sublime idea of an assembly of Christians deliberating on the enterprise of "translating the unadulterated words of the Holy Spirit for all the nations of the earth."

In the sketch of proceedings and arguments given above,

our readers cannot fail to discern the two following points under which we propose to arrange the remaining matters of this article:

I. That the Baptists are heartily weary of the controversy about the meaning of the word βαπτίζω and have resolved to try the short method of exchanging it for some other word.

II. That their project of bible translation presupposes the ultimate and speedy prevalence of Baptist principles in the world.

We feel no temptation to speak reproachfully or uncharitably on this subject; for neither the present position of our Baptist brethren, nor any part of their past proceedings, has disturbed our brotherly kindness towards them; and if we have any other motive in pursuing the following reflections, besides the desire for their good and the good of our common cause, it is the satisfaction of contemplating the aspect and bearing of the proceedings as a mere section of ecclesiastical history.

I. We have the strong impression that the Baptists are bent on getting rid, at all events, of the word "baptize." It is doubtless to them an uncomfortable term of theology. In translating the scripture into foreign languages, they expect numerous and unavoidable occasions to adopt new words, and give new senses to old ones; for how can such a mass of peculiar ideas as the bible presents be conveyed to a heathen people, without the use of new and peculiar words, or of words in peculiar senses. And in most such cases they will doubtless transfer, as all translators do, and as the nature of written language often requires; or, they will appropriate vernacular terms to an uncommon use, which is in substance equivalent to transferring. But in the present case they take no choice. They seem to presume, and we think, with great plausibility, that some other word may be to them a more convenient appellation for the ordinance of baptism, and may designate their form of the rite more decisively than "baptize." We are not surprised at the presumption. It is but natural that they wish to put away from their theological nomenclature a term which costs them so much disputation, requires so much learning to handle it, and yields them, after all, so incomplete satisfaction, and exchange it for a word about which there can be no controversy. But βαπτίζω is not sufficiently exclusive. It does not clip the argument about the form of baptism with the requisite decision. The word undoubtedly means what they would express by it;—

admit, for the present, that their sense is its most common and prominent one; yet it draws after it such a number and diversity of ideas, that they must either cut its trail off or traffic the word itself away; and having failed to make clear work of the former, they seem resolved to attempt the latter.

To place in fair light the character of this procedure, we propose to consider the avowed intent, in connexion with the unavowed bearings of the proceeding related above; the general views with which, in the minds of the Baptists, this design of translation stands associated; the philological recommendations of their course; and its sectarian policy.

The avowed design of the American and Foreign Bible Society is said, in the printed report of the society formed in New York, to be, "to give the whole world a literal translation of the bible:"*—to create "a distinct institution among the Baptists, having for its object the diffusion of their religious principles through the instrumentality of *literal versions* of the bible."† The sole occasion of the rupture with the American Bible Society was its declining to aid in circulating copies of the holy scriptures in which βαπτίζω is rendered according to Baptist views. "The American Bible Society," says the address of the new society to the public, "has refused to aid us in giving the '*most faithful*' versions of our missionaries to the perishing heathen, merely because the original word βαπτίζω and its cognates have been translated." And "the Baptists, ill-used as they have been, had no other course left them to pursue but to withdraw from the American Bible Society." It is no secret therefore that the original word does not answer Baptist ends. Our brethren seem apprehensive that Paedo Baptist fellowship in bible distribution was purchased by them at too dear a rate, and that the prospect of teaching the world their mode of baptism by the language of the present English Bible was a forlorn hope. The head and front of the American Bible Society's offending against the Baptists was its adherence to the very word by which the Holy Spirit chose to denote the sacramental washing; and because our brethren were determined to put that word out of their versions and substitute a word not strictly synonymous in its place, the separation was proposed.

We request special attention to this avowed occasion of their proceedings. And so do they. They renounce, with emphasis, all other causes of dissent. Because they insist on

* Report, page 21. † Report, page 22.

introducing into the text of their translations, their "note and comment" on the word "*baptize*," cutting off all further controversy about the word, and presenting their "four hundred millions" of readers with a term from which they may derive, "clear, separate and alone," the idea of immersion, they have created a new society, and resolved to abandon the old. Their premonitory horror of carrying the controversy about baptism among the unlettered millions of Birmah and Bengal has a natural source in the history of the rite. They are obliged to admit that under the lax restraint of the original "*baptize*," the Christian world has largely backslidden from dipping, and gone up step by step out of the water on the secondary senses of the word, till the ordinance of baptism has suffered, as they say, a general misunderstanding and perversion; and the Paedo Baptist "error of sprinkling," to use their own words, "has obtained the blind and almost universal suffrage of what is called the Christian world."* It is, therefore, the avowed design of our Baptist brethren in their new bible society, to make the translated text of the scriptures the vehicle of propagating their peculiar views of the mode of baptism in foreign lands.

From this declared object of our brethren, it is difficult to separate the unavowed bearing of their proceedings; the tendency towards a Baptist version of the scriptures in the English tongue. The immediate project of an English translation was not only unavowed, but disavowed by the members of the convention. Instead, therefore, of putting, in so many words, the impertinent question, whither are they going, we will simply observe which way they have set their faces.

First, then, our Baptist brethren were aware of their being suspected of a design of "putting forth a Baptist bible in English;" and talked of passing resolutions "to allay the apprehensions of brethren of other denominations." Second, every principle of the movement was general, and every argument of the convention went in fact as strongly for an English translation as for a Birman or a Bengalee. Third, every speaker who alluded to the matter of translation at all, seemed to look, with one eye at least, towards an English translation. The expressions were artful indeed, but significant. "*We* have no intention of originating a translation in English." "*We* think it ought not *now* to be done." One "did not think it would be done this year nor the next, nor

* Report, page 23.

without the approbation of the denomination." "Who knows," exclaims another, "that the forty-nine translators were such very learned men?" "Where are their learned works, their critical and extensive knowledge." Cannot brethren "allow the possibility of forty-nine Baptists meeting together and making an amendment in the version of the scriptures?" "Shall we hesitate to assume the name of American because it would look towards the period of a change in the version?"* Such remarks could have been naturally prompted only by a decided inclination towards the project of a Baptist translation in English. Fourth, the society, formed with express reference to translations, insisted long and disputatiously on taking the name of American and Foreign,—epithets which look to the sphere of its operations;—and refused to adopt the restricting clause "*in foreign tongues.*" Fifth, "The Christian Review," which we suppose to be as really a leading work of the American Baptists, as any publication can be among a people who disclaim the reproach of ever being led, had caught a rumour about an amended version of the New Testament; and in the number for March, 1837, repelled the suggestion with exemplary indignation, great vivacity, and some logic. "We proclaim," says that paper, "our sincere and unchanged attachment to the good old English version made by the order of king James I. It is our hearts' desire and prayer to God, that this venerable monument of learning, of truth, of piety, and of unequalled purity of style and diction, may be perpetuated to the end of time, just as we now have it. Let no daring genius meditate either change or amendment in its structure and composition; neither let any learned impertinence presume to disturb the happy confidence of the tens of thousands who now regard it as—next to the original languages—the purest vehicle through which the mind of the Holy Spirit was ever conveyed to mortals. Under God and with God, we feel prepared to stand or fall with this consecrated instrument, known and quoted and familiarized, as the common standard version."† But in the number for December following, after the Philadelphia convention, and when the new version had been more than hinted at, an article appears on the "principles of bible translation;" and the

* Speech of Mr. Cone of New York, President of the American and Foreign Bible Society.

† Christian Review, for March, 1837, p. 21.

hope is expressed "that the Baptists in both countries will be enabled to persevere firmly, yet kindly, in maintaining the right principles on the subject of translations;" and the belief is asserted "that these principles must ultimately prevail." So the opposition of the Christian Review to a Baptist version, melted down into attachment to abstract principles of translation. Sixth, nature points out the course of our brethren from where they now stand; for since they make the translation of a word so awful a matter of conscience, how can they confine their good work to four hundred millions of the human race, while the field is the world. It was only by mutual compromise, that they confined their operations for one year to foreign lands. But soon the home distribution must commence; indeed at the recent annual meeting of the society in New York, they resolved to take it up at once; and then they encounter again the untranslated *βαπτίζω*, and after the Birman precedent of conscientiousness, what will conscience dictate then? How long will the translating society be content to translate into one language and transfer into another?

Whether, then, we may confidently look for the speedy appearance of a Baptist bible in English, or not, it seems that our brethren have it in mind; and the full developement of their inceptions towards it is probably to depend on future circumstances.

The aspect of these proceedings receives a tinge from the general views of the Baptist denomination, on the subjects most nearly related to the design of the new society. We would not affront our brethren by imputing to them any theological system, which is common to all their tribes, and which can be represented by any extant epitome of Christian doctrine. The multiform views of the denomination are not reducible to any single standard. The supposition of such a standard, to be applied by ecclesiastical authority, as a test of doctrine in the churches, is irreconcilable with their theory of independence. It is doubtless from this cause that so little effort is expended in their most popular periodicals to reduce the doctrinal views of the body to uniformity on any points except baptism. We are struck with the evidence that appears no less in the publications which hail from that quarter, than in the particular effects of their dispensation of doctrines and ordinances, that the primary sensibilities of the Baptist conscience are awakened to baptism; and that the design of Christian ordinances as means of grace is liable to

be frustrated among them, by exalting the observance of those ordinances into a term of salvation. We will not insist here, at length, on the Antinomian character of the practical religion which is cherished among the less intelligent classes, by the Baptist administration of truth among them. When we witness, among the phenomena of conscience, the cases of persons who "feel a burden on their spirit and can find no rest until they have taken up the cross and followed the Saviour into the water, and were buried with him by baptism," we see what we judge to be the legitimate effects of a dispensation of religious truth which makes a particular form of baptism an essential constituent of religion. While, then, baptism constitutes so much of the Baptists' religion, the very name of the rite becomes fraught with peculiar solemnity. The ordinance must not be called, in any language, by an ambiguous name. It is but natural that a supposed error in that name should be intolerable in a translation of the bible, and that the advantages of uniformity of translation throughout the Christian world should be freely sacrificed to a scrupulous precision in that simple term. The change of the English version it would therefore seem must come. We see no place between India and America, where such views of the name and nature of baptism will permit a consistent and conscientious Baptist, in this work of translation, to stop.

We deem it proper, then, here to consider the propriety of the course of our Baptist brethren as tested by the laws and the present state of the philological controversy.

A great part of the dispute about the mode of baptism has turned upon the meaning of the original word; and this is now as much disputed as ever. No point that favours the Baptist side of the question is now any nearer being settled than at the beginning. Our brethren, therefore, by translating the word in their sense, cut off the unsettled controversy and abruptly leave the ground. They take the thing for granted, which they have utterly failed to prove. We propose to present here a few such points of the argument as will place this remarkable instance of begging the question in the strongest light.

Let it be distinctly observed that we propose here not to settle, nor to make any effort towards settling, the question in dispute between the Baptists and the Paedo Baptists, but merely to show that the question is not settled; and that to

proceed in translation as though it were decided, is precluding argument by assuming the point to be proved.

The point assumed is that the Greek word βαπτίζω means only and always "to dip, to plunge." The only just warrant for translating the word in that sense, where it relates to the Christian ordinance of baptism is, that, in this relation, it can have no other; and whether it can have any other sense, in such a connexion, is to be determined by its original signification, and by the circumstances of its appropriation as the name of a Christian sacrament. The position which we are now concerned to support is simply, that neither the original and classic use of the word, nor its use as a term of Christian theology, confines it to the sense which our brethren insist on giving it in their translation. So long as it admits of doubt, and especially so long as there exists so clear a certainty, that the word has ever been employed in a variety of particular senses, it will be unlawful to institute a general principle of translation which shall restrict it to any one.

Take, of the many instances which might be adduced from the classic authors, these two from a single writer, which, though not the most palpable, are sufficiently so for our purpose. Aristotle speaks of *baptizing* hay with honey for diseased elephants. He also speaks of certain places, beyond the pillars of Hercules, which, when it is ebb-tide, are not *baptized*, (βαπτίζεσθαι) but at full-tide are overflowed (κατακλυζεσθαι) This last instance, where the word is put in synonomy with κατακλυζω is conclusive. To deluge, to inundate, is surely a different process from dipping or plunging; in the one case, the water being applied to the subject, in the other, the subject to the water. Here is one instance in which βαπτίζω undeniably means something different from taking a body and plunging it down into water. Can our brethren then quote classic authority to justify the rendering of the word, in *every* case by a term which denotes only the particular process of dipping a body in water?

But though the classic objection to our brethren's proposed translation is insurmountable, we propose to lay chief stress on the cases presented in the bible. It is there only that we find the word employed to denote a religious ceremony. And in the New Testament the word βαπτίζω, except when used in a figurative sense, never occurs but with some reference to a religious rite.

We do not here follow the word back to its root βαπτω. The senses of that term can decide nothing, we think, in regard

to the biblical sense of βαπτίζω, for two reasons. 1st. It is settled by the most satisfactory research, that βαπτω was used in some senses, which are never ascribed to βαπτίζω;—in one sense, at least; that of *dying*, *tinging*, *colouring*. 2nd. Βαπτω is never employed to denote the Christian rite of baptism. If, therefore, we briefly examine some of the most prominent scriptural uses of the word βαπτίζω, we shall present the difficulty which our brethren so promptly dispose of in their plan of translation.

In Mark 7: 3, 4, the Pharisees and all the Jews are said, "when they come from the market, not to eat except they *baptize themselves*" (βαπτίσωνται Middle voice.) This baptism is defined in the verse preceding: "Except they wash their hands often" (or carefully) "they eat not; holding the tradition of the elders." We are aware that Gale and some others insist that the two cases differ from each other; that the case mentioned in the third verse, was the common washing of the hands before every meal; while the baptism referred to in the fourth verse was a bathing or immersion of the whole body, on account of the peculiar defilement contracted in the market. The first was only a washing, as they say; the other was a baptism, and hence, was designated by a term which signifies more than washing. But baptism is the word used for that washing in another place. Luke, 11: 38. The Pharisee wondered that Christ had not first baptized himself (ἐβαπτίσθη) before dinner. As we have no reason to suppose that Christ had been to the market, his baptism must have been only the customary washing before every meal. It is further insisted that the hands, though they were the only parts washed, were immersed in the process, and hence the baptism was still immersion so far forth. Be it so. It follows nevertheless, that the immersion of the hands was taken for the baptism of the person; and accordingly the language corresponded to that idea. "He marvelled that he had not first *baptized himself* before dinner." So the complete ceremony of baptism was performed in this case, at least, by applying water to a part of the body, or, if you please, a part of the body to water; and βαπτίζω therefore does mean something besides the immersion of the whole body. At least it is far from being settled that it does not. Yet we see our brethren engaged in translating the word as though it were no longer in dispute, among the best judges, whether the word should not in every case be rendered by a term which signifies the immersion of the whole

body in water. "The Pharisee marvelled that he had not *immersed his whole body in water* before dinner!"

Our brethren will permit us to state our impression of the difficulty they must encounter in translating the word in some of those instances where it occurs in reference to the religious rite of John the Baptist and of Christ. Matt. 3: 11. "I indeed baptize you with water; but there cometh one after me,—he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." So Acts, 1: 5. "For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." In both these passages, the word is used first in a literal sense and then in a figurative. Whether John immersed or not,—a question which it is not to our purpose here to decide,—we doubt not he made copious use of water, as the reference to the figurative baptism with the Holy Ghost implies. But when we compare this figure of baptism as employed to denote the future effusions of the Holy Spirit with the figures employed to describe the events when they occurred, we meet an insurmountable objection to the proposed Baptist translation of the word. And our brethren, we think, must feel it. In no case, are the actual presence and operation of the Holy Spirit represented under the similitude of immersion. The Spirit falls on men, as the scriptures express it, is shed down, is poured out on men, but never are men said to be immersed in it. "Baptize" is therefore to be taken here in a wider sense than "immerse" will bear. Admitting that John did immerse in water, it is certain that God is never said to immerse in the Holy Ghost; and that "immerse" cannot, therefore, in these cases be a full substitute for "baptize." The idea of baptism conveyed by these two uses of the term "baptize" cannot be compressed into the smaller capacity of the word "immerse." As the translation now stands, if John be supposed to have immersed, there is between the two ideas of baptism with water, and baptism with the Holy Ghost, an incongruity demanding a latitude in the sense of "baptize" of which that word is plainly susceptible, but of which the stricter term "immerse" will not admit.

Let us suppose a Baptist missionary with his Baptist bible in his hand, conversing with an intelligent and sagacious Brahmin on the conversion and baptism of the Ethiopian by Philip, Acts 8: 26. He opens at the prophecy which the man was reading when Philip joined him, found in the fifty-third of Isaiah; and the first question propounded by the Brahmin will naturally be, "of whom speaketh the prophet

this?" the question put by the Ethiopian to Philip. This question leads them back to the thirteenth verse of the fifty-second chapter, and there, like Philip, our Baptist brother begins his exposition. He shows how this scripture is fulfilled in Christ. "Behold my servant . . . . shall be exalted, and be extolled, and be very high; (his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form, more than the sons of men.) So shall he sprinkle many nations. He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised and we esteemed him not." The Brahmin is satisfied with the Baptist's explanation of the prophecy so far as it refers to the humiliation, sufferings, and exaltation of Christ; but "where," he will say, "is the sprinkling of many nations? your scriptures say, Ezek. 36: 25, 'I will sprinkle clean water upon you.' Hence I suppose the sprinkling of many nations is to be a water sprinkling. Please to explain this sprinkling. Philip preached Jesus to the Ethiopian, beginning, you say, at this same scripture; that is, the prophecy commencing at Is. 52: 13; and when they came to a certain water, the man proposed of his own accord, as your bible reads, to be immersed, or plunged all over under water. What part of this scripture, as Philip probably explained it, put that sort of baptism into his mind?" We mistake if our Baptist brother would not, in such a conversation, find 'baptism," a more convenient word than immersion.

Our intelligent and conscientious Baptist translators must find serious embarrassment with Rom. 6: 4—"We are buried with him by baptism into death. We adduce this passage as one in which, if they apply their principles of translation they must beg the question twice. First, by assuming the disputed point, that baptism is, in this place, itself a figure of the burial and resurrection of Christ, and second, that its figurative fitness depends on the particular mode of baptism by immersion. Baptism is understood, on all hands, to denote a profession of faith in Christ, of the hope of salvation through his death, and of our obligation and purpose to obey his commands. When we have mortified the sinful affections by the exercise of faith and hope in Christ crucified, we are said by the apostle to have crucified the old man, with Christ; and the burial is that of the body crucified. For why speak of burying, in the likeness of Christ's burial, what is not dead in the likeness of his death? Can it be

supposed that such a writer as Paul would construct a figure of speech upon the resemblance between burying a dead body in the earth, and dipping a living body into water and taking it immediately out? It surely must require the prepossessions of a Baptist to perceive the resemblance, much more to justify such a use of it. That the comparison ever entered the apostle's mind is far from being clear. We know that many, chiefly Baptists, hold that it did; and we know too that many of equal authority think otherwise, and with strong reasons; so that it is not to be hastily taken for granted, as our brethren propose to do, that the form of baptism is here referred to as an emblem of the burial of Christ. But admitting that it is, the allusion is not to the form alone, but also to the import of the rite. Now the Baptist prefers his word in this place merely to give exclusive prominence to the form, as if that alone were embraced in the figure. He insists on putting "immersion" for "baptism" here, that he may concentrate the reader's attention on the act of immersing, and on the resemblance between that act and the burial of Christ, as the only reason why the ordinance of baptism is referred to at all. He puts a living body into the water, and lifts it instantly out, and calls that act an imitation of laying out the dead body of Christ in the spacious vault of Joseph of Arimathea! And then, what a jumble of ideas follows on: Buried with him by immersion under water, that like as he was raised from the dead, so we (to keep the figure whole) should be raised up out of the water. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death; i. e. buried under water as he was buried in the tomb; we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection; i. e. we shall be raised up out of the water! We do yet feel a confidence that our brethren will not risk their reputation as biblical scholars amidst a nation of criticising and sagacious idolaters, upon so evident a distortion of plain scripture and of common sense.

The case of 1 Cor. 10: 2, the last we shall here mention, presents a difficulty, which our brethren, as we should apprehend, would find to be insurmountable. "And were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea."

The first two verses of this chapter are generally supposed to be susceptible of only the interpretation which is, for substance, this: "To persuade, you, brethren, to the greater diligence and perseverance in the Christian life, and to secure you the more against a fatal relapse into idolatry, we

would remind you of the awful example of the Israelites, who all signified their belief in the true God, and in the divine authority of Moses, by committing themselves to the protection of the cloud, and marching under the direction of Moses through the Red Sea. As it is said in Exodus 14: 31, 'And the people feared the Lord, and they believed the Lord and his servant Moses.' " This we suppose to be the true interpretation. The Israelite's solemn submission to Moses on that occasion, was a declaration of faith in God, equivalent to that which the Christian makes in submitting to the ordinance of baptism. The allusion is to one of the significations of the rite, namely, its import as a declaration of faith. There is no reference to the actual administration of baptism in any form whatever.

The Baptist bible is to read, "And were all immersed unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea." The doctrine is, that "baptize" means only *to dip, plunge, immerse;* and it must not be taken metaphorically here, because the baptism must be made out to have been an actual event. We understand baptism to be mentioned here, instead of the thing signified by it. Being baptized unto Moses means, in our view, declaring belief in Moses. But our brethren insist that the ordinance itself, as well as the faith it signifies, was there at the Red Sea; and that there was consequently an immersion. "The cloud," says Dr. Gill," passed from before them over their heads and stood behind them, and as it passed it poured down rain upon them," Ps. 77: 17. Thus with the cloud successively before and behind them, and the wall of waters on either hand, and dry ground beneath, they were completely immersed. This was verily like plunging a person into water!

We feel strongly tempted to rally our brethren upon their supposed observance of an ordinance of Christianity, thousands of years before Christianity was introduced, and long before any Jewish type of Christianity was established; and upon their supposed administration of that ordinance to two or three millions of people in the mass, with their cattle too, and all the appendages of that immense caravan; and upon their supposed immersion in a cloud, instead of proper water, while all stood on dry ground; and upon their not being dipped or plunged into the element, but the element being brought and placed upon them; and, more than all, upon the baptism of thousands of children, for which the Baptist feels such instinctive abhorrence;—but considering that this is not

a theme nor occasion for trifling, we proceed to state what we deem the insurmountable obstacle which the passage before us throws in their way.

To put "immersed" in the place of "baptized," and for the reasons assigned, will make the passage a contradiction of historical fact. The thing which our brethren mean by their term was not done. There is no intimation that a sole of the people's feet, or a hair of their head was moistened during the whole of that wonderful transaction. They went through the midst of the sea "*upon dry ground.*" All our impressions of that complete preservation and deliverance lie against the idea of their having been touched by water on that occasion at all. As to the cloud, there is no proof of its having been a watery vapour; and its luminous appearance by night, together with its manifest independence of atmospheric impulse, gives strong ground of presumption that it was essentially supernatural. The thunder and rain mentioned Ps. 77: 17, were more natural and probable concomitants of the violent reflux of the waters upon the Egyptians, than of the quiet and safe transit of the Israelites over the dry bed of the sea. Where then was the immersion? When the Birman reader of the Baptist bible comes to his minister for an explanation of this passage, what explanation can be given that will consist at once with Baptist exegesis and historical fact.

It is improbable that the jealousy and opposition of an intelligent idolater will suffer such palpable discrepancies to pass unobserved. The bible is ever to encounter the depraved ingenuity and learning of the nations to whom it is sent; its entire structure is to be repeatedly and sagaciously scrutinized, and every word disputed, which admits of plausible contradiction. Especially so, since the heathen nations are to receive the gospel in connexion with those facilities for general learning, which now exist in unprecedented fulness, and which have ever kept science far in advance of religion, throughout the civilized world. Christianity will unmake idolaters faster than it will make Christians. It will discredit idolatry; it will persuade many to abandon their false religion before they are prepared to adopt the true. Hundreds will throw off the yoke of idols before they will take up the yoke of Christ; and, free from the bondage of superstition on the one hand, and the restraints of true religion on the other, they will revel in the intellectual licentiousness of infidelity. Such men are the most formidable enemies of the bible in heathen countries. The missionary encounters in

them, an obstacle, the most discouraging, perhaps, that hinders his success. Such men will abound in Birmah; and it behooves Christians to shun the needless exposure of their lively oracles to the cavils of these industrious and ingenious enemies.

We now respectfully invite the attention of our brethren of the new society to the unanimous concessions of their own writers, as to the meaning of the word βαπτίζω. And as these concessions relate equally to this word and to βαπτώ, its reputed root, we shall here take the two words together. We shall regard them as synonymous, although eminent scholars insist, and we think with some good reasons, upon a difference between them. Especially since the Baptists themselves insist on the synonomy, we are willing to yield them all the advantage of the concession. In the following remarks, therefore, we treat the two words alike.

Gale, in the midst of his quotations from classic authors, (Reflections on Wall, p. 104,) after adducing the most decisive passages, says: "There are other passages somewhat akin to these, which seem however to leave a little more room for the objections of our adversaries; where, though the word is used, it appears, by other circumstances, that the writer could not mean *dip* by it." He then quotes Aristophanes, representing an old comedian of Athens, as practising the Lydian music, and making plays and (βαπτομενος βατραχειος) *smearing himself with tawny paints.* He quotes also Aristotle, saying of a certain colouring substance, that when it is pressed (βαπτει) *it stains* the hand. He represents these uses of the word as metaphorical. But how can a man of sense talk so? To smear or tincture the *mind* as Marcus Antoninus says thoughts do, and, to stain the *character*, are metaphors. But to smear the face, or stain the hand, is as literal a form of speech as can be employed. To stain may be a secondary or derivative sense of βαπτω, but not a metaphorical. *To understand* signified at first merely *to stand under;* and, as a term of literature, denoted the translation or explanation of a book placed line for line under the text. By the natural progress of language, it came to be said that perceiving the nature, or the meaning of a thing was the *understanding* of it. And now, if to speak of understanding a matter, is to speak in a metaphor, there is nothing but metaphor in any language; for except technical terms, and a few words of very uncommon use, scarcely any words in any language retain their original signification. To

stain, then, is one of the senses of βαπτω, and by Gale's own showing, is used in a case where "the writer could not mean *dip* by it." The word therefore does not always mean *to dip*.

The same writer quotes from Aristotle, respecting the ground beyond the pillars of Hercules, which was not *baptized* at ebb-tide; and on that use of βαπτίζω he accords the following admission, p. 117. "The word, perhaps, does not so necessarily express the action of putting under water, as, in general, a thing's being in that condition, no matter how it comes so; whether it is put into the water, or the water comes over it; though indeed to put into the water is the most natural way, and the most common, and is therefore *usually* and *pretty constantly*, but it may be *not necessarily* implied." The word, then, may mean the application of water to the subject, and not of the subject to the water.

Again, page 137, he says that in the Apocrypha and the Septuagint Old Testament, the words βαπτω and βαπτίζω occur in but twenty-five places; in eighteen of which they undoubtedly mean *to dip*. Well; and what do they mean in the other seven? On Lev. 14: 6, where a living bird, a bunch of cedar wood and hyssop and scarlet were to be dipped in the blood of a single bird that was slain, he remarks: "We readily grant there may be such circumstances, in some cases, which necessarily and manifestly show, the thing spoken of is not said to be dipped all over." p. 138.

Put together now these three concessions, and they are enough. First, the word does not always mean to dip or plunge, but may signify actions of another kind entirely. Second, it does not necessarily imply that the thing or person baptized is applied to the water, but the water may be brought up and put upon the subject. Third, it does not in all cases imply that the thing baptized is entirely covered with the water, but it may denote a partial application. That is to say, the words permit the form to be other than dipping, they permit the water to be applied to the subject, and in less quantity than to cover the body. So says a strenuous Baptist; and he concedes all that the Paedo Baptists contend for; enough surely to give his brethren no small trouble in their work of translation.

This writer also found great embarrassment from the use of βαπτω by the Septuagint in Daniel 4: 33 [30] and 5: 21. He is the only Baptist whom we recollect to have set himself in earnest to conquer this difficulty; and after long and

bitter complaint against the license of the Greek translators, the substance of his evasion is this: page 142, &c. As the word is acknowledged, on all hands, to mean *primarily* and generally *to dip*, there can be no difficulty in determining its meaning in this place. For, since the Greek word commonly and properly signifies *to dip*, and is put for a Chaldee one of undoubtedly the same meaning, it must be very natural to judge that to be the true sense, and what the writer here intended. And further, as a part of Nebuchadnezzar's dominions lay in Africa where the dews were remarkably copious, he must, by lying out all night like a beast, have become drenched with dew; and the word βαπτω is used to show that he became very wet; "as wet as though he had been dipped!"

We refer our readers to the six pages of Gale, which he devotes to this quibble, as a curiosity; and we do it with the greater emphasis, from the high authority of that writer among the Baptist denomination. He was undoubtedly a man of talents and learning. The work to which we refer won for its author a high reputation among the English dissenters of his day, and gained him great and merited influence among his own people. But we can feel little respect for an opinion, which rests for any part of its support on such artifice and systematic cavil as is pursued in that book.

In short: The current qualification of the Baptist forms of speech in relation to the meaning of the words in question, concedes all that our argument requires. Gale qualifies his general assertions by saying "immersion is its *proper and genuine* sense. Constantine *almost* always renders it so." "In eighteen places out of twenty-five in the Septuagint Old Testament and the Apocrypha," says he for substance, "it means *to dip*, and in the other seven it does not, to say the least, mean *to sprinkle* or *to pour*." The Christian Review for March 1837, says, "While the English language was yet in its crude elements *to baptize* meant *ordinarily* to *immerse or dip*." The report of the board of managers of the American and Foreign Bible Society says, "When the Anglicized Greek word *baptize* was admitted into the English language through the influence of the Roman hierarchy it was then *almost* universally understood to mean immersion." The same report appeals "to profane Greek authors; to Josephus and Philo among Jewish writers, to all the lexicographers, to the Septuagint, and to the most learned of all the commentators, all of whom *admit the primary rendering*

which we give to the word βαπτίζω." pp. 26, 27. The Christian Review reiterates Dr. Owen's concession "that the *original and natural* signification of the word is *to dip, to plunge, to dye.*" We respectfully ask the writer of the article from which the above is quoted, whether his eye ever fell on Dr. Owen's assertion "that *no one instance* can be given in scripture in which the word *baptize* does *necessarily* signify either *to dip* or *to plunge.* The same work quotes also Dr. Hammond's opinion, "that it signifies *not only* the washing of the whole body, ... but *washing any part*, as the hands, by way of immersion in water." It appeals also to Dr. George Campbell, who "maintains that immerse is *very nearly* equivalent to baptize in the language of the gospels." "The pious and learned men," says the same work, "whose authority Booth has so copiously adduced, in his Paedo-Baptism Examined, could see only immersion in the *primary* signification of the word." "We are of opinion" (we quote still from the Christian Review) "that the idea contained in the word baptism, as used in the New Testament, cannot be *adequately* expressed by any single word in our language. It means more than immersion." "We are prepared to show that all versions, in languages using the Roman character, were made with the express understanding, that βαπτίζω was transferred and not translated, because there did not appear to be, in those languages, words of an import fully equivalent." Carson, an eminent writer on baptism, acknowledges, that in adopting immersion as the *only* meaning of baptism, he has the lexicographers and commentators against him.

As we wish to judge our brethren out of their own mouths, we adduce only such expressions as abound in Baptist writers; and we have multiplied our quotations to show how freely they admit the thing we claim: that βαπτίζω does not exclusively signify *immerse*, and that *immerse*, *dip*, *plunge*, no one, nor all of them, in the English language, nor any word corresponding to them in other languages, would be a full equivalent for *baptize.* When the question recurs, then, on the meaning of the word as the name of the Christian sacrament, and appeal is had to the original and general senses of the term, what is the result? Is the question decided in their favour? Their proposed translation is simply an argument for their mode of baptism derived from the meaning of the term. Is the argument sound? Is its conclusion so far beyond dispute, that it may be incorporated in the translated

text of inspiration, and made a part of the true and infallible word of God? Mark the logic. The Baptist admits that the word baptize means sometimes to put water on a part of the body, and then translates it by a word which signifies to put the whole body into water, and adds his assertion that this is the only rendering which the word will bear! We hazard nothing by insisting that the question is yet unsettled in their favour; that the argument against their doctrine remains in all its force, and that they hold those views of the sense of that word, as expressed in their translation, against their own free and candid concessions, and "the almost universal suffrage of what is called the Christian world."

We meet our brethren, therefore, at this point, with these two dissuasives against their course:

First, they assume the point which they have failed to prove. Their sole reason for changing the name of baptism is that their interpretation of the name has been called in question; and they must give it a new name because they cannot silence the objections to their peculiar use of the old. If baptize had only one meaning and that were undisputed, the word would suit them still. But they find their opinion disputed, refuse to argue the point any longer, and proceed to cut the Gordian knot which they could not untie. They leave us in full and quiet possession of all the ground we fought for, and quit the field in a manner not clearly compatible with dignity and self respect. They go on to translate the word according to their views, while they leave their recorded testimony in favour of ours. For let it be remembered that the Paedo Baptist doctrine on the philological point is simply that the word will not, *in all cases*, bear their sense. We do not insist that it means only *to sprinkle*. We do not contend that baptism may not be performed by immersion; but that it is not confined, by the meaning of the word, to immersion. This is the point in controversy; and our charge against our brethren is, that they first concede this point, and then assume the opposite.

Second, they propose to translate the bible on principles which their own reasonings do not uphold. It is certainly incumbent on the Baptist to prove, or, at least, to believe himself, that baptize signifies only immerse, and neither more nor less, before he proceeds to put it, in every instance, out of the bible, and put immerse in its place. But this he neither proves to others, nor believes himself. We hear him say, "that immerse, dip, plunge, no one of those, in the Eng-

lish language, nor any words corresponding to them in other languages, can be a full equivalent for baptize." The most he claims is that these words express the *primary, original, ordinary, general* sense of the term. What then is he to do? The word must be translated, but how? On his own principles, what but a circumlocution will represent its meaning fairly. He must have a "faithful version" of the word; but he has no terms to make it of, as he himself admits, and still he persists in translating the word, though he strips it, in the process, of a portion of its sacred import.

After all, when we consider that baptize has been appropriated, and that any other word would soon become equally so, the change of terms seems unnecessary and unavailing;—unnecessary, because this term may serve the Baptist as well as any other; unavailing, because the Paedo Baptist can serve himself as well with any other as with this. What forbids the Baptist's associating invariably with the word baptize the sense which he thinks it ought exclusively to retain? And suppose the change effected, in all the versions of every sect, would not the new name convey the same idea to the Paedo Baptist mind as the old? The name would not define the rite, but the rite the name. Immerse, were that the substitute, would be taken from the common vocabulary, and inserted on the list of theological terms. No one would go to the classical dictionary to find its technical meaning. We should go to theological books for that; and when the Baptist has chosen his terms, the world will employ them as they do the terms now in use. If baptize means immerse, then immerse means baptize, and both will unchangeably denote the ceremony "of washing with water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." We should no more speak of the Christian immersion in the ordinary sense of immersion, than we now speak of a baptism of hands and garments that are cleansed by washing, or of a pastor of sheep and cattle.

We tender to our brethren the fraternal admonition, that they will never satisfy any large portion of the intelligent Christian world with their reasons for shaping a religious ceremony, having its specific character and design, by the original and general sense of the term chosen to denote it. We wonder that such signal and solemn stress should have been laid on the sense of this word, as determining the form of the institution of which it is the name. How has it happened that this zeal for circumstantials has not seized on the

Lord's Supper, and wrought the form and time and circumstances of its observance into minute conformity to this name of the institution? Do our brethren test the validity of their eldership by the *primary* and *general* signification of the name? How do they render ποίμην in their new translation so as to retain exclusively the original and primary sense of the word επίσκοπος and πρεσβυτερος? How do they translate the names of weights and measures? "No man lighteth a candle and putteth it under a bushel." Have λυχνος and μοδιος precise synonymes in Birmese? If not, how can they translate them? We understand, the Baptist translators have borrowed many words from various languages to express their scriptural ideas in the Birman language; and particularly, that they have transferred, the word ευαγγελιν entire into their version!! The Greeks translate כהל by περίτεμνω; the Latins by circumcisio; we, by circumcision; all the translations conveying, in the primary senses, ideas which have no connexion with the Hebrew original. Perhaps the Baptist translators, in their "faithfulness," are giving us the broad Birmese and English of the rite, and making the name a literal definition of the ceremony. What but this are they proposing to do in relation to baptism? Why, in that particular instance do they cling with such pertinacity to a particular and primary sense of the word? Is baptizing a person in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and with sole reference to a spiritual cleansing, synonymous with sinking a stone in the pool, or a ship in the sea, or plunging one's self, for health, pleasure, or personal cleanliness, into a bath? Does the resemblance require both to be called by the same name? and must the name express, in either application, only those ideas which are common to both? What would such principles make of the church, its pastors, its preaching and its other sacrament? Will the brethren tell us how, in their view, the Lord's Supper can be valid, observed in the morning or any time of day before dinner; and with the least assignable quantity of the elements, instead of the full meal which the name implies? Our respected brethren must perceive some weight in the consideration that they are translating the bible on principles which they themselves acknowledge to have but a partial support; and to proceed on such grounds to alter the received version of the holy scriptures, or to disturb the long settled agreement of protestant christendom in the principles of translation would be an act

of presumption, the discredit of which they must be reluctant to incur.

Having extended our remarks on this branch of our subject to an unexpected length, we have but a small space remaining for observations on the sectarian policy of the Baptist translation.

Our remarks on this point are prompted by sincere desire for the prosperity of that portion of the Baptist denomination who hold what we receive as the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. We seek their unity, purity, and success. We make common cause with them, and should feel their adversity to be our own affliction.

The recent movements of the Baptists in this matter threaten the brethren concerned in them with *mutual alienation and division.* They are now under one of the very common temptations which beset active and conscientious Christians. They propose a measure tending to separate, not the good from the bad, the pure and the living from the worldly and dead; but brethren of equal purity and conscientiousness from one another. The measure, in its present shape, had its origin in the Baptist minority of the board of managers of the American Bible Society. Some of these members of the board, seem to have encouraged the Baptist missionaries abroad to change the biblical terms relating to baptism, with the promise that their friends in this country would stand by them. The translations, being thus made in advance of the general action of the American Baptists in relation to them, presented a strong and insinuating appeal to the denomination for vindication and patronage; and the leaders in the board, from whom the missionaries took counsel and direction were fully committed in their favour. Many copies of the New Testament had been printed. The translations had cost great labour, and the preparations for printing them great expense. It was not, therefore, in its naked form that the question of a Baptist translation came up, but in the insidious garb of a proposition to support translations already in existence, and to sanction the arduous and self-denying labour which their devoted missionaries had already performed. A great work had been done, and the question before the people was, sustain, or not sustain. The zealous response of the Baptists throughout the land to this proposition, expressed only the instinctive repugnance of human nature to any thing like retraction. The translations must go, or the mortified missionaries and their friends must retrace

their steps and return to the old ways. A part of the brethren saw and contemplated the scheme of translation, apart from its disguise; and maintained the caution which is the parent of safety. Another part were strenuous to prosecute and finish what they had begun. We see, then, the deliberate and vigilant wisdom of one pary pausing before the immoveable objections to a sectarian version of the holy scriptures in any language; and the pledged, impassioned zeal of the other, pressing with more success than consideration towards its mark. The tendency of such a state of things towards a final division is inevitable. That the whole power of the denomination will go for the translations we have notorious reason to doubt; that the brethren should relinquish their purpose, though by no means impossible, is opposed by the preference of human nature for its own way; and hence we perceive causes at work here, more powerful than have sufficed in other cases, to rend the bonds of brotherhood, and alienate those who once were, and ought ever to be friends.

The serious bearing of a *sound economy* upon the project is worthy of consideration. Whether regarded in their particular circumstances as a sect, or in their office as stewards of the Lord in common with all the churches, they have no means to squander. As a denomination, they have peculiar reason to husband their resources. The number of their missionaries in the field, and the expense of sustaining them, bear a larger proportion to their available means than any other denomination in the land. They have peculiar need of an educated ministry, but no endowed institutions to assist in creating one. Their zeal for a new enterprise, is gathering upon their bible society an amount of patronage which must diminish their appropriations to other objects; and even should they sustain their other institutions with undiminished liberality, they owe it to themselves, as a sect, to bestow their means on objects more appropriately Baptist. The work of bible translation and distribution will be an exhausting process; the same amount of work done must cost them more, and avail them in the end less, than if done by the American Bible Society.

By a Baptist version of the scriptures they will *create a new distinction* between them and their brethren which will be greatly to their own disadvantage. When two sects of professed Christians cease to acknowledge a common standard of appeal in religious controversy, they have nothing in common; their fraternal interest in each other loses its foun-

dation, and the last cord that held them in mutual fellowship is broken.' This remark has full illustration in the case of Catholics and Protestants. Now after long acquiescence in the received translation of the bible, the benefits of which they have shared in a measure which themselves acknowledge to be fully equal to that of their brethren, the Baptists raise complaints against the common version, and put forth a version of their own. The reproach of this fundamental disagreement will, in all candid views, attach to the instigators of it. The rupture will require a stronger apology to justify it before the world, not to say, before God;—stronger than they have yet presented, or we can invent in their behalf. Either the substituted version is fully equivalent to the one displaced, or it is not. If it is, why was the change necessary, if not, how is it justifiable? With no pertinent and conclusive answer to this natural appeal, our brethren will stand apart from their fellow believers, in a spirit and position, which may be more easily accounted for by the infirmities of our fallen nature, than vindicated by the dictates of truth and enlightened conscience.

We respectfully appeal to our Baptist brethren, whether *the spirit and the occasion of their rupture with the American Bible Society* be such as, in their own view, ought to command the approbation of the Christian world. That institution was not formed on a compromise of religious opinions. No man was required to renounce his peculiar views of truth as a condition of membership. There was a fair understanding that the different denominations composing the society should stand on common ground in regard to the copies of the scriptures they would circulate. Hence they excluded "note and comment," and in the same spirit, confined themselves either to the common English version, or to such versions as conform to that in the principles of their translation, "at least so far as that all the religious denominations represented in the society can consistently use and circulate said versions in their several schools and communities." And what other ground could such an institution assume? We press this question upon our brethren and seriously demand an answer. Yet in the face of this vital principle of the society, our Baptist friends obtrude the proposal that their sectarian bible be taken up and circulated by the society at the expense, not of the money of the institution merely, which were a small matter, but of the cherished and known preferences of their brethren of the other persuasions! Hav-

ing made a version differing, in their own estimation, as widely from the common version, as the Baptist denomination differs from the others, they demand for it the patronage of all the other denominations concerned in the society. And they reproach their brethren with sectarianism for withholding it! The Baptist minority in the board of the American Bible Society, in their protest, gravely charge the society's versions with "*purposely withholding the truth* by non-translation or ambiguous terms, for the sake of accommodating Paedo Baptists;" and they charge the society's measure with "withholding from the heathen the word of life and suffering them to hasten to the retributions of eternity, without the knowledge of God and the way of salvation, simply because the volume it is proposed to give, contains the translation of a single term to which only Paedo Baptists object," —in other and proper words, is a Baptist bible. To which only Paedo Baptists object! A trifling objection truly; made by a proportion of three to one in the board of managers, and of more than twenty to one of all the patrons of the institution. And then the "withholding:"—A single Baptist pertinaciously thrusts his dogma into the path of twenty conscientious and devoted bible distributors, and charges them with withholding the word of life from the perishing heathen, because they prefer not to distribute his "note and comment" on the bible. When an intelligent Christian public shall pass deliberate judgment on such a course our respected brethren will not think it unreasonable, if they fall under its pointed censure.

It may be as unnecessary as ungrateful to our brethren to be admonished that their zeal in this matter has overshot its mark. If an enemy of theirs had consulted the surest method of wasting the denomination throughout the world, he could have chosen no one more effectual than the step which they, of their own accord, are now taking. Not content with explaining the received text of the law and the testimony touching their peculiar practice, they risk the reproach of shaping the text itself to their views. Such is the aspect of their proceeding before the Christian world. So it will be understood and received. They resolve to have no longer any standard of ultimate appeal in common with the other protestant sects, and making for themselves a bible as peculiar as their creed, propose an appeal to that as an end of all strife. And then what have they gained? Have they a better weapon for either self-defence or conquest? They

before had the important advantage, which at times they triumphantly recognize, of a translation *made by Paedo Baptists*, which, by its accidental and undesigned "faithfulness" to truth, has so lively a Baptist tinge, "that any reader whose mind is not warped by prepossession, discovers nothing but immersion for baptism in the New Testament;" a translation "which any person, understanding its language and ignorant of its origin, would presume to have been made by Baptists, and caused to speak favorably to their side."* And what, in the name of the fiercest sectarianism, would they have more? Must they be so straight as to bend the other way? Will they forego the choice advantage of a Baptist bible made by Paedo Baptists, for the low pleasure of making one of their own? We would cordially bid them God speed in their enterprise, but for the painful persuasion that they war against their own life, and the more they succeed, the more they will fail.

We are aware that most of our remarks on the sectarian policy of our brethren in their late proceedings appeal to a standard for which they feel, perhaps, little respect;—the standard of the enlightened sentiment of the Christian public; and we may be met with the reply, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." But those of our brethren who have reached the point where they presume on the exclusive patronage of the Head of the church, despise the approbation and courtesies of the Christian brotherhood, and feel themselves above fraternal counsels, are past recovery; and their future course is but too faithfully traced in the history of fanaticism in other days. We hope better things of them, though we thus speak. Not very remote from the line of history through which the Baptists trace their origin, stand the records of instructive events, bearing strong resemblance to things which seem now to be coming to pass. The light of the past sometimes reveals the future. In some awakening enterprise of a large and prosperous sect, the most ardent members go too fast and too far for the rest, and the bonds of union in the body become tensely drawn. All parties, being bound by conscience, must hold their courses; the whole mass, thrown into disorder and trouble, groans and travails together, till there comes forth at length from the labouring mountain the "ridiculus mus" of a dwarf society of "the Reformed." With

* Christian Review, No. 5, pp. 38, 39.

its "faithful version," and its straitened faith, worship and ordinances, the sparkling nucleus of concentrated bigotry goes on for a time, plunging with double vehemence, esteeming its littleness the quintessence of purity, and assured of the Father's good pleasure to give it the kingdom; till by its own tendencies, holding with exclusive grasp its distinguishing dogma, it lets go the essential truth of the gospel, and dies. The whole field of ecclesiastical history is strewed with the ashes of such dead, and no part more thickly than the quarter occupied by the Baptist denomination.

Our brethren will doubtless notice that we confound the scheme of a foreign translation and that of an English ver sion together. We have taken them together, because they cannot, either in theory or practice, be kept apart. If the Baptists can consent to use the common English version in this country, while they make such conscientious ado about the foreign versions corresponding to that in the principles of their translation, we shall be forced to entertain a disrespect for their consistency which we cannot now think them capable of deserving. The objections against a Baptist version in English lie with all their force against a Baptist version in Birmese. We hold that the world, to use a homely simile, is a free country. Do the brethren dream that, of all the powerful denominations of Christendom, none but the Baptists are to share in giving the bible to the "four hundred millions" whom they so modestly call their proper beneficiaries? And when two or more versions come out in Birmah or in China what will hinder their being even far more mischievous than conflicting translations would be here.

To our own minds, then, the points embraced under this head seem abundantly clear: The Baptists consider themselves as now entering upon the work of giving a Baptist bible to the all world; and in this work is, of course, embraced the project of an altered version in English; they are prompted to this step solely by their zeal for the form of one of the external rites of Christianity; they beg the whole philological question, and incur irreparable injury to themselves.

II. The few remaining thoughts we have to offer are suggested by the presumption of our brethren on the speedy prevalence of Baptist principles and practice throughout the world.

We judge this presumption to be general among them from such demonstrations as these: They speak of their obligation and purpose to give the holy scriptures "faithfully

translated" to all the world. They express entire confidence that all Christians will "see eye to eye" on the subject of baptism. Their measures are professedly prospective of the rapid progress and universal prevalence of Baptist influence in both Christian and pagan lands, and they speak of preparing a bible for the "four hundred millions," as though the whole work rested, under God, on Baptist shoulders. No one can read the declarations of their zeal and purposes, without perceiving the deep tinge which this presumption gives to all their expectations of the progress of religion.

This circumstance, above all others, proves the strength and solemnity of their denominational partialities and the remarkable ascendancy of sectarian preferences over the Baptist mind. Papists and Baptists are, so far as we know, the only existing sects who arrogate for their peculiar dogmas the dignities and destinies of "the truth:" and who mean, when they speak of the triumph of the truth, the conversion of all the world to their views. We are struck with the deep coloured ground work of the following picture from the report of the board of managers of the American and Foreign Bible Society, pp. 50, 51. "Your board of managers are deeply afflicted when they reflect, that although the bible and parts of the bible have been *faithfully* translated; . . . . . and every facility is possessed to distribute thousands of copies every year among the inhabitants of India; . . . . and although it is indisputable that Baptist missionaries have translated the bible into the languages spoken by more than one half of the nations of the earth, and the *faithfulness* of their versions has never been disputed;* yet the Calcutta, the British and Foreign, and the American Bible Societies have peremptorily *refused to aid* the Baptists in giving to those benighted nations the *unadulterated* revelation of the eternal God; without which, as every reflecting mind must be aware, thousands will be annually sacrificed upon the altars of idolatry, and sink forever to the abodes of despair."

The *unadulterated* revelation of the eternal God is the Baptist bible. Do the brethren mean to say that versions corresponding to the received English translation cannot enlighten those benighted nations? Probably not, upon reflection; but we give their words. Perhaps they mean to convey the idea that theirs are the only translations existing in the

* Do not Paedo Baptists dispute the faithfulness of the translations, and do not the Baptists' own concessions dispute it?

languages spoken by those nations, and the alternative is, to give them a Baptist translation, or leave them to perish. But who created this alternative? Suppose the converse of the case they state. The Paedo Baptist majorities in those societies have conscientious objections against circulating, by their own agency, the peculiar views of the Baptists; even though the vehicle for circulating those opinions were to be what they call *literal and faithful* versions of the bible. If now in the providence of God the Baptists stand in the Thermopylae of those "four hundred millions" of heathen, with their translations of the Bible, and refuse to give us access except on the submission of our consciences to theirs, who are they that deprive the heathen of the word of God; that stand in the gate of the vineyard neither entering in themselves, nor suffering those who were entering to go in? If then through the delay occasioned by this controversy, thousands of heathen should perish in darkness, would not all candour assign, at least, a moiety of the blame to our brethren who so freely roll the whole upon others.

Further: "Upon their (these societies') conduct in this case, we pause not now to animadvert. To their own master they must stand or fall, in that day when every man shall be judged according to his works. 'Some years since,' say the Baptist missionaries in Bengal, 'three of the Paedo Baptist brethren, unknown to us, though on the most friendly terms with us, wrote to the bible society in England, requesting them *not to give assistance to any Indian versions in which the word 'baptize,' was translated 'immerse.'* NONE OF THESE MEN LIVED TO SEE THE REPLY TO THEIR APPLICATION."

Solemn warning! The deed and the curse of Korah! And not a hair of the head of a Baptist hurt by the plague! How evident and awful a judgment, sent on men who sought to keep back a part of the word of God from the perishing heathen! It is only here and there, indeed, that this large vein of Baptist fanaticism comes so near the surface; but such language shows that it belongs to the system. The italics and capitals above given are all their own.

"The board of managers are satisfied that the providence of God has made it the duty of Baptists *to give to the whole world a faithful translation of the whole bible;* and that, as a denomination, we cannot decline this labour of love, and yet remain guiltless. In closing their report, the board of the American and Foreign Bible Society . . . . desire to

feel, that if to promote the glory of God and the salvation of men, be indeed the highest aim and paramount duty of every Christian, then does no common responsibility devolve on this society."

No responsibility, that is to say, which is common to all denominations; but a peculiar one devolved, by the providence of God, upon the Baptists to give the whole world a faithful translation of the whole bible. In other words, the Baptists are under a most awful responsibility to give the whole world the Baptist meaning of *βαπτίζω*.

"Let every talent be brought into solemn requisition, and let us resolve, in the strength of the Lord, never to cease from our work, until all nations read in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God." That is, until all nations shall have translations in which the name of baptism shall not be a foreign word. The world will never be enlightened until the ordinance of baptism is called no longer in the bible by a Greek name. This is the evident drift of these quotations. We might quote from numerous writers and speakers to the same effect; but the specimens given above are a genuine decoction of the whole. We are forced into the unpleasant alternative of supposing that our brethren either take pleasure in this arrogant presumption from lack of modesty and humility, or indulge it unconsciously from lack of good sense.

Now that our Baptist brethren, as a denomination, are to be the sole instrument of these millenial achievements, is not to us a *very* clear and direct matter of divine revelation. Their assurance must rest largely on the probable tendency and progress of religious events in the world; and we proffer to our brethren a few of the suggestions of history, as indications of Divine Providence on this subject.

One point in history on which the Baptists vehemently insist, is that the apostles and first Christians were Baptists to a man. Some assert with strong assurance, that, in the days of Paul, the Baptists were the sect every where spoken against, as the stedfast friends of the *voluntary principle*, in whatever pertains to religion.* There was an early division of Christians into different and contending sects, the heads of which appear to have been strenuous on some points connected with baptism.† But we presume our brethren do not

* See speech of Rev. S. H. Cone, at the opening of business in the American and Foreign Bible Society, 1837.

† 1 Cor. 1: 11—17.

assign to their primitive ancestry a place among those who received Paul's genuine Paedo Baptist rebuke on that occasion, and who were admonished that circumstantial differences about baptism, was no good ground of mutual dissension. Nothing is heard of these Baptist divisions, however, from that time to the reformation. The line of their history, soon after its commencement runs under ground, as the river Jordan in whose waters those first Baptists were made, is said to do, near its source. There are hints, indeed, of immersion during the dark ages, as in one instance, when the pope led a splendid procession at a baptismal celebration, chanting the words, "As the hart panteth for the water brooks;" on which occasion *several children* were immersed three times each.* On the emersion of their history into public view at the reformation, behold almost the whole nominal Christian world had imbibed the Paedo Baptist errors; and of those who bore the Baptist name, or its cognate Anabaptist, there were at least six sorts as different from each other as can well be imagined. One sort placed the essence of baptism in the virtue of the person baptized; a second, in the form of words; a third, in the virtue of the administrator; a fourth, in the consent of the subject; a fifth, in dipping, and a sixth, in the profession of faith and dipping united.† This last division of the Anabaptists, were the true Baptists, from whom sprang all the subsequent modifications of the sect.‡ From that time to the present, while the Baptists have had a respectable representation in the aggregate piety of the Christian church, the modifications of the sect have multiplied indefinitely. Indeed the question of baptism has thrown the Christian world into two divisions, in both which are to be found corresponding diversities of doctrine, and order, almost without end. It sounds strangely therefore to our ears, to hear Baptists as such, assume to be the exclusive proprietors of truth. Who are the Baptists? By what comprehensive term can we describe them? What system of either doctrine or practice do they hold in common? They seem to us the least adapted as a community to constitute the one spiritual body, fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth. That they, as Baptists, are the true and only church, whose destinies are celebrated by prophetic inspiration, and to whose doc-

* Benedict's History of Baptists, I. 69. Robinson's History of Baptism, p. 65.
† Robinson's Hist. Bap., p. 453.
‡ Benedict, I. 94.

trine and practice, as truth advances, all Christendom is to conform, our brethren themselves in the calm intervals of their baptistic raptures, do not pretend. The history of baptism suggests to our minds almost any other thing as strongly, as the idea of peculiar purity of Christian principle connected with immersion. And yet this very connexion of immersion with truth and holiness is the basis of Baptist exultation and confidence. Their sanguine expectations of the future spread of Baptist principles would lead any one, who did not know better, to suppose that every candid and humble inquirer after truth and duty found the binding necessity of immersion too obvious to be mistaken; that every degree of spiritual improvement in the church was accompanied with a scrupulous submission to dipping; that in every revival of religion, each sweep of the gospel net drew its entire contents into the water; and that all the brightest rays of biblical learning and sound philology converged towards the Baptist contraction of *βαπτίζω*. But our eyes have not yet discovered such a tendency of things; and if our brethren deliberately believe it exists, their convictions can have little to do with either argument or fact.

In connexion with this presumption of our brethren that their principles are to be the principles of Christendom, we cannot but notice a similar feature of their state of mind in regard to other points. It would be matter of amusement, were it not a case of so painful exposure to the danger of self-deception, to hear our brethren pronounce so confident judgment on the comparative merits of their versions of the scriptures. "Our principle," exclaims the president of the American and Foreign Bible Society, "is the true one. . . . That the bible may be an *intelligible guide*, it must be *faithfully* translated by *sound philologists*, not by selfish sectarians." In other words, it must be translated by Baptists *par eminence*, the sound philologists of Christendom, the pure, unbiassed, unsectarian sect of all the world! Our brethren must consider that the world will take these expressions in their proper connexion with the acts of those who make them, and will not forget that the Baptists, while thus declaiming about the necessity of a sound philology in translating the bible, are making translations professedly for all the world. Such sonorous bursts of indignation against the selfish sectarians who decline adopting the Baptist bible, and plead for a common version in which several denominations can unite would seem more compatible with Christian self-distrust and humility, were they only as modest as they are absurd.

Since the preceding part of this article was prepared, we have received a paper containing the resignation of four Baptist members of the board of managers of the American Bible Society, together with a brief exposition of their reasons for resigning their places. It is a dignified document, and professedly dispassionate, and will be good authority for the principles it holds and the statements it makes in the name of the denomination. We apprise those brethren that they fail in presenting a plausible vindication of their course by complaining, as they do, that they have not stood on equal ground with the other denominations represented in the board. They plead for indulgence in regard to their version, on the ground that the society has patronized Paedo Baptist translations, and without molestation from the Baptists. We have good authority for asserting that this is not a fact. The secretary of the American Bible Society has publicly denied that the society has ever intentionally patronized a single denominational translation. "A small edition," says the secretary, "of a Seneca gospel was once published, where *βαπτίζω* was translated to *wet* or *sprinkle*. But this was wholly unknown to the board until years after the work was issued; and, when known, was disapproved of by every member. And as to patronage bestowed unintentionally on denominational translations, our brethren must well know that many thousands of dollars had been appropriated by the board to assist in publishing a Birmese version of the scriptures, that this version had been prepared by Baptists and according to their views, while the Baptist character of the translation was unknown to the board, until incidentally revealed to them by a letter from an English missionary in Calcutta. They have had their share then of unintentional indulgence;—the only kind of indulgence granted to any denomination in the board. This part of their ground of complaint is, therefore, imaginary.

They next assert that the American Bible Society has directly violated its constitution, by adopting the English version as a standard, *in any sense*, for foreign translations. The only specification of the constitution which relates at all to their case, is: "The only copies in the English language to be circulated by this society, shall be of the version now in common use." The constitution it seems says nothing of the principles of translation, as though the work of translation was not contemplated by the institution. Nor does it say any thing of the character of foreign translations

to be adopted and circulated by the society. And how can a constitution be violated in a matter of which it says nothing? If the Baptists began to co-operate with the society under the impression that the constitution bound the board to patronize any particular foreign translations of the scriptures, it was their unfortunate mistake. And it would better become them, now that they have learned their error, to acknowledge the correction, and go quietly on in their good work. We wonder at their great ado about the rejection of their translation. That board have no power to prevent any man or sect, from making such and so many versions of the scriptures as they choose. If our brethren must have a Baptist version, and must circulate it, they are free to do so. It is at their option whether to give their money to the bible society, for the distributiou of such translations as that institution patronizes, or to expend a part or the whole of their means upon versions of their own. It seems to us entirely without cause, and a great inadvertence in our brethren, that they have given the board of the American Bible Society so much embarrassment and pain, for such reasons. Nothing could more clearly prove their utter misapprehension of their claims on the American Bible Society than their comparing the resolutions in question with a papal decree. What has the society done, what can it do, what would it do, to hinder the Baptists from circulating their own bibles, and in their own way, provided they did not enforce their measures on their brethren of other persuasions? Does the constitution of the American Bible Society bind the board to patronize the Baptist bible? How then can the constitution be violated by their declining to do so? But, says the paper before us, "The managers' address, contemporaneous with the constitution, contemplates the circulation of the scriptures in foreign lands, in the received versions where they exist, and in the most faithful where they are required." "On these principles, the Baptist entered most heartily into the labours of the society." Now *first*, the managers' address is no part of the constitution of the society. It stated what they deemed themselves competent to do under the constitution, in circumstances then existing. But a declaration of the board at another time, varying from that, as circumstances might require, would be equally constitutional. If, therefore, the board *had* departed from the professions of that address, it could not easily be shown to be a "direct violation of the constitution." But, in the *second* place, have they departed

in this case from even those professions? "Received versions" there were none. Translations were to be prepared, and then "received;" and the condition which would hold the board to use them is, that they be "most faithful." But who is to judge of their faithfulness? Do our brethren deem themselves competent to judge in this momentous matter for all the world? and have they the face to demand submission to their judgment from all the denominations concerned in the American Bible Society? We were never before prepared to suspect it. Do they "see themselves as others see them" in this case? To parry the force of this rebuke, they say, the faithfulness of their version has never been questioned. It *is* questioned. The known and unchanged principles of the Paedo Baptist world are a standing denial of the faithfulness of the Baptist version. The Baptists' assertion is not correct, that Paedo Baptists defend their views "on the ground of convenience merely, regarding the mode of an external rite as a matter of indifference." We do not defend our views on that ground merely, nor mainly. We found our opinions in what we consider just biblical exegesis. The reasonings pursued under the philological head of this article, are substantially the basis of the Paedo Baptists views of the form of baptism, and the arguments from convenience, and the insignificancy of the form of an external rite, are used only as the prop and finish of the superstructure. The concessions, as our Baptist brethren call them, of our greatest scholars, are no concessions of the point in dispute. They only grant that the *leading primary* signification of the word is what the Baptists have it. The whole question still remains, whether the word has any other signification; and, if it has, whether it admits that other sense as the name of the Christian ordinance. And, pending this whole dispute, can they assert that the faithfulness of their versions is unquestioned? And how can they insist on deciding so delicate a matter for the world, in the name of brethren whose opinions they are not permitted and do not pretend to represent?

They say, that the bible society does not deny the faithfulness of the Baptist versions, in vindication of their proceedings. It is true. Like wise men, they forbear pronouncing judgment directly on the opinions of other men, and content themselves with the ample vindication afforded them by other principles. In this forbearance, we cordially commend them to our brethren as examples.

The paper above referred to, by its grave and positive air, has convinced us more deeply than ever of the solemnity of the trouble into which our Baptist brethren have fallen. We feel painfully confident, that this step is not in advance of the previous state of the church towards the spiritual union and glory of the latter days. It brings the Baptists to a position to which the increase of sacred learning and zeal in the different denominations of Christendom, produces no legitimate approximation, and in which the union and fellowship of that sect with others is, by the nature of things, impracticable.

We offer these plain thoughts to such of our brethren as may read them, in the earnest hope that, their effect, if they have any, may be only good. The Baptist views of baptism we do not hesitate to disapprove, and, on all proper occasions, to oppose. We believe those views to be formed on principles which, if carried fully out into all the departments of religious belief, would lead to fanatical and ruinous error. At the same time, we have little fear of the increase of this spice of fanaticism in the midst of so much good sense, intelligence and piety, as this branch of the denomination at present embraces. We heartily wish them success. Our prayers and good wishes follow them, while, even as Baptists, they preach Christ crucified to the heathen. Let them give full, but judicious scope to their principles. Let them immerse all Birmah and Hindostan, and make the Meinam and the Ganges, to their converts, what they believe the Jordan was to the primitive Christians, we shall enjoy their success. As for what we deem their error, it will, we hope, for the present, cost no heathen his salvation; and if ever the time shall come when the spirit of Paedo Baptist missions finds nothing better to do, than to urge its operations among the effects of Baptist labours, we anticipate no grievous obstacle from the pre-occupation of the heathen mind with the necessity of immersion. Our brethren admit a natural and general apostacy from their practices, in the early churches; and so rational and scriptural an apostacy, can, in due time, be effected again. For such reasons as these, if for no others, our brethren will acquit us of the charge of jealousy, and believe us sincere in good wishes for their success in converting and immersing the heathen. We would, if we could, dissuade them from their translating enterprise, for what we humbly consider their own good, as well as for the cause of truth. We do fear that they persist at their cost. The les-

sons of history, their own concessions, the reason and good sense of mankind, and, as we think, the dictates of truth are against them. In their former way they might prosper, but if they urge their present step we warn them, in their favourite language, that they "have a dipping to be dipped with, and how will they be straitened until it is accomplished." We solemnly believe, moreover, that they are disguising and obscuring the truth, that they are fixing a sectarian spot on the glowing disk of the sun of righteousness, which will smother a part of his healing beams, and give vexatious employment to the inquisitive and searching telescopes of pagan infidelity for generations to come.

Art. VI.—*The General Assembly of* 1838.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States, met agreeably to appointment, in the Seventh Presbyterian church, in the city of Philadelphia, on Thursday, May 17th, and was opened with a sermon on Isaiah 60: 1, by Rev. Dr. Elliott, the moderator of the last Assembly. Immediately after the sermon, the moderator took the chair, and proceeded, after prayer, to organize the Assembly by calling upon the clerks to read the roll. At this juncture the Rev. Dr. Patton, a delegate from the third presbytery of New York, rose and asked leave to present certain resolutions which he held in his hand. The moderator declared the request to be out of order at that time, as the first business was the report of the clerks upon the roll. See Form of Government, chap. 12, sec. 7. Dr. Patton appealed from the decision. The moderator declared the appeal, for the reason already stated, to be at that time out of order. Dr. Patton stated that the resolutions related to the formation of the roll, and began to read them, but being called to order, he took his seat. The permanent clerk from the standing committee of commissions having reported the roll of the house; the moderator stated, that the commissioners whose commissions had been examined, and whose names had been enrolled were to be considered as members of this Assembly, (see Form of Government, chap. 12, sec. 7), and added, that if there were any commissioners present from presbyteries belonging to the Presbyterian church, whose names had not been enrolled, then was the proper time for presenting their

commissions. Whereupon Dr. Erskine Mason rose to offer a resolution to complete the roll, by adding the names of certain commissioners, who, he said, had offered their commissions to the clerks, and had been by them refused. The moderator inquired if they were from presbyteries belonging to the Assembly of the last year, at the close of its sessions. Dr. Mason replied, that they were from presbyteries belonging to the synods of Utica, Geneva, Genesee, and the Western Reserve. The moderator then stated that the motion was, at that time, out of order. Dr. Mason appealed from the decision, which appeal the moderator decided to be out of order, and repeated the call for commissions from presbyteries in connexion with the Assembly. The Rev. Miles P. Squier, a member of the presbytery of Geneva, then rose and stated that he had a commission from the presbytery of Geneva, which he had presented to the clerks, who refused to receive it, and that he now offered it to the Assembly and claimed his right to his seat. The moderator inquired if the presbytery of Geneva was within the bounds of the synod of Geneva, Mr. Squier replied that it was. The moderator said, 'then we do not know you, sir,' and declared the application to be out of order.

The Rev. John P. Cleaveland, of the presbytery of Detroit, then rose and began to read a paper, the purport of which was not fully heard, when the moderator called him to order. Mr. Cleaveland, however, notwithstanding the call to order was repeated by the moderator, persisted in the reading; during which the Rev. Joshua Moore, from the presbytery of Huntingdon, presented a commission, which being examined by the committee of commissions, Mr. Moore was enrolled and took his seat. It was then moved to appoint a committee of elections, to whom the informal commissions might be referred, but the reading by Mr. Cleaveland still continuing, and the moderator having in vain again called to order, took his seat, and the residue of the Assembly remaining silent, the business was suspended during the short but painful scene of confusion and disorder which ensued, after which, and the actors therein having left the house, the Assembly resumed its business.

According to the accounts since published, the paper read by Mr. Cleaveland was to this effect, viz. "That as the commissioners to the General Assembly for 1838, from a large number of presbyteries, had been advised by counsel learned in the law, that a constitutional organization must be secured

at this time and in this place, he trusted it would not be considered an act of discourtesy, but merely as a matter of necessity, if we now proceed to organize the General Assembly for 1838, in the fewest words, the shortest time, and with the least interruption practicable." He therefore moved, that Dr. Beman, from the presbytery of Troy, be moderator, to preside till a new moderator be chosen. The Rev. Baxter Dickinson, of Cincinnati, seconded the motion. No other person being nominated, the motion was put and declared to be carried unanimously. Dr. Beman is then said to have called the Assembly to order, and those who approved of the movement gathered round him. These gentlemen then nominated the Rev. Dr. Mason and E. W. Gilbert clerks pro tempore; who were declared to be unanimously elected. The Rev. Samuel Fisher, of the presbytery of Newark, was then nominated as moderator of the General Assembly, and declared to be elected by a nearly unanimous vote. Dr. Beman announced to Dr. Fisher his election in the usual form. The Rev. Erskine Mason, D. D. from the third presbytery of New York, was then chosen stated clerk, and the Rev. E. W. Gilbert, permanent clerk. It was then moved and voted by those acting, "That the General Assembly do now adjourn to meet forthwith in the lecture room of the First Presbyterian church in this city." Dr. Fisher then announced the adjournment, and notified the commissioners who had not presented their commissions to present them at that place. Those who regarded these proceedings as constitutional and proper, retired with Dr. Fisher; when the Assembly resumed and continued its business.

Such is a brief statement of the facts attending the organization of the General Assembly, as derived from the published documents of both parties. Each of the bodies formed in the manner above stated, claimed to be the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States, and proceeded accordingly to exercise its functions.

Should the several presbyteries sanction the conduct of their delegates, as we presume they will, at least, in most cases, the church will be divided. The first question that presents itself is, Whether this division has been effected in the way which will commend itself to the approbation of good men? We think not. In the first place it has been done in a manner which involves the necessity of disgraceful litigation before civil courts. It is impossible that two General Assemblies should continue to make elections of trustees

and directors of our seminaries, and issue conflicting orders to the corporate bodies under their control. If one is the General Assembly, the other is not: and it is absolutely necessary that it be decided which of the two is entitled to be so regarded. A law-suit then is unavoidable; and it will be well if such suits are not multiplied all over the land. In the second place, from the posture in which the business has been placed by these proceedings, great injustice or hardship must result from any decision that can be given. If the decision be in favour of the old Assembly, our new school brethren must either renounce all the property belonging to churches or theological seminaries, which is held by a title which renders connexion with the General Assembly necessary; or they must come back under circumstances which will render their harmonious union with their brethren morally impossible. Indeed, re-union seems to be considered by both parties as out of the question. The matter therefore is brought to such an issue, that let the decision be what it may, it will be attended with great injustice. These brethren know, with moral certainty, that the decision for which they apply, if given in their favour, will despoil their old school brethren of their property and institutions, to which they themselves have no equitable claim. In the third place, this course was altogether unnecessary in order to secure any righteous end. Every thing to which they were, either in law or equity, entitled might have been secured, without contention and without injustice to the opposite party. Had those who disapproved of the action of the preceding Assembly, waited until the house was regularly organized, and then proposed the repeal of the offensive acts, and the admission of the delegates in attendance from the excluded presbyteries; and had this been denied them, they could then have proposed an amicable division upon the terms proposed at the last Assembly, to which both parties had assented. In this way the same end would have been reached which has been now attained, with this important difference, that each party would have its own and nothing more. It seems, however, that some young legal gentleman had informed these brethren, that, by taking a certain course, they could not only secure their own portion of the property, but get the whole; and in an evil hour, they determined to make the attempt. Suppose they succeed. Suppose they get all the funds of the General Assembly and the seminaries of Pittsburg and Princeton; will they feel that they have done a good work, and gained a

righteous end? We do not believe it. We do not believe that their consciences are in such a state as to allow them to contemplate such a result with complacency. Who are the new school party? It is in a great measure a Congregational party. One of its leading organs advocates the amalgamation of all sects; another insists especially on the union in one denomination of Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The presbyteries of which the party is composed have some three or four hundred Congregational churches in connexion with them. There is scarcely a leading man of the party who was not born and educated a Congregationalist; and a very large proportion of their ministers belonged originally to that denomination of Christians. Yet this is the party, which claims to be the TRUE Presbyterian church, and sues for a decision which shall deprive the majority, nine-tenths of whom are Presbyterians by birth and education, of all right or standing in their own church.

This party is no less notoriously disaffected towards the doctrinal standards of our church. In proof of this, if proof be necessary, we appeal to their own declarations, publications, and official acts. They call themselves the liberal party; are either opposed to creeds, or insist on a very liberal construction of them; declaim much on the liberty of thought, the march of mind, the light of the nineteenth century, and on the folly of all attempts to bind any large body of thinking men by any formula of words. Their leading periodicals labour to prove that our Confession of Faith not only teaches error, but is opposed on several points to the doctrines of the reformation.* It is the open and avowed distinction between

* See, for example, the AMERICAN BIBLICAL REPOSITORY for July, 1838. The late Narrative of the State of Religion by the new Assembly, when speaking of East Windsor and New Haven, expresses the ardent wish "that *shades* of difference in prevailing theological views" may soon be forgotten. The word *shades* is italicized, to reduce its own delicate meaning to the lowest point. This is the first official manifesto of the party after their emancipation from the influence of their more orthodox brethren. New Havenism is pronounced to differ by only a delicate, and of course a very harmless, shade of meaning from the orthodoxy of New England. Are the advocates of old New England doctrine, in and out of the Presbyterian church, prepared to sanction this official declaration? Can this be the same party who in 1836 affirmed that they adopted the Confession of Faith, upon all the points then in dispute, according to its most "obvious and literal interpretation;" who declared that the errors charged upon Mr. Barnes, i. e. New Havenism, were not to be tolerated in the Presbyterian church? Have they so soon discovered that these intolerable errors are mere harmless *shades* of opinion? Or do they expect to retain the confidence of the Christian community, when they allow themselves to set forth solemnly and officially, such contradictory statements of their doc-

the parties, that the one is in favour of strict adherence to our doctrinal standards, and that the other advocates a more or less latitudinarian construction of them. That a party thus alien in its origin, constitution, and principles, should take a course designed, not merely to secure their own churches and institutions, but to despoil the strict or really Presbyterian party of all their ecclesiastical property, can never commend itself to the approbation of good men.

The apology commonly made for this inexcusable conduct, is altogether unsatisfactory. It is said that the new school convention made overtures to the other body, for an amicable adjustment, which were declined. What were these overtures? Were they for an amicable separation of the church on the basis assented to last year? Not at all. They were a demand that the majority should confess themselves in the wrong, and undo all that they had done. This it was known, with perfect certainty, would not be listened to. The proposition therefore was a mockery. The complaint against these brethren is not that they separated, but that knowing separation to be unavoidable, they took that mode of effecting it, which necessarily involved the church in conflicts before civil tribunals, and which, if they succeeded, must be attended by wholesale spoiliation.

trinal views? We have ourselves heard one of the leading men of the new Assembly say that he thought there was, as to theology, very little difference between Cambridge and New Haven, yet his sanction is given to the wish that these *shades* of difference in theological views may soon be forgotten! Here is the root of our troubles. A large portion of the church believe that another portion is unsound in doctrine, and the inconsistency of their declarations has impaired confidence in their sincerity and candour. Hence has arisen a general feeling of insecurity. No man knows how far doctrines which he believes to be true and important are safe in the church, should it fall under the control of this party. Their declaring one year that certain opinions are not to be tolerated, is found to be no security against their pronouncing them harmless the next. Their affirming in the General Assembly that they adopt the Confession of Faith on all these points, according to its most obvious interpretation, does not prevent their teaching, in their periodicals, that the Confession of Faith, as to some of these same points, is erroneous. This want of confidence, more than any thing else, has produced the desire for a separation of the church, and will, we presume, prevent the re-union of the present parties, let the decision of legal questions be what it may. We would not be understood as expressing, in behalf of ourselves or others, any doubt that there are multitudes of sincere and excellent men in the new school party. We have before had occasion to say, that we think the blame of the contradictory declarations to which we have referred, rests mainly upon a few individuals; and that the fault of others consists in too ready acquiescence in their dictation, or in inconsiderate assent to official documents. Still the evil remains, and the party as such must bear the responsibility of acts, to which they give their sanction.

It may be said, that after their separate organization, they passed a resolution expressing their readiness to enter upon a negociation for the amicable adjustment of questions of property. However this movement may have been intended, it was even more illusory than the former one. After having set up their claim to be the true and only General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, there was no room left for negociation. That claim of itself involved all others. If they are the General Assembly, then the seminaries of Princeton and Pittsburg belong to them, and all the funds, which cannot be alienated, they must belong to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States. After claiming and appropriating every thing to themselves, there remained nothing to be adjusted.

Assuming then a division of the church to be inevitable, as was known to be the case, our new school brethren might have effected the division in an amicable way which would have secured to them every thing which, they themselves being judges, they had a right to claim. Their churches, their institutions, and whatever portion of the general property impartial persons might decide to be their due, were all offered to them. They chose, however, to claim the whole; to involve the church in protracted law suits, and to apply for a decision of the civil courts which they knew, would, if given in their favour, be attended with the greatest practical injustice. We have little doubt that the Christian community will pronounce this course of conduct to be wrong.

A second, and practically more important question is, upon what principles did our new school brethren proceed in their separate organization? The answer to this question must be sought in "Review of the leading measures of the Assembly of 1837, by a member of the New York bar." This paper has received an official sanction by being publicly read in the new school convention, as containing the principles on which the party meant to act. We can hardly be mistaken in the opinion that the whole course taken by the party in forming a separate organization, is to be attributed to the influence of that Review. The organs of the party, both in Philadelphia* and New York, expressly disclaimed all purpose of a separate organization. They declared it to be

* We feel that we are making a very serious imputation on the party, in speaking of the Philadelphia Observer as one of its organs. But we believe it is so regarded on all sides. We express beforehand our readiness to apologize for the aspersion, should our new school brethren feel themselves aggrieved thereby.

the intention of their friends to claim seats for the delegates from the excluded synods; and if refused, to repeat the demand, if necessary, for twenty years. We know also, that some of the most respected members of the party had expressed their decided disapprobation of any separate organization; they said they did not wish to be thrown into such a body as the new school party by itself would form. All this was shortly before the meeting of the General Assembly. As soon, however, as this Review appeared, the whole plan is changed, and a course is adopted, agreeably to its suggestions, which throws the fate of the Presbyterian church, as far as its corporate property is concerned, upon the decision of a point of law.*

The leading points of the case as presented in this Review, are, 1. That the General Assembly, in order to its proper organization, must embrace all the delegates in attendance who are furnished with the proper evidence of their appointment.

2. That the commissioners from presbyteries within the bounds of the four synods, were fully entitled to their seats as members of the Assembly.

3. That the Assembly has no authority to judge of the qualifications of its own members.

The first of these positions, properly explained and limited, we have no disposition to dispute. The second is the one most largely discussed. The right of the delegates from the four synods to their seats, is founded on the assumption that certain acts of the Assembly of 1837, are nugatory. In proof of the invalidity of those acts, the reviewer argues that they are inconsistent with the principles of Presbyterianism; that they rest upon a false basis; and that they are void from uncertainty. In carrying out the first of these arguments, he lays down a new theory of Presbyterianism; the leading features of which are, 1. That our several judicatories are merely courts and advisory councils. 2. That "as to their existence and action they are entirely independent of each other." "One judicatory has no power over another," and one has no right to try or condemn another. 3. The synods

* In the July number of the American Biblical Repository, Dr. Peters attributes to this pamphlet quite as much importance as we have done. He says it was "the pivot on which the action of the church, in the constitution of its late General Assembly, has turned;" that it contains the principles "on which a large portion of the church have already taken their position." He regards the agency of the author in its production "as especially excited and controlled by Him who seeth not as man seeth." p. 220. This is what theologians call the inspiration of superintendence.

and the General Assembly "are merely appellate courts and advisory councils." 4. The General Assemhly has no constitutional power to abolish or dissolve a synod; nor a synod a presbytery; nor a presbytery a session. 5. Though certain acts of an inferior court may be reviewed in a higher one, yet if a presbytery recognize a church; or a synod form a presbytery; or the General Assembly erect a synod, the act is forever valid. We unhesitatingly say, that it is not only a disgrace to a party professing themselves to be Presbyterians, but an insult to the community, to set forth such doctrines as "the plain every-day principles" of our form of government. It is scarcely less surprising than that the Congregationalists of England, in order to secure the benefit of Lady Hewly's legacy, should make oath, that they were in a good, true, and proper sense, Presbyterians. In some such sense may those who adopt the principles of this Review be called Presbyterians, but not the sense of our constitution.

This pamphlet is entitled PRESBYTERIANISM. The whole argument rests upon the principles of that form of government as here presented. If those principles are sound, then is the argument valid; and the conclusion unavoidable, that the acts of the Assembly of 1837 in question, are utterly nugatory. If these principles are unsound, the whole argument is worthless. We shall he excused, therefore, for devoting our principal attention to this point. The fact that such an exposition of Presbyterianism as is here given, has been received with applause by so large a party in the church, proves the lamentable extent to which the apostacy from the principles of our fathers has already proceeded, and may well excuse any attempt to arrest its progress. We shall therefore endeavour to show, from the origin, from the constitution, and from the uniform practice of the church, that the theory of Presbyterianism, here presented, is altogether false.

1. What then was the origin and history of our present constitution? It will be remembered that at the period to which it is so common to refer, as the birth day of the great principles of civil and religious liberty, a convention of divines assembled at Westminster, who, after long deliberation, prepared and published a Confession of Faith and a Directory for Worship, Government, and Discipline. This Confession and this Directory were adopted by the church of Scotland, and have ever since continued in authority in that church. Under that constitution, the General Assembly of that church has always acted as its parliament; exercising

legislative, as well as judicial powers; making rules binding on synods, presbyteries, and churches, restrained by nothing but the word of God, the laws of the land, and its own written constitution. This fact is too notorious to need proof.* A greater absurdity could not be put into words, than the assertion that in Scotland, the General Assembly is "a mere appellate court and advisory council." That American Presbyterianism was originally the same with that of Scotland is proved by two incontestible facts; first, that our church adopted identically the same constitution as the church of Scotland; and secondly, that under that constitution, our highest judicatory claimed and exercised the same powers with the Scottish General Assembly. The presbytery of Philadelphia was formed about 1704; in 1716, there were four presbyteries who erected themselves into a synod. In 1729, this synod passed what is called the "Adopting Act," by which the Westminster Confession of Faith was declared to be the confession of the faith of the Presbyterian church.† Various causes led to a schism in this body, in the year 1741, when two synods, one of New York, the other of Philadelphia, were formed. They continued separated until 1758. When a re-union was effected, they came together upon definite terms, both as to doctrine and discipline. The first article of the terms of union is as follows. "Both synods, having always approved and received the Westminster Confession of Faith, larger and shorter catechisms, as an orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine, founded upon the word of God; we do still receive the same, as the confession

* See HILL'S INSTITUTES, pp. 229—241. This writer, who is the standard authority on the constitution of the church of Scotland, describes the powers of the General Assembly as judicial, legislative, and executive, and says, p. 240, "In the exercise of these powers, the General Assembly often issues peremptory mandates, summoning individuals and inferior courts to appear at its bar. It sends precise order to particular judicatories, directing, assisting, or restraining them in the exercise of their functions, and its superintending, controlling authority maintains soundness of doctrine, checks irregularity, and enforces the observance of general laws throughout all districts of the church."

† It is not necessary to enter into the controversy regarding this Act; as the dispute relates to doctrinal matters. We think it evident from various sources that the grand reason for qualifying the assent given to the Confession of Faith, was the doctrine which it then taught concerning civil magistrates. In 1786 "The synod of New York and Philadelphia" declare that they "adopt, according to the known and established meaning of the terms, the Westminster Confession of Faith as the confession of their faith; save that every candidate for the gospel ministry is permitted to except against so much of the twenty-third chapter as gives authority to the civil magistrate in matters of religion." This solitary exception is certainly very significant. See *Digest*, p. 119.

of our faith, and also the Plan of Worship, Government, and Discipline, contained in the Westminster Directory; strictly enjoining it on all our members and probationers for the ministry that they preach and teach according to the Form of sound words in the said Confession and Catechism, and avoid and oppose all errors contrary thereto." In another article it was declared that no minister was to be licensed or ordained, unless he "promise subjection to the Presbyterian Plan of Government in the Westminster Directory." *Digest*, p. 118. Here is the first formal constitution of American Presbyterians, as a united body. This constitution, both as to faith and government, was precisely the same with that of the church of Scotland. Has American Presbyterianism entirely lost its original character? Has the infusion of Congregationalism affected not only the principles of our members, but the essential features of our system? Do we live under an entirely different form of government, from that which was so solemnly adopted by our fathers? If this be so, if a revolution so radical has taken place, it can be, and it must be clearly demonstrated. This is not a matter to be asserted, or assumed. We shall proceed to prove that no such change has taken place.

The constitution, ratified at the time of the union of the two synods in 1758, continued in force about thirty years. In 1785, on motion, it was ordered, that Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. Rodgers, Mr. Robert Smith, Dr. Allison, Dr. Smith, Mr. Woodhull, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Latta, and Mr. Duffield,* with the moderator, be a committee to take into consideration the constitution of the church of Scotland and other protestant countries, and agreeably to the general principles of Presbyterian government, compile a system of general rules for the government of the synod, and the several presbyteries under their inspection, and the people in their communion, and to make report of their proceedings therein at the next meeting of synod.

In 1786, it was resolved, That the book of discipline and government be re-committed to a committee, who shall have powers to digest such a system as they shall think accommodated to the state of the Presbyterian church in America—and every presbytery is hereby required to report in

* We believe all these gentlemen were Scotch or Irish, either by birth, or immediate descent. Certainly they were not men to change Presbyterianism, all of a sudden, into Congregationalism.

writing to the synod, at their next meeting, their observations on the said book of government and discipline. Dr. Witherspoon was the chairman of this committee also. In 1787, the synod having gone through the consideration of the plan of government and discipline presented by the committee appointed the preceding year, ordered a thousand copies to be printed and sent down to the presbyteries for their consideration, and the consideration of the churches under their care.

Finally, in 1788, "The synod, having fully considered the draught of the Form of Government and Discipline did, on the review of the whole, and hereby do, ratify and adopt the same, as now altered and amended, as the CONSTITUTION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA; and order the same to be considered and strictly observed, as the rule of their proceedings, by all the inferior judicatories, belonging to this body.

"*Resolved*, That the true intent and meaning of the above ratification by the synod is, that the Form of Government and Discipline and Confession of Faith, as now ratified, is to continue to be our constitution, and the confession of our faith and practice unalterably, unless two-thirds of the presbyteries under the care of the General Assembly shall propose alterations, or amendments, and such alterations or amendments, shall be agreed to and enacted by the General Assembly." Digest, p. 117, &c.

We may commend, in passing, this minute to the special attention of those who are so fond of appealing to the *liberal* Presbyterianism of our fathers. Here we see the synod, not merely making laws, but forming a CONSTITUTION by their own authority, and *ordering* all inferior judicatories to make it the rule by which to govern their proceedings. This constitution was not submitted to the presbyteries, except for their observations, exactly as it was submitted to the churches. Neither acted with any authority in the matter; it was formed and ratified by the synod; that good, liberal body in which Congregationalism is said to have been so rife. And this is not all; this constitution was fixed UNALTERABLY, unless two-thirds of the presbyteries should propose alterations; and even then, they could only propose; the alterations were to be ENACTED by the General Assembly, then just determined upon. Here, then, at the very birth of American Presbyterianism, we have the highest toned Scottish doctrine, of which the history of the parent

church can furnish an example. What higher exercise of ecclesiastical authority can there be, than the formation of a constitution? How is this fact to be reconciled with our modern theories on this subject? How does it put to shame the cant, which abounds in this pamphlet, and in the new school productions generally, on the one hand, about "those jealous sticklers for the security of religious freedom, who laid deep and strong the foundations of our church polity;" and on the other, about "the footsteps of spiritual power," "the unvisited dungeons, the moans of inquisitorial torments," and "shrieks which rise from the bonfires of an *auto da fe*," in order to frighten the church from its propriety in view of the recent unheard of claim of the General Assembly to be something more than "a mere appellate court, and an advisory council?"

So far from the popular representation, that the authority of our highest judicatory has been extended of late years, being true, the very reverse is the fact, as will be abundantly evident before we are done. There has been, partly from changes in our system regularly effected, but principally from the continued and rapid increase of Congregational influence in our church, a marked and constant decrease in the power claimed by the General Assembly, until it has become the avowed doctrine of nearly a moiety of the church, that the Assembly is a mere appellate court and advisory council. Hence it is, that the recent assertion of a part of its ancient prerogatives, has taken the whole church by surprise, and produced a clamour as though the whole fabric of civil and religious liberty was coming to an end.

But, to return, it is necessary to ascertain how far the original constitution of our church was altered in 1788, and the power of its judicatories curtailed. We have already seen that our system was originally identical with that of the church of Scotland. The General Assembly of 1804, assert this in saying, "We have already differed very considerably from the church of Scotland, from which we derived our origin." *Digest*, p. 154. Let those who choose be ashamed of this origin. There is no nobler ecclesiastical descent in Christendom. We at least will never deny it, in order to trace our lineage to Brownists or Fifth Monarchy men. There was formerly a great struggle in England between Independency and Presbytery; and the former gained the day; not by argument, however, but by the weighty logic of Cromwell's sword. The same struggle is going on here;

and it will be our own fault if, having been beaten once by the sword, we are now overcome by bows, and smiles, and professions of attachment. Though Cromwell, when he found that Presbyterianism was not sufficiently democratic to allow him to rule alone, suppressed it in England, it survived in Scotland; and to this source our fathers were glad, as we still are, to trace their ecclesiastical origin.

The first American constitution of the Presbyterian church was formed, as already stated, in 1788. The only general principle in which it differed from that of the church of Scotland, was the denial of the right of civil magistrates to interfere in matters of religion. Accordingly those portions of the Confession of Faith which assert magistrates to have this right were altered; and in the answer to the question in the Larger Catechism, What is forbidden in the second commandment? the clause, "tolerating a false religion" was stricken out. The two leading points of difference as to government between our system and the Scottish are; first, that we have no body analagous to the "Commission of the General Assembly," which continues to meet, at certain times, after the adjournment of the Assembly, and exercises all its powers, subject, however, to the review of the next General Assembly. Originally this feature belonged to our system. In 1774, a minute was adopted by a large majority of the synod, declaring the powers of such a commission, in order to remove the doubts which had prevailed on this subject. In this minute it is said; The synod "do determine that the commission shall continue, and meet whensoever called by the moderator, at the request of the first nine on the roll of the commission, or the major part of the first nine ministers, and when met, that it shall be invested with all the powers of the synod; and sit by their own adjournments from time to time; and let it also be duly attended to that there can lie no appeal from the judgment of the commission, as there can be none from the judgment of the synod; but there may be a review of their proceedings and judgments by the synod," &c. *Digest*, p. 45. Thus thorough going was the conformity of American Presbyterianism in its origin to the Scottish model. This provision was not adopted in the new constitution. A second source of difference consists in the close relation which exists in Scotland between the church and state. This has very materially modified their system. There are also various differences as to matters of detail. The ratio of representation of ministers and

elders in the General Assembly is not equal, as it is with us; the universities and certain royal burghs send delegates, either ministers or elders; and ministers without charges, with a few exceptions, are not allowed to sit in presbytery. There is also considerable difference in practice between the two churches. The General Assembly here has not been accustomed, especially of late years, to interfere so much with the proceedings of the lower courts. As to all general principles and arrangements, however, the constitution of 1788 conformed to that which we had derived from Scotland. There are the same courts; the same subordination of the lower to the higher judicatories; and the same general statement of their respective powers and privileges.

The constitution of 1788, which was, in all its essential features, the same as that which had been previously in force, remained almost without alteration until the year 1804. In that year a committee appointed for the purpose, proposed a number of amendments, which they say in their report, "are of such a nature, that if the whole of them should be adopted, they would not alter, but only explain, render more practicable, and bring nearer to perfection, the general system which has already gone into use." These amendments received the sanction of a majority of the presbyteries, and may be seen in pages 56 and 57 of the printed minutes for that year. Most of them are merely verbal corrections, and not one makes the least alteration in any one general principle of our system.

The revision of the constitution made in 1821, resulted in very numerous alterations. These, however, related either to mere phraseology, or to matters of form and detail; or were explanatory of preceding rules; or consisted of additional directions as to forms of process. There was no alteration designed or effected in the relation of our several courts to each other, or in their general powers.—Though we do not believe that there was any intention to enlarge the power of any of the judicatories, yet it so happens that the changes made, so far as they have any significancy, tend to increase the authority of the higher courts. Thus in the section on the power of synods, which states that they have authority to take such order respecting presbyteries, sessions, and people under their care, as may be in conformity with the word of God, the clause "and not contradictory to the decisions of the General Assembly" is stricken out, and the words "the established rules" put in its place. This alteration is an ob-

vious improvement, as it is much more definite and intelligible, since the decisions of the Assembly may not have been uniform or consistent. And again, in the section on the powers of the Assembly, the comprehensive clause, (the power) "of superintending the concerns of the whole church" is inserted.

We are giving ourselves, however, a great deal of unnecessary trouble in proving a negative. Let those who assert that Presbyterianism has, in this country, been completely emasculated, show when, how, and by whom it was done. Let them point out the process by which one form of government, known of all men as to its essential features, was transmuted into another. This pamphlet does not contain a shadow of such proof, either from the constitution, history, or practice of the church. It is all bald assertion; assertion unrestricted by any knowledge of the subject, or by any modesty on the part of the writer. The reference made on p. 11 to our constitution, calls for no modification of the above remark; for the passage which is there imperfectly quoted has no relation to the point which it is cited to prove. We are told that, "The church session and presbytery alone have original jurisdiction. The synods and Assembly are merely courts of review,—appellate courts. They have none of them *legislative powers.* 'All church power,' says the constitution, 'is only ministerial and declarative. The holy scriptures are the only rule of faith and manners. No church judicatory ought to pretend to make laws. The right of judging upon laws already made must be lodged with fallible men, and synods and councils may err, yet there is more danger from the *usurped claim of making laws.*' I am thus particular upon this point," adds the writer, "because the 'usurped claim of making laws' was actually set up, and these proceedings (of the Assembly of 1837) justified as legislative acts." We are far from supposing that the above passage from the constitution, printed as a continuous quotation, was garbled and patched with a design to deceive; but the fact is, that it is so garbled as to make the constitution assert the very reverse of what its authors intended, and what from their lips would be the height of absurdity. The passage stands thus in the introductory chapter, § 7. "That all church power, whether exercised by the body in general, or in the way of representation by delegated authority, is only ministerial and declarative: *That is to say*, that the holy scriptures are the only rule of faith and manners; that no

church judicatory ought to pretend to make laws, to bind the conscience in virtue of their own authority; and that all their decisions should be founded upon the revealed will of God. Now though it will be easily admitted that all synods and councils may err, through the frailty inseparable from humanity; yet there is much greater danger from the usurped claim of making laws, than from the right of judging upon laws already made, and common to all who profess the gospel; although this right, as necessity requires in the present state, be lodged with fallible men." What is the power which is here denied? and to whom is it denied? It is the power "to make laws *to bind the conscience*" in virtue of human authority. Why? Because the scriptures are the only rule of faith and manners. The framers of our constitution meant to deny the claim set up by the Romish, and some other churches, to legislate authoritatively on matters of faith and morals. The power of the church, in such matters, is merely ministerial and declarative. She may declare what, according to the word of God, truth and duty are; but she cannot make any thing a matter of duty, which is not enjoined in the scriptures. The laws of which they speak are "common to all those who profess the gospel;" such laws the church can neither make nor repeal, she can only declare and administer. This power is denied not merely to our judicatories, but to the church as a body. According to this writer, however, the power denied, is that of making laws of any kind. To sustain this assertion the proposition is made general; "No church judicatory ought to pretend to make laws;" leaving out the restrictive clause "to bind the consciences in virtue of their own authority;" thus perverting the whole paragraph from its obvious meaning and design. This introductory chapter to the Form of Government was prefixed to it in 1788, where it has stood ever since. We wonder that the absurdity did not occur to the writer, or to his clerical endorsers, of making a set of sane men gravely deny to the church collectively, and to all of its judicatories, all legislative authority, while they were in the very act of ordaining a code of laws for the government of the church. Is not our constitution a set of laws? Was it not enacted by the church judicatories? Have they not the power to repeal, or modify it at pleasure? Yet they have no legislative authority! This is the kind of reasoning which we are called upon to answer.

Having shown that our church at first adopted identically

the same formulas of faith and government as the church of Scotland; and that the successive modifications of the constitution in 1788, 1804, and 1821, left the essential principles of the system unchanged, we might dismiss this part of the subject entirely. But it is so important, and the ignorance respecting it, as it would seem, is so great and general, that we will proceed to the other sources of proof, and demonstrate from the constitution as it now stands, and from the uniform practice of the church, the utter unsoundness of this new theory of Presbyterianism.

This theory is, that our judicatories have no legislative power; that they are severally independent of each other, as to their existence and action; and that the higher courts are merely appellate courts and advisory councils. In the 31st chap. of the Confession of Faith, sect. 2, it is said, "IT BELONGETH to synods and councils, ministerially, to determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience; to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God, and government of his church; to receive complaints in cases of mal-administration, and authoritatively to determine the same: which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his word."* It is here taught, as plain as language can speak, that synods and councils have power to set down rules for the government of the church, which, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission out of respect to the authority by which they are made. With regard to matters of faith and conscience their power is ministerial; with regard to matters of discipline and government it is legislative. "To set down rules" is to make laws, as we presume no one will deny. Let it be considered that this is not a passing declaration. It is an article of faith found in the Westminster Confession, which our church has always adopted as the confession of her faith; and to which every Presbyterian minister and elder has subscribed. This is the faith of the church as to the authority of synods. Yet we are told in the very face of this first principle of our

* The proof passage cited in the margin is Acts 16: 4. And as they went through the cities they delivered unto them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained by the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem.

system, that synods or councils have no legislative power; that they cannot 'set down rules' for the government of the church; that their only power is judicial or advisory!

This power of the church resides, according to our Confession, in synods or councils, and is inherent in them. This is not indeed a peculiarity of our church; it is, with the exception of the comparatively small body of Congregationalists, the faith of the Christian world, and always has been. Provincial, national, and œcumenial synods, have always claimed and exercised the right of making canons, or ecclesiastical laws, obligatory on all within their jurisdiction. In our system we have councils of various kinds, the session, presbytery, synod, and General Assembly, and they all, in virtue of their very nature, as councils, have this authority, limited in all cases by the word of God, and restricted by the peculiarities of our constitution.

A session is a parochial or congregational council charged with "the spiritual government" of a particular church. They may make what rules they see fit for the government of the congregation, not inconsistent with the constitution. This power they exercise every day; making rules about the admission of members, and other matters; which are no where prescribed in the constitution, and which are probably not always consistent with it. The next highest council is the presbytery. It has charge of the government of the churches within a certain district. It makes rules binding on them; as for example, forbidding a congregation to call or to dismiss a pastor without its consent. This power is not derived from the constitution. It existed when there was but one presbytery; and would exist if all the presbyteries were independent of each other. To them it belongs to license, ordain, install, remove and judge ministers. So far from deriving this power from the constitution, it is thereby greatly restricted. They cannot license and ordain whom they please, but those only who have certain prescribed qualifications.

The synod is in fact a larger presbytery, and would have precisely the same authority, did not the constitution, for the sake of convenience, make a distinction of powers between it and the presbyteries. A synod is not called to exercise the power of licensing, ordaining, &c. &c., because this power can better be exercised by smaller councils. It has jurisdiction not only as an appellate court, but as a court of review and control. It can order the presbyteries to pro-

duce their records; it can "redress whatever has been done by presbyteries contrary to order; and take effectual care that presbyteries observe the constitution of the church . . . and generally take such order with respect to the presbyteries, sessions and people under their care, as may be in conformity with the word of God and the established rules, and which tend to promote the edification of the church." Chap. 11. § 4.

The General Assembly is the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian church, and "represents, in one body, all the particular churches of this denomination." To it belongs, therefore, the power which the Confession of Faith ascribes to all synods, restricted by the provisions of the constitution. It can make no regulation infringing on the privileges of the lower courts; nor can it in any way alter or add to the code of constitutional rules. But its power as the supreme court of appeals, review and control continues. It is charged with "superintending the concerns of the whole church," and with "suppressing schismatical contentions and disputations." See chap. 12. "It may send missions to any part to plant churches, or to supply vacancies; and, for this purpose, *may direct any presbytery* to ordain evangelists, or ministers, without relation to particular churches." Chap. 18. This would be strange language in reference to a mere advisory council! The power, here recognised as belonging to the General Assembly, will appear to be the greater, if we remember that the ordination of any minister *sine titulo* was considered as hardly consistent with presbyterial principles; and that the presbyteries were very averse to admit it. Yet the Assembly is acknowledged to have the power to direct them to do it.

In exercising the right of supervision and control, the higher courts, depend, in general, on the regular means of information which they possess in the review of the records of the inferior judicatories, and in the exercise by those aggrieved of the right of appeal, reference and complaint. In case, however, of neglect, unfaithfulness, or irregularity of a lower court, a higher one has the right, when well advised of the existence of these evils, "to take cognizance of the same; and to examine, deliberate and judge in the whole matter, as completely as if it had been recorded, and thus brought up by the review of records."* That is, it is

* Book II. chap. 7. § 1. par. 5.

incumbent on them, as the constitution expresses it, to take effectual care that the lower judicatories observe the constitution of the church.

Such is Presbyterianism as laid down in our Confession of Faith and Form of Government. Such it was in the days of our fathers, and such we trust it will long continue to be. We shall now proceed to adduce some small portion of the overwhelming evidence with which our records abound, that this has always been the interpretation put upon our system of government; and that this modern theory of mere appellate jurisdiction and advisory power is unsustained by the practice, as it is by the standards of the church.

No one can open the records of the proceedings either of the old synod, or of the General Assembly, without being struck with the fact that the phraseology adopted is inconsistent with the idea that those bodies claimed merely advisory powers. It is competent to a body having authority to command, to recommend or advise; but it is not competent to a body having power only to give advice, to "direct," "order," or "enjoin." Yet such language is used from beginning to the end of our records. These orders relate to all manner of subjects, and are given not only when the higher judicatory acted as a court of reference or appeals, but also in its character of the superintending and governing body. It is not worth while, however, to adduce evidence of this kind, because this phraseology will be found incorporated in passages cited for a more important purpose; and because it is so settled that we find even the new school Assembly, at their late meeting, resolving, 1. "That presbyteries are hereby REQUIRED to cause each church and congregation under their care and jurisdiction to make an annual contribution to the contingent fund of the General Assembly. 2. That the presbyteries are ENJOINED to send a copy of the above preamble and resolution to the several churches under their care, &c." This is certainly strange language in which to convey advice.

The examples we shall cite of the exercise of authority on the part of the higher judicatories, do not admit of being arranged under distinct heads. The same example will often prove all the several points in dispute; the legislative power of church courts; the authority of the higher over the lower; and the right of the supreme judicatory to take effectual care that the constitution be observed in all parts of the church.

In 1758, by a joint act at the time of their union, the old synods of Philadelphia and New York, ordered "That no presbytery shall license or ordain to the work of the ministry any candidate, until he give them competent satisfaction as to his learning, and experimental acquaintance with religion, and skill in divinity and cases of conscience, and declare his acceptance of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, as the confession of his faith, and promise subjection to the Presbyterian plan of government in the Westminster Directory," Digest, p. 119. As this resolution, which was one of the terms of union between the two synods, was adopted first by one synod and then by the other; and then unanimously by the two united, there could hardly have been a man in the church who denied the legislative and controlling power of the higher courts.

In 1764, the synod of New York and Philadelphia "established a rule," giving particular directions to the presbyteries, with regard to candidates for the ministry; in 1792, the Assembly confirmed it, by *enjoining*, "in the most pointed manner, on the synod of Philadelphia, to give particular attention that no presbytery under their care depart, in any respect, from that rule of the former synod of New York and Philadelphia, which is," &c. Then follows the rule, p. 63.

In the same year the old synod adopted another rule, which we commend to the attention of those who long for the Presbyterianism of former times; "Though the synod entertain a high regard for the Associated churches of New England, yet we cannot but judge, that students who go to them, or to any other than our own presbyteries, to obtain license, in order to return and officiate among us, act very irregularly, and *are not to be approved or employed by our presbyteries;* as hereby we are deprived of the right of trying and approving of the qualifications of our own candidates; yet if any cases shall happen, where such conduct may be thought necessary for the greater good of any congregation, it shall be laid before the presbytery to which the congregation belongs, and approved by them." p. 65.

In 1764, the old synod also adopted a rule for the government of presbyteries in the reception of foreign ministers and licentiates. This rule was explained in 1765; and in 1774 they adopted a set of regulations which were unanimously approved. The following is an extract. "In order more effectually to preserve this synod, our presbyteries and

congregations from imposition and abuse, every year, when any presbytery may report that they have received any minister or probationer from a foreign church, that presbytery shall lay before the synod the testimonials and other certificates, upon which they received such minister or probationer, for the satisfaction of the synod, before such minister or probationer shall be considered as a member of our body. And if the synod shall find such testimonials false or insufficient, the whole proceedings held by the presbytery on the admission shall be held to be void; and the presbytery shall not, from that time, receive or acknowledge him as a member of this body, or as in ministerial communion with us," p. 286. Let it be observed that these regulations were *unanimously* approved; and yet what power do they suppose the synod to possess over the presbyteries; denying to the lower courts the right of judging for themselves whether a member was qualified or not; and pronouncing their decision void *ab initio*, if it should not meet the approbation of the higher court. If our new school brethren would be content to say they do not approve of such Presbyterianism it would be well; but it requires a great deal of patience calmly to hear them claim to be Presbyterians after the old sort, while they maintain that our judicatories are all independent of each other.

In 1794, at the request of the synod of Philadelphia, the Assembly divided the presbytery of Carlisle; in 1802 the presbytery of Albany requested to be divided, which request the Assembly granted (see pp. 55, 57); and in 1805 the Assembly divided the presbytery of Oneida, *constituting* the one portion into the presbytery of Geneva, and the other into the presbytery of Oneida, directing them where to hold their first meeting, &c. See minutes, Vol. II. p. 82. We do not pretend to give more than specimens of the jurisdiction and power unhesitatingly exercised by the Assembly in former days, before, by the growing influence of Congregationalism, our courts were reduced in practice to little more than advisory councils.

In 1795, a request was overtured that the synods of Virginia and the Carolinas *have liberty* to direct their presbyteries to ordain such candidates as they may judge necessary to appoint on missions to preach the gospel; whereupon, *Resolved*, That the above request be granted. The synods being careful to restrict the permission to the ordination of such candidates only as are engaged to be sent on missions, p. 48.

In 1798, the synod of the Carolinas presented to the Assembly certain references and inquiries relating to a creed published by the Rev. H. B.; which were referred to a committee, of which Dr. M'Whorter, of Newark, was chairman. This committee made a report, stating that Mr. B. is erroneous "in making *disinterested benevolence* the only definition of holiness," and that he "has confounded self-love with selfishness." On the third article the committee remark, "that the transfer of personal sin or righteousness has never been held by any Calvinistic divines, nor by any person in our church as far as is known to us; and therefore that Mr. B.'s observations on this subject appear to be either nugatory or calculated to mislead." They condemn, however, his doctrine of original sin, as "in effect setting aside the idea of Adam's being the federal head or representative of his descendants, and the whole doctrine of the covenant of works." They say also "that Mr. B. is greatly erroneous in asserting that the formal cause of a believer's justification is the imputation of the fruits or effects of Christ's righteousness, and not that righteousness itself." These are the principal errors specified. The committee recommend, "that Mr. B. be required to acknowledge before the Assembly that he was wrong in publishing his creed; that, in the particulars specified above, he renounced the errors therein pointed out; that he engage to teach nothing hereafter of a similar nature, &c. &c.; and that if Mr. B. submit to this he be considered in good standing with the church." This report was adopted,* and Mr. B. having been called before the Assembly, and allowed time for consideration, made a declaration containing the required acknowledgements, retractions, and engagements, and was then pronounced in good standing. Digest, pp. 129—134.

This case is cited as an illustration of the kind of supervision formerly exercised by our supreme judicatory. On the mere reference by a lower court, in relation to a certain

* Two members only dissented, of whom one was Mr. Langdon, a delegate from the General Association of Connecticut. This record is in many points of view instructive. We see that doctrines, which are taught in our day with perfect impunity, were formerly regarded as entirely inconsistent with a good standing in the church. It is foreign from our present purpose, but we should be glad to have an opportunity at some future time, to produce some of the evidence with which our history abounds, that our church was for a long series of years more strict in demanding conformity to our doctrinal standards than it is now; and that as it became lax in matters of government, it became *pari passu* lax in doctrine.

publication, it is taken up and examined, certain erroneous propositions extracted, and the author immediately called up and required to retract them on the penalty of being turned out of the church. This is the kind of liberal Presbyterianism once in vogue even in Newark.

In 1799, a committee presented a report containing sundry recommendations and injunctions respecting the qualifications of candidates for the ministry; the support of ministers; contributions to missions, &c. This report being read it was *Resolved*, That it be approved and adopted; and ordered that the several synods, presbyteries, and individual churches, as far as they are respectively concerned, govern themselves accordingly." p. 81.

The presbytery of Cumberland having "licensed and ordained a number of persons not possessing the qualifications required by our book of discipline, and *without explicit adoption of the Confession of Faith*," it was for these and other irregularities dissolved by the synod of Kentucky, and the irregularly ordained ministers suspended without process. When these facts came up before the Assembly, on a review of the records of the synod, the Assembly addressed that judicatory a letter, in which their zeal and decision were commended, but the opinion expressed that the suspension of ordained ministers without process, was "at least of doubtful regularity." This letter was written in 1807. We find no mention of this case in 1808, either in the Digest or in the printed minutes for that year. But in 1809 there is a record to this effect: "That the Assembly took into consideration a letter from the synod of Kentucky; and having carefully reviewed the same, and also having read another letter from their records, which by accident was detained from the last Assembly," &c., they declared themselves "perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the synod, and thank them for their firmness and zeal." p. 140. Here then is a synod receiving thanks for dissolving a presbytery, which, according to the new theory of Presbyterianism, was entirely independent of it, and for exercising the right of suspending, instanter, ministers irregularly ordained.

In 1809, the Assembly "resolved, That it be again solemnly enjoined on all presbyteries and synods within the bounds of the General Assembly, on no account to interfere with the instructions given by the committee of missions to missionaries." p. 50. What a controlling superintendence and authority is assumed in this resolution!

In 1809 the Assembly resolved "That it be and is hereby required of all presbyteries within the bounds of the General Assembly, annually to call up and examine the sessional records of the several churches under their care, as directed in the book of discipline." In the following year "the presbyteries were called upon to report what attention they had severally paid to the order of the General Assembly in relation to sessional records. Upon inquiry it appeared that the presbyteries had almost universally complied with the order." A committee was appointed to consider this subject, who brought in a report, which was read and adopted, and is as follows: "The Assembly, after seriously reviewing the order of the last Assembly, can by no means rescind the said order; inasmuch as they consider it as founded on the constitution of the church, and as properly resulting from the obligation on the highest judicatory of the church, *to see that the constitution be duly regarded*, yet as it is alleged that insisting on the rigid execution of this order with respect to some church sessions would not be for edification, the Assembly are by no means disposed to urge any presbytery to proceed under this order beyond what they may consider prudent and useful." p. 73. It is here taken for granted, and appealed to as a justification for a particular act, that the obligation rests on the highest judicatory of the church "to see that the constitution be duly regarded."

In 1810, the presbytery of Hartford *requested leave* to ordain Mr. Robert Sample *sine titulo*, whereupon the Assembly resolved "That said presbytery *be permitted* to ordain Mr. Sample, if they judge it expedient."

Page 214 of the Digest contains this record. "The following extract from the minutes of the presbytery of Oneida was overtured, viz. 'Ordered that our commissioners to the next General Assembly be instructed to request the Assembly (*risum teneatis amici*) to permit this presbytery to manage their own missionary concerns.'" Was this humble request granted? Not at all. The presbytery was referred to the Board of Missions! This was so recently as 1818, and proves how much of the old spirit of Presbyterianism was still alive in the church. We expect to hear of the presbytery of Oneida expunging, with the darkest lines of infamy, the above cited record from their minutes. So rapidly and so completely has the spirit of our church changed, that we do not believe there is now a presbytery in our land, which would not consider itself insulted by a proposal that they

should *request permission* to manage their own missionary concerns.

The whole history of this subject of missions is full of instruction as to the relation in which the Assembly was regarded as standing to the church. That judicatory, for a long time, appointed the missionaries by name, assigned them their field of labor; if they were pastors, the Assembly either appointed supplies for their pulpits, during their tour of duty, directing such a minister to preach on such a Sabbath, or they directed the presbytery to make the requisite appointments for this purpose.* In short they exercised without let or contradiction, a superintending control of the whole church, ordering synods, presbyteries and individual ministers as familiarly as any presbytery ever does its own members. How it must sound in the ears of the old men, who recollect those days, to be told by beardless boys, just from New England, that the General Assembly has nothing to do but to hear appeals and give advice!

The power of the Assembly to make rules for the government of the church, is assumed, in the clearest manner, in that section which forbids their making "constitutional rules" without the consent of the presbyteries. That section, in the old book, is labelled "Restriction of the power of the Assembly." Why restrict the exercise of a power which does not exist? Why say the Assembly shall not make a particular class of rules, if it can make no rules at all? There is however an authoritative exposition of the meaning of this section which establishes the legislative power of the Assembly beyond dispute. In 1798 the General Assembly adopted certain "regulations intended to embrace and extend the existing rules, respecting the reception of foreign ministers and licentiates." These regulations† effectually control the action of the presbyteries, forbidding them to receive any foreign minister or probationer "on a mere certificate of

* See, for example, pp. 132, 133 of Vol. II. of the Minutes. "Resolved, That Rev. John H. Rice spend two months as a missionary, &c. That Rev. John Lyle serve two months, &c. That the presbytery of New York be authorized to employ a missionory to be paid out of the funds of the Assembly. That the presbytery of Geneva take measures for appointing supplies for Mr. Chapman's pulpit. That Mr. Alexander, Mr. Todd, and Mr. John H. Rice, be a committee to appoint supplies for Mr. Rice's pulpit," &c. &c. &c. And on p. 16, "Resolved, That the following ministers be appointed, and they hereby are appointed, to supply the pulpits of Dr. Read and Mr. Arthur during their missionary tour—Mr. Collins first Sabbath, Mr. Latta the second," &c. &c.

† See Printed Minutes for 1798.

good standing;" prescribing the kind of trials to which he shall be subjected; directing that he should be received in the first instance, only on probation, and not be allowed to vote in any judicatory, or accept of any call for settlement; requiring this probation to continue for at least one year; directing the presbytery then to take up the case, renew the examination, and determine "to receive him, to reject him, or to hold him under further probation." In case the applicant was received, the presbytery was to report the case with all the evidence to the synod or General Assembly, who were "to come to a final judgment, either to receive him into the Presbyterian body agreeably to his standing, or to reject him," notwithstanding his reception by the presbytery. Here then is the exercise of legislative authority over the whole church; here is control of presbyteries as to the exercise of their own rights; here is an instance of the way in which the supreme judicatory felt authorized to take care that the constitution should be observed in all parts of the church. Was this exercise of power sustained? We shall see. In the following year, that is, in 1799, the presbytery of New York objected to these regulations, and requested the General Assembly to rescind them. This request was refused. The principal objection urged against them by the presbytery was, that the constitution provides that before any *standing rules* should be obligatory on the churches, they must be submitted to the presbyteries. To this the Assembly answered; that "standing rules" in the sense of the Book, were "articles of the constitution, which when once established are unalterable by the Assembly." Such rules the Assembly cannot make. But to say that it cannot make of its own authority any rules binding on the churches, "would be to reduce this Assemhly to a mere committee to prepare business upon which the presbyteries might act. It would undo, with few exceptions, all the rules that have been established by this Assembly since its first institution. . . . . Besides, *standing rules*, in the evident sense of the constitution, cannot be predicated of any act made by the Assembly, and repealable by it, because they are limited from their very nature to the duration of a year, if it please the Assembly to exert the *power inherent* in it at all times to alter or annul them, and they continue to be rules only by the Assembly's not using its power of repeal." In order to prevent all doubt on this subject in future, the Assembly proposed to the presbyteries this article of the constitution for "their

interpretation," and advised them to strike out the word *standing* and to insert the word *constitutional.* This alteration the presbyteries accordingly made; and the expression "constitutional rules" remains to this day.* Can there be a clearer proof than this of the legislative authority of the Assembly, or of its official acknowledgement by the presbyteries? Let it be remembered that this was no new claim on the part of the Assembly of 1798. The same power had been always claimed and exercised by the old synod and by the General Assembly from its first institution.

It is time, however, to bring these citations to an end. We should have to transcribe the records of the church bodily, if we were to exhibit all the evidence which they contain on this subject. The origin, the constitution, the uniform practice of our church, therefore, prove that our judicatories are not independent of each other; that the higher bodies are not mere courts of appeal and advisory councils; but that it belongs to them to set down rules for the government of the church, which, if consonant with the word of God, and our written constitution, are to be received with reverence and submission out of regard to the authority of these courts. It is their duty to take effectual care that the constitution is observed in all parts of the church.

The doctrines of this pamphlet are not only inconsistent with the origin, constitution and practice of the church, they are moreover absolutely destructive of its character. According to the constitution, the General Assembly is the bond of union and confidence between all the churches. It makes us one denomination. It is such a bond, by enabling the whole church, of which it is the representative, to take effectual care that the constitution, as to doctrine and order, is observed within all our bounds. But according to the new theory, we are not one denomination; we are an aggregate of a number of independent presbyteries. "If a presbytery license, ordain, or receive a minister, or organize or acknowledge a church, ... the act must be forever valid, however ill-advised or censurable it may be." p. 9.† The

* See Digest, p. 285—290.

† We see on p. 29 of this Review a reference to a decision of the General Assembly in 1816, in support of this doctrine. The presbytery of Geneva having improperly admitted a minister, were ordered by the synod to reconsider its decision. The Assembly disapproved of this order, and say, "That the right of deciding on the fitness of admitting Mr. Wells a constituent member of the presbytery of Geneva, belonged to the presbytery itself, and that having admitted him, no matter how improvidently, their decision was valid and final,

whole church then is completely at the mercy of any one presbytery. Certain presbyteries in the north west have formed or acknowledged some three or four hundred congregational churches; and in spite of the constitution, in spite of the contract between the presbyteries, in defiance of the authority of the General Assembly, these churches must forever remain invested with all the privileges of Presbyterian congregations; thus introducing into our judicatories and into the constituency of the General Assembly, three or four hundred men who do not adopt our standards either of doctrine or government. On this principle, if the third presbytery of New York, in the excess of its liberality, were to acknowledge all the Baptist churches of its own city, or all the Unitarian churches of Boston, the act would be valid, and these churches be forever entitled to representation in the Presbyterian body. Or if a presbytery become Socinian there is no help for it. They would not sustain charges against their own members; and they cannot be tried, dissolved or disowned as a body. Neither synod nor General Assembly has power to enforce the constitution. They can only look on in silence, and see this presbytery increase year after year, and sending Socinian ministers and elders to the General Assembly of a Calvinistic church. It is enough to awake the ashes of our fathers to have such doctrines set forth as Presbyterianism, in the bosom of the church which they founded with so much care, and guarded with so much strictness. This is not Presbyterianism; and those who maintain these opinions are not Presbyterians. Yet such are the principles on which they rest their claim to be the *true* Presbyterian Church of the United States. The claim rests

. . . . the presbytery could not, though it should reconsider, reverse its own decision, or in any way sever the member so admitted, from their body, except by regular process." Digest, p. 324. This decision has nothing to do with the case in hand. There is all the difference in the world between an *improvident* act, and an unconstitutional one. The member in question was objected to as of "suspicious character." It is one thing to turn a man out of the church or presbytery on the ground of character, without process; and another to set aside his admission as unconstitutional. Because a presbytery has a right to judge of the qualification of its own members, it does not follow that it may admit a man without ordination, or without the adoption of the standards. Any such act may be declared void at once; and the member be excluded. It was thus that the synod of Kentucky suspended from the ministry in our church, men ordained without having adopted the Confession of Faith, and were thanked for so doing by the General Assembly. And in 1798 it was decided that elders unconstitutionally ordained, remained private members of the church. See Digest, p. 322.

on this new theory. If the presbyteries have a right to acknowledge what churches, and to receive what members they please; then the reception of three or four hundred congregational churches, is all fair. And if the General Assembly is only an appellate court and advisory council, its attempt ts enforce the constitution is all folly. The acts of 1837 are not only nugatory, but ridiculous. If, however, this theory is false; if the General Assembly is what its origin, constitution and practice prove it to be; then it had a right to say to these presbyteries, you shall not allow men to sit and vote in your bodies, who have not the constitutional qualifications of members. And if they had a right to say this, they had a right to enforce it. This is what the Assembly of 1837 actually did. They said to these presbyteries, 'Brethren we have tolerated your irregularity long enough. You must conform to the constitution or go out of the church. If you conform, your rights are not impaired. If you do not, your commissioners shall not be recognized as delegates from regular Presbyterian bodies.' These presbyteries resolved unanimously that they would not conform. So the issue is fairly made; and it must turn on the question, whether the General Assembly is an advisory council or court of control.

We think we have disposed of the first and main argument of this pamphlet in proof of the invalidity of the acts of the Assembly of 1837. The next argument is to this effect. The General Assembly, a mere appellate court, excommunicate, "because of gross disorders," 500 clergymen, and 60,000 church members; not by a regular trial, but by a sort of papal edict. "No matter what their faith or works. Character and conduct had nothing to do with it. They live in the Western Reserve, the reprobates!" &c. &c. p. 13, 14. It is difficult to read such reckless and injurious assertions without indignation. What is excommunication but exclusion from the Lord's supper and other ordinances of the church? Were the resolutions of the Assembly of 1837 designed to exclude, or did they in fact exclude one of those 60,000 church members from the Lord's supper? Did they design to depose, or have they in fact deposed, one of those 500 clergymen from his office? Can there be a greater absurdity than to make the Assembly resolved, 'Whereas the plan of union is unconstitutional, therefore 500 clergymen, and 60,000 church members are excommunicated FOR HERESY?' Is not this, on the very face of it, a calumnious misrepresentation of which any gentleman should blush to find himself guilty?

Why not adhere to the truth? What the Assembly say they intended, was to declare that whereas certain bodies are unconstitutionally organized, they cannot be recognized as regular judicatories in our church, until they conform to the constitution. This is the point to be discussed. And it is perfectly fair to show that the organization complained of *is* constitutional; or that the Assembly had no right to decide the case; or that it failed as to the proper remedy for the evil. But to pervert the act itself, in the very face of the language and solemn declarations of the Assembly, for the purpose of exciting odium, is in the highest degree uncandid and dishonourable.

The third argument is that the resolutions in question are void, because they rest on a false basis, viz. the erroneous assumption of the unconstitutionality of the Plan of Union. Of this plan we are told that it was designed exclusively for new settlements, and therefore expired long ago, "by its own limitation," in the greater part of New York and the Western Reserve. Secondly, that it related to those Congregationalists only who were in connexion with the General Association of Connecticut. Those "from Massachusetts were no more embraced in it, than Quakers from Rhode Island." Thirdly, that it was fairly abrogated on the 23d of May, 1837. "The only consequence of rescinding the plan would be that there would be no longer any Plan of Union between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, in the new settlements, in support of the gospel. Each sect must stand alone and bear its own burdens." See p. 18—22.

If this account of the matter is correct, then we ask what authority had any of these presbyteries to receive any church whose Congregational members were not from Connecticut, or to allow the committee-men, or lay-members to enjoy all the rights of elders in presbytery? The organization of one-half or of three-fourths of the churches and presbyteries concerned, must be without even the shadow of apology afforded by the plan of union. It is only on the assumption of the correctness of the new theory, that presbyteries may do just what they please, acknowledge what churches they please, and receive what members they please without any regard to the constitution or any dread of the higher courts, that their standing in the church can be defended for a moment. It is the same principle also that protects them from the acknowledged effect of the abrogation of the plan. The sects can no longer, it is said, be united. But are they not just as much united

as ever? The presbyteries still admit unordained men to sit as elders in their meetings, and declare that they will continue to do so. Were they not "entirely independent" this would subject them to censure. After all, then, the whole argument of the pamphlet rests on the new theory.

Finally, it is said that the resolutions in question are "clearly void for uncertainty." They purport to declare certain synods no longer a part of the church. But a synod, it is said, is never in any sense a part of the church: it is merely a judicatory. "Could any thing be more nonsensical," it is asked, than "to say that the Supreme Court of the State of New York is not a part, an integral portion of the United States of America? And yet the cases are precisely similar." "Here lies the great fallacy of these resolutions, they seem to consider a synod, and those individuals who sit in it, and who live within the circuit of its jurisdiction, as the same idea." A synod is a convention, and "there is no synod, in any constitutional sense of the term, except when in session, when it is a 'convention;' and the Assembly surely must be held to use terms peculiar to the church, in their constitutional sense." Besides, no one can tell who are members of the synod until it meets; so no one can tell upon whom the resolutions operate; they consequently have no operation at all. "Can any thing be more ridiculous," it is exclaimed, "than these ill-digested and bungling resolutions." See pp. 22—26. Here is certainly a new argument, and one which we presume would never have occurred to any one but a lawyer. What if this whole cause, involving such vast and varied interests, should turn on such a quirk as this! Suppose it should be decided, that the General Assembly had full authority to do what they intended to do; but inasmuch as they used the word 'synod' in a wrong sense, the old part of the church are seceders, and the Congregationalists and their associates are the true Presbyterian church of the United States. What a glorious specimen this would be of judicial decisions! Still, as there is no gainsaying the fact, that a synod is a convention, and that a convention is nothing when not convened, how can we avoid the conclusion, that these resolutions declare a nonentity to be no longer a part of the church? Would it be of any use to plead that, according to the constant *usus loquendi* of the church, the words *synod* and *presbytery* have two senses; that they sometimes mean a convention, and sometimes are used collectively for all the individuals entitled to sit in

them? Might we suggest that when a resolution has been passed to divide a synod or presbytery, it has not *always* been understood to mean that the members actually in session, should sit on different sides of the house? Or, that when a presbytery has been dissolved it meant something more than that a meeting was broken up? or, that when the synod of Kentucky disowned the Cumberland presbytery, the act was not held to be inoperative, on the ground that the presbytery, not being at the time in session, was not in existence? We do not know how this argument may appear in court, we only know it sounds excessively silly out of it.

Such then, to the best of our ability to understand and state them, are the arguments on which our new school brethren, in their last best thoughts, determined to stake their cause. If we have succeeded in refuting them, it follows that the first position assumed in this pamphlet, viz. that the delegates from the presbyteries within the bounds of the four synods were fully entitled to their seats, is overturned. Their claim rests on the assumed invalidity of the resolutions of 1837; and the charge of invalidity rests on these arguments.

The second position is, that the Assembly has no right to decide whether a commissioner is entitled to his seat or not; that is, it has no right to judge of the qualifications of its own members. Does this mean that the Assembly has no right to decide whether a delegate comes from a body qualified to send him, but is bound to admit him to a seat, no matter where he comes from? This is surely too absurd to be what is meant; and yet this is all the judging of qualification involved in the present case. It is not a question whether a commissioner was duly elected; or whether he himself is what he purports to be, a minister or elder. The question is not about his personal qualification; but about the right of the body giving the commission. Has the Assembly no authority to decide this point? Must it allow any and every man, from Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, who may come with a commission, to take his seat as a matter of course? If a man were to rise and say to the moderator, Sir, I hold in my hand a commission from the presbytery of North Africa; does the Assembly forfeit its existence by telling him, Sir, as we know no such presbytery, we cannot receive you? A cause must surely be desperate that requires

such a right to be denied to any representative body upon earth.*

It is essential to the existence of the Assembly that it should have the right to decide whether the body giving the commission has authority to do so or not. And from this decision there is no appeal, but to the churches. Should they disapprove of the decision; they will send up delegates the next year who will reverse it. If they sanction it; the aggrieved party has no resource but submission, or revolution.

We have now attempted to demonstate that the principles on which our brethren professed to act in their separate organization are unsound and anti-Presbyterian; that the delegates from presbyteries from within the bounds of the four synods, were not in the first instance, entitled to their seats; and that the Assembly had a full right to decide whether they were thus entitled or not. If this be so, all ground for this separate organization is removed, and it must be viewed as an open secession from the church. We now proceed to prove that admitting all that is claimed, these brethren failed, in several essential points, in carrying out their own principles.

The first mistake was as to time. Professing to act upon the principle that if a portion of the commissioners were refused their seats, the remainder could not legally organize as the General Assembly, they did not wait until the refusal had taken place. The *casus belli* had not occurred. The only occasion which called for, or admitted of the application of their principle had not presented itself. No commissioner had been refused his seat, at the time the separate organization commenced. All this will be evident from a recital of the rule which the constitution prescribes for the organiza-

* We must not be understood, however, as admitting that the Assembly has no right to judge of the qualification of delegates from presbyteries in good standing. This Reviewer says, that the commission is the only sufficient evidence of the requisite qualification of the delegate, and must in all cases be admitted, as it must be correct unless the officers of the presbytery certify to "palpable lies." We think this language very incorrect. He forgets how often Congregational laymen have appeared in the Asssembly bearing commissions declaring them to be ruling elders. This is certainly very wrong, but we should not like to adopt the language of this writer on the subject. Should a man with such a commission, rise and tell the Assembly that he was not an elder, there can be no question of the right of that body to say to him, then you are not entitled to a seat here. This question, however, except in the form stated above, is not involved in the present case; and we therefore dismiss it.

tion of the Assembly. That rule is found chap. 12, § 7, of the Form of Government. "The General Assembly shall meet at least once a year. On the day appointed for the purpose, the moderator of the last Assembly, if present, shall open the meeting with a sermon, and preside until a new moderator be chosen. No commissioner shall have a right to deliberate or vote in the Assembly until his name shall have been enrolled by the clerk, and his commission examined and filed among the papers of the Assembly." In order then to a proper organization, it is necessary that the moderator of the last Assembly, if present, should preside, until a new moderator is appointed; and secondly, that the commissions of the delegates should be examined and their names enrolled by the clerk. The constitution formerly directed that the commissions should "be publicly read;" but in 1827 the presbyteries sanctioned the striking out of those words, and the insertion of the word "examined" in their place. It was then adopted as a standing rule that the moderator should, immediately after the house was constituted with prayer, appoint a committee of commissions, to whom the commissons were to be delivered; and the Assembly was then to have a recess to allow the committee time to perform this duty and to make out the roll. See p. 40 of the Min. for 1826. In the year 1829, however, it was resolved that the permanent and stated clerks be a standing committee of commissions, to whom the commissions were to be delivered for examination before the opening of the Assembly. See Min. for 1829, p. 384. These clerks are therefore entrusted by the constitution, by the standing rules, and the uniform practice of the house, with the formation of the roll. They are to report the names of those whose commissions are unobjectionable, who "immediately take their seats as members;" and they must further report on those commissions which are "materially incorrect" or "otherwise objectionable." See Min. for 1826, p. 39. The house is then to determine, whether the persons bearing such commissions are entitled to their seats or not. It was therefore in obedience to the constitution that Dr. Elliott, the moderator of the Assembly of 1837, took the chair, and presided until a new moderator was chosen. He decided with obvious propriety that the first business was the report of the standing committee of commissions on the roll. This decision was submitted to. The regular course of proceeding was continued by the call, on the part of the moderator, for any

other commissions which might be in the house. These were to be handed to the committee, examined, and if found regular, the delegates presenting them were to be enrolled, and take their seats. When this was done, and not before, those commissions which were incorrect, or on any ground objectionable, were to be taken into consideration, and the house were to decide whether those who bore them were entitled to a seat or not. This is not only the uniform and constitutional mode of proceeding, but it is obviously proper and necessary. Until the roll is so far completed as to include the names of all the delegates present whose commissions are unquestioned, there is no house legally constituted; those who have a right to deliberate and vote are not legally ascertained. Until this process therefore was gone through with, the claims of those whose commissions had been rejected by the clerks could not be legally considered or decided upon. It was right then, when the moderator called for commissions, for Dr. Mason to rise and present those which he actually offered; and it was right in Mr. Squier to present his own. It was however obviously correct, on the part of the moderator, to say to these gentlemen, that as the clerks have rejected these commissions, the question whether they are to be received or not cannot be submitted to the house, until the house be ascertained; until it is known who are entitled to deliberate and vote upon the question. Instead of submitting to this decision, these brethren proceeded as though the question had been decided against them, and the house, or the enrolled commissioners, had refused to receive the delegates in question. Here was their first fatal mistake. However improper the conduct of the clerks may have been, the house was not responsible for it until they sanctioned it. The Assembly had no official information of the ground of the rejection. They might have disapproved of it, and admitted the commissioners to their seats. The decision of the clerks is not the decision of the house; it merely suspends the right of the member until the house has decided on his claim. There was no cause of complaint, therefore, until the enrolled members had decided not to receive the commissioners from the four synods. This they never did; and consequently the *casus belli* did not occur. These brethren did not wait until the event took place, on which they rest the justification of their whole proceedings. Their proper course was to wait until the roll was made out, and then move that the clerks be directed to add to it the names of the

commissioners from the four synods. Had this motion been rejected; then the case would have occurred contemplated in their plan of operations. As it was, they acted before the occasion arrived; and before a single commissioner was refused his seat. This single mistake would of itself vitiate all their proceedings. If the moderator's decision was correct, that the time had not arrived when Dr. Mason's appeal could be properly submitted to the house, then all that followed was irregular and illegal.

It may be said that this view of the case gives the clerks a very dangerous power. It is a sufficient answer to this objection, that it is a power given by the constitution; and that it is one which they have always heen permitted to exercise. Every year there are commissioners whose names the clerks refuse to enroll; and their decision is considered final until the house has considered and determined on the subject. Besides, this power is guarded from abuse, as far as the case admits of. From the decision of the clerk, refusing to enroll a member, an appeal lies to the Assembly; and if the Assembly refuse to receive him, there is, in most cases, no redress. If the ground of this refusal be the irregularity of the commission, the presbytery suffers from the negligence of its officers. If the ground is the want of proper authority in the body giving the commission, there is a further appeal to the churches; or it may be, to the civil courts.

It is further objected that the right "of a commissioner to deliberate and vote was perfect the moment he presented his commission to the clerk for the purpose of having his name enrolled;" and the decision of the supreme court in the case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison* is appealed to in support of this position. Suppose this be admitted, how does it help the case? The clerks may have done wrong in refusing to report the names of these commissioners, but the house had not yet refused to acknowledge their right to deliberate and vote. It had not acted on their case at all; it had done neither right nor wrong about the matter. We deny, however, the position itself. It matters not how the general principle on which it is founded may be decided; our constitution declares that the presentation of the commission is not enough. Before a delegate can deliberate and vote, his name must be enrolled by the clerk; until this is done, the right, however perfect it may be, is not legally ascertained or established. We cannot see, however, that this has any bearing on the present case; as the question is not about the right of these commissioners, but as to the fact whether it was denied them?

We maintain that it was not; that these brethren had not patience to wait till the denial had taken place. Up to the time of Mr. Cleaveland's nomination of Dr. Beman, there had been no violation of the constitution; every thing had proceeded in the prescribed and uniform course; and consequently no pretext had yet been afforded for the revolutionary measures then adopted.

In the second place, Mr. Cleaveland utterly failed in making the right motion, and in assigning the right reason for it. The error here is so glaring that we are at a loss to understand what he intended to do. He seems to have gotten off the track entirely. Mr. Cleaveland rose and stated, "That as the commissioners to the General Assembly for 1838, from a large number of presbyteries, had been advised by counsel learned in the law, that a constitutional organization must be secured at this time and in this place, he trusted it would not be considered as an act of discourtesy, but merely as a matter of necessity, if we now proceed to organize the General Assembly for 1838," &c. What can this mean? To suppose that he intended merely to inform his audience that "counsel learned in the law" were of opinion that the Assembly must be organized at that time and place, is absurd. No one doubted that point; and no legal counsel was necessary to decide it. This, therefore, can hardly be what was intended, and it certainly is not what was said. The only other interpretation which the words will bear is, that Mr. Cleaveland acted as the organ of a portion of the commissioners, and of a portion only. This is the natural and almost necessary interpretation. The legal advice was given "to the commissioners from a large number of presbyteries," and agreeably to this advice Mr. Cleaveland says: "WE (these commissioners) now proceed to organize the General Assembly!" Is it any wonder, after this formal announcement, that a portion of the commissioners were about to organize the Assembly, that the rest looked on in silent amazement? And are the majority to be held to have forfeited all their rights by this silence, when distinctly warned that it was a proceeding in which they had nothing to do? They were addressed as spectators; and told by Mr. C. what he and his friends were about to do; so that it was in the very form of it, a separate organization, from the first, by a part of the commissioners.

This, however, is not the only extraordinary blunder, at this stage of the business. Dr. Elliott was in the chair. He

was the constitutional moderator, and had been so regarded and acknowledged. Considerable progress had already been made in the organization of the house. Yet Mr. Cleaveland and his friends begin *de novo;* as though nothing had been done, and as though the moderator appointed by the constitution was not present. Can any sane man believe such a proceeding to be constitutional and regular? It may be said that the moderator, by refusing to put to vote Dr. Mason's appeal, forfeited his right to his seat. To this we answer, first, that this decision was obviously constitutional and proper. Secondly, that assuming it to be incorrect, it could not work a forfeiture of the chair. Thirdly, that even admitting the chair to have been forfeited, it could not be vacated without a direct vote of the house. The whole history of deliberative assemblies may be challenged to produce an instance in which a moderator was held *ipso facto* to have vacated the chair by an erroneous decision. If the moderator failed in the discharge of his duty, there ought to have been a distinct motion, that for *that reason* he leave the chair. He could not be gotten rid of without a direct vote or judgment of the house. He could not be simply *ignored.* Yet Mr. Cleaveland chose to take, on his own authority, the forfeiture for granted, and without asking the Assembly if they agreed with him, proceeded precisely as though the moderator, appointed by the constitution, was not in existence. He failed therefore in making the right motion, and in giving the right reason for it. Instead of taking up the business at the stage at which it had arrived, he began *de novo.* Instead of moving that the moderator leave the chair, he acted as though there was no moderator. Instead of assigning, as the ground of his proceeding, that the moderator refused to perform his duty; he gravely informed his hearers that he and his friends had been informed that they must organize the Assembly at that time and place.

Dr. Elliott, therefore, being the legal moderator up to the time of Mr. Cleaveland's motion, was not gotten rid of by that motion. These brethren did not even move to get rid of him, but proceeded to organize the Assembly *de novo* among themselves. This error, also, if it stood alone, would vitiate all their proceedings. Dr. Elliott not being displaced in a constitutional manner, remained the legal moderator of the Assembly, and, of course, the body over which Dr. Beman presided was not the Assembly.

This matter may be presented in somewhat different light.

If Dr. Elliott was the lawful presiding officer, that is, if the chair was not vacant at the time of Mr. Cleaveland's motion, then that motion was never legally put to the house. No member, while the moderator is in the chair, has a right to put a question or call a vote. This is the constitutional prerogative of the moderator. See ch. 19, § 2. And if the question was not legally put to vote, it was not legally carried. Again, if Mr. Cleaveland was out of order, then the majority who declined voting on his motion cannot be legally held to have assented to it. Silence is assent only when the question is legally presented.*

Should these unconstitutional and irregular proceedings receive the sanction either of the church or of civil courts, any fourteen commissioners may get possession of the church just when they please. One of them has only to take for granted that the moderator, at the time of organizing the Assembly, does not do his duty, and without asking the house whether they agree with him, or moving that the moderator leave the chair, he may call out 'I move Mr. A. B. take the chair;' and if the rest of the body, knowing him to be out of order, disregard, as in duty bound, his motion, he may put it to vote and declare it carried; and then hurrying through the usual routine, move off amidst the applause of the by-standers, shouting 'We are the true General Assembly of the Presbyterian church.' It is humiliating that grave and venerable men, contrary to their better judgment, as we believe, should have lent themselves to a scheme in every view so discreditable.

How much then must be taken for granted in order to establish the claim of the new Assembly. We must assume, 1. The truth of the new theory of Presbyterianism. 2. The consequent invalidity of the acts of the Assembly of 1837,

* In the midst of these complicated and fatal mistakes, it is hardly worth while to mention, that Mr. Cleaveland, according to the testimony of numerous witnesses, forgot to reverse the question on his motion; he called for the *ayes*, but forgot to call for the *noes*. Had he, therefore, been ever so much in order, he gave those opposed to his motion no chance to express their dissent; and consequently had no right to declare it carried. Besides, the majority of those who voted for Dr. Beman had, in all probability, no right to a voice in the matter. There were perhaps about sixty enrolled members, about forty to fifty delegates from the four synods (who, not having been enrolled, had, at that time, at any rate, no right to vote); and an indefinite number of by-standers who joined in the shout. How many spectators voted can never be ascertained, but we are assured that the fact can be legally proved with regard to a number of individuals. We lay no stress, however, on these allegations. There are irregularities enough without having recourse to contested points.

and the unimpaired rights of the commissioners from mixed presbyteries. 3. That the Assembly has no right to judge of the qualification of its own members, but must admit every man who comes with a commission, no matter where he comes from. 4. That the refusal of the clerks to enroll a member is in law the refusal of the house, before the house sanctions it. 5. That the moderator was wrong in deciding that a motion to add certain names to the roll, could not be properly considered, until it was ascertained who were entitled to deliberate and vote on the question. 6. That this mistake justly incurred a forfeiture of the chair. 7. That the constitutional moderator may be legally gotten rid of, by simply assuming that the chair is vacant. 8. That Mr. Cleaveland acted legally as the organ of the whole house, when he announced, in the name of certain commissioners, that they were about to proceed to organize the Assembly, although that organization was already nearly completed. 9. That two-thirds of a deliberative body are to be held in law to have voted in favour of a motion, on which (admitting that the opportunity was afforded them) they declined to vote at all, because they believed it was not legally before them. These are not nine independent supports, of which, if one fail, another may hold good. They are each and all absolutely necessary. If any one of these postulates be unsound, the whole cause is ruined. We do not wonder that one of the first legal authorities in the country should say, that if these gentlemen had studied seven years to put themselves in the wrong, they could not have succeeded more effectually.

We shall say little as to the means which our new school brethren have adopted to establish a claim founded upon such anti-Presbyterian principles, and such preposterous proceedings. Their Assembly elected six trustees in place of six of the old members of the board. The latter declined yielding their seats to the new applicants. Whereupon the new trustees apply to the court to issue a writ to the old ones, to show by what warrant they continue to act as trustees of the General Assembly. Should the court decide that they have no sufficient warrant for thus acting, of course their seats must be yielded to their competitors. If the next new school Assembly displace six more trustees, and fill the vacancies with their own friends, they will have all the funds of the church.

Besides these suits, there are others of a much more singular character. Miles P. Squier, for example, sues John M'Dowell for a trespass in excluding his name from the roll

of the General Assembly, whereby he was deprived of his civil right of voting for trustees. If however the new school Assembly is the true General Assembly, Mr. Squier's name was not excluded from the roll; and he was not deprived of the right in question. Dr. M'Dowell merely left his name off of the roll of a body, which Mr. Squier pronounces to be a company of seceders; and for this he sues him.

Still more extraordinary are such cases as that in which Philip C. Hay sues William S. Plumer for a trespass in voting to deprive him of his seat in the Assembly of 1837.* The offence charged is a vote given in an ecclesiastical body. The only penalty which a court can inflict is fine or imprisonment. These then are applications to the civil authority to have men fined or imprisoned for votes given in an ecclesiastical judicatory. These suits we regard with the deepest disapprobation. About the former (i. e. those between the trustees) we have no disposition to complain. The latter we cannot but consider as a base abandonment of the most important principles of religious liberty. The very idea that a minister of the gospel should be thrown into prison for a vote in a church judicatory, is revolting to every honest mind. The principle on which these suits are founded, if once sanctioned, would subject all church discipline to the review of the civil courts, and expose those who administer that discipline to civil pains and penalties. Any minister who may be suspended or deposed forfeits the same civil right, for a trespass on which these suits are brought. And any excommunicated church member may, on this principle, sue his pastor for slander, as has actually happened already in Pennsylvania. It would thus be left to the courts of this world to determine what shall be the standard of morality or orthodoxy in the Christian church; and their decisions would be enforced by fines and imprisonment. It is no excuse for this conduct that these gentlemen do not wish to see the men they sue actually incarcerated. The offence consists in giving their sanction, the sanction in the present case not of Miles P. Squier, or Philip C. Hay, or Judge Brown alone, but of the whole party, to a principle so dangerous to the independence and purity of the church. The offence is the greater because it is perfectly unnecessary. These suits, if successful, rectify nothing. The brethren sued would be

* We are not sure that we have the words of these writs; our object is simply to state the nature of the actions.

punished, and there would be an end of the matter. We have no reason to complain, and do not complain, that those who think they have a right to hold and administer the corporate funds of the church, should take all proper means to assert that right. This the suits against the trustees would effectually do, and at the same time secure all the moral influence that might arise from the judgment of a civil court in favour of the opinions and standing of the new school party. But these latter suits can accomplish no valuable end, while they are founded upon a principle against which every friend of religion and morality is bound to protest.

We have extended so far our remarks on the organization of the Assembly, that we have little space left for the consideration of its proceedings. Its most important measure was the passage of certain acts proposed by the committee on the state of the church. Various objections have been strenuously urged against these acts from different quarters. The most important are the following. Objection is made to their authoritative character. So far as this objection is founded on the assumption that the General Assembly has no legislative power, it is abundantly answered by the proofs already adduced, from the standards and history of the church, that this power, within the limits of the constitution, does belong to the highest judicatory, and has always been acknowledged and submitted to. So far as it relates to specific enactments, its validity depends of course on the question whether they, in any case, transcend the limits which the constitution affixes to the power of the Assembly. The right of the Assembly, which is here exercised, of directing presbyteries how to act in certain cases, cannot be questioned; and even its right to form presbyteries the conductors of this Journal have never denied, and our new school brethren having claimed and exercised it, cannot now consistently gainsay it. It does not appear, however, that this power is directly asserted in any part of these acts, at least in any case where a synod could be employed. In § 1 of act 2, those ministers and churches within the limits of the four synods, who shall prefer to adhere to the Presbyterian church, are directed "to take steps for the immediate organization of as many presbyteries" as may be necessary or convenient; and conditional directions are given as to their territorial extent. In § 2, the ministers and churches intended are directed to meet at such time and place as may be agreed upon by those to be embraced in the same presbytery, "and then and there constitute themselves

in a regular, orderly, and Christian manner into a presbytery under the care of the General Assembly," &c. It will be readily admitted that in ordinary circumstances it is not competent for a number of ministers and churches "to constitute themselves" into a presbytery. But the circumstances of this case are peculiar. The body of the ministers and churches, as now organized, in a certain region, have united with others in forming a new denomination, leaving individual churches and ministers scattered about, subject to no presbytery or synod in connexion with our body. This is a case for which the constitution makes no provision, and for which the highest judicatory, *ex necessitate rei*, was bound to provide. At any rate, it is an exercise of power which does no one any harm; it is extended over those only who prefer to adhere to us, and interferes with the jurisdiction of no synod in connexion with the General Assembly.

A second objection is that the Assembly declares, in case of the majority of a presbytery seceding, that the minority, if sufficiently numerous to perform presbyterial acts, "shall be held and considered to be the true presbytery." This objection appears to us very unreasonable. The measure complained of is the unavoidable consequence of the separate organization of our new school brethren. They knew that the separation, would not and could not be confined to the General Assembly; but that it must run down through synods, presbyteries and churches. It is their own doings of which they complain. They form a new General Assembly; one portion of a presbytery acknowledges its authority, another adheres to the old body. They acknowledge their portion as the true presbytery; we acknowledge ours. Is there any thing to complain of in this? Is it not the necessary result of their own conduct? Are the minorities of presbyteries in every part of the church, which conscientiously believe them to be wrong, bound to adhere to them, and to be separated, against their will, from those whom they believe to be right? That there will be much evil attending this painful process of division, there can be no doubt. But who is responsible for it? An overture for an amicable division was made by the old school party at the Assembly of 1836, which was rejected by the opposite party. It was renewed in 1837 on terms admitted to be just and liberal, but was again rejected. This mode of division, and on the same terms, was at the option of these brethren in 1838, but they preferred a violent disruption, attended by all the evils of

which they now complain. It is their own work. It may be said, they must either take this course or submit to injustice. There was no injustice done them in requiring them to separate from Congregationalism. The right of the Assembly to make that requisition is now almost universally admitted. Had it been submitted to, the standing of these presbyteries would have been unimpaired. Even admitting the requisition to be unjust, it furnishes no justification of their subsequent course. It is much better to submit to wrong, than to do wrong. The responsibility of the evils of a violent division must rest upon them.

Thirdly, we have heard it objected to these acts, that the Assembly encourages minorities of congregations to set up unreasonable and vexatious claims to church property. The occurrence of these claims is one of the evils incident to the mode of division which has been adopted. But we understand the Assembly as discouraging them to the extent of its power. It tells the people that great liberality and generosity should mark their conduct, and "especially in cases where our majorities in the churches are very large, or minorities very small." This we understand to be an exhortation to small minorities to forego their claim to the property, rather than to contend about it; and to majorities liberally to share with the minorities which may choose to go out from them. Let it be considered that there are two sides to all these cases. It is just as likely that small minorities, acknowledging the new Assembly, will disturb the peace of churches, as that minorities on the other side will prove unreasonable. It must rest with the disposition of the people themselves, how much contention there shall be. That there should be contention our brethren determined, by their separate organization, and by instituting civil suits. We deny that the old school party have ever evinced a mercenary spirit in this controversy. They have contended for their truth and order, and have ever evinced a readiness to accommodate questions of property in the most liberal manner.

The most serious objection to these acts, however, is, that they establish a new test of orthodoxy and ecclesiastical communion; that they require every presbytery to approve of the acts of the Assemblies of 1837 and 1838, as the condition of recognition as a constituent part of the church. We readily admit that if this interpretation were correct, the act complained of would be unconstitutional and tyrannical. The Assembly has authority to see that presbyteries observe the

constitution, but it has no right to prescribe new tests of any kind; much less to demand an approval of acts which it is perfectly competent for subsequent Assemblies to repeal or disavow. But this interpretation is not correct. It is not the necessary meaning of the words used, and was repudiated by the advocates of the measure on the floor of the Assembly. Such, at least, is the testimony which we have received on the subject; which, in absence of all report of the debates, is our only source of information. We regret the use of the language employed, because it is ambiguous; but as it was designed to be understood, it expresses nothing to which any reasonable objection can be made. These acts declare that if a presbytery is willing, "upon the basis of the Assemblies of 1837 and 1838, to adhere to the Presbyterian church in the United States," the conduct of its delegates in seceding shall be no prejudice to it. That is, if they are willing to adhere to the church as it now exists. The opposite idea is, that they should adhere to it only upon the condition of the repeal of those acts, and the re-union of the church. Those acts resulted incidentally in giving the Presbyterian church a new form, by leading to the secession of a large portion of it. Is the part which remains the true church? That is the question. Those who acknowledge it as such, the Assembly offers to acknowledge. Does not the new school Assembly act on the same principle? They acknowledge those who acknowledge them; and must renounce those who renounce them. The expression complained of does not establish a new test. It simply designates the old Assembly; or rather the church which that body represented. It requires that those who wish to belong to the church as at present constituted, should regard it as the Presbyterian church of the United States, and not as a company of seceders. This requisition cannot be a ground of complaint. The acknowledgement is involved in the very act of adhering, which is all that is required.

We cannot but hope, that as the prejudice and ill-feeling excited by misrepresentation and party spirit subside; and as correct views of the real nature of Presbyterian government are extended, the great majority of our church will see that the principles advocated by the old school party, are the true principles of our fathers, and afford the only security, under God, for the preservation of the purity and peace of the Presbyterian church.

QUARTERLY LIST

OF

NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Papal Rome identified with the great Apostacy predicted in the Scriptures, the substance of three Discourses addressed to the First Presbyterian Church in Albany, January 1838. By J. N. Campbell, D.D., Pastor of the church. Albany, 16mo. pp. 105.

A Historical Sketch or Compendious View of Domestic and Foreign Missions in the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America. Prepared at the request of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. By Ashbel Green, D.D. Philadelphia, 12mo. pp. 214.

Had we received a copy of this work, we should have been glad to express the approbation which, from its authorship, we doubt not it deserves.

Experimental and Practical Views of the Atonement. By Octavius Winslow, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Brooklyn. New York, 12mo. pp. 248.

The unpublished Letters and Correspondence of Mrs. Isabella Graham, from the year 1767 to 1814; exhibiting her Religious Character in the different relations of Life. Selected and arranged by her daughter, Mrs. Bethune. New York, J. S. Taylor, 12mo. pp. 314.

The Dangers of Education in Roman Catholic Seminaries. A Sermon delivered, by request, before the Synod of Philadelphia, in the city of Baltimore, Oct. 31, 1837, and afterwards in the city of New York, Nov. 26, 1837. By Samuel Miller, D.D. Baltimore, 8vo. pp. 15.

Baptism by Affusion and Sprinkling; or a Critical Dissertation on the Scripture mode of Baptism, proving the exclusive divine authority of Affusion and Sprinkling. By Leicester A. Sawyer. New Haven, 12mo. pp. 24.

The Children of Believers entitled to Baptism; or a Critical Dissertation on the Ecclesiastical Relations and Privileges of Children, clearly establishing their Scriptural title to Baptism. By Leicester A. Sawyer. New Haven, 12mo. pp. 24.

These works of Mr. Sawyer we can commend, as the result evidently of careful labour, and containing sound and judicious views of the mode and and subjects of baptism.

The Necessity of Eminent Piety in the Gospel Ministry. A Sermon preached in the Reformed Dutch Church, at New Brunswick, N. J. By Samuel B. How, D.D., Pastor of the Church. New Brunswick, 8vo. pp. 18.

Sermons and Prayers delivered in the city of Philadelphia. By Joseph John Gurney. Taken in short-hand. 12mo.

The Religion of the Bible the only Preservative of our Civil Institutions. A Discourse delivered by appointment at Oakland College, Miss., April 4th, 1838, (it) being the day preceding the Annual Commencement. By the Rev. S. G. Winchester, Pastor of the Natchez Presbyterian Church. 8vo.

The Comprehensive Commentary, &c. &c. By Rev. William Jenks, D.D. Brattleboro, 1838.

The last volume of this work has just been received. It purports to contain all that is valuable in the Commentaries of Henry, Scott, and Doddridge, together with notes, philological and explanatory, derived from other sources. On the understanding that this additional matter was to be in harmony with the sentiments of those esteemed commentators, this work has been freely subscribed for, and strongly recommended. The names of Dr. De Witt, Dr. Wylie, Dr. Green, and many others of the same class, appear in the list of its patrons. We are sorry to find that the public confidence has been misplaced; that the annotations by the editor are, in many cases, designed to controvert the characteristic opinions of Henry and Scott, for whose sake the work was subscribed for, or recommended. On Rom. 3 : 25, 26, we find two very objectionable notes, one from Wetstein and the other from Macknight, to neither of which any Socinian would object. On ch. 4 : 22, we are taught from Macknight again, that "in judging Abraham, God will place on the one side of the account his *duties*, on the other his *performances*. And on the side of his performances he will place his faith, and by mere favour will value it as equal to a complete performance of his duties, and reward him as if he was a righteous person." The imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer is pointedly denied. On ch. 5 : 19, the editor argues in his own name against Henry, and reproves him for considering the sufferings of infants a proof of original sin. He tells us the meaning of that verse is, "As in Adam all die, so in Christ all *can be* saved *if they will*"! and refers to Stuart. Just before he had quoted from Prof. Stuart the assertion that Edwards and the Reformers taught that "all our race are heirs of the endless miseries of a *future* world antecedent to any voluntary exercise of their own, and merely on the ground of Adam's offence"! On ch. 9 : 11, we are told from Bloomfield, that it is "strange some cannot, or will not see, that in all this there is only reference to the election of *nations*, not of *individuals*." And on v. 19, the editor informs us that "disputes about election, &c. are of no practical utility." In short, we have a running commentary containing the theology of Wetstein, Macknight, Bloomfield, Stuart, &c. as a corrective of that of Scott and Henry. This we regard as a serious breach of faith; and the amiable and respectable editor must himself so regard it, if he will but ask, What would be thought of a man who, after getting subscriptions and recommendations for a standard Trinitarian work to be edited with additional notes, should issue it with Unitarian annotations? Dr. Jenks has a right to publish what he pleases, but he has no right to induce the people to subscribe for one thing and then give another; to make them pay for bread, and then give them a stone. He has contrived to make Dr. De Witt, Dr. Green, and many others, sanction, by their recommendations, opinions which they abhor.

It is hardly a less serious objection that the absurdities of phrenology are introduced into this work, and made the vehicle of the grossest errors. "The

moral sentiments in man," we are told, "have material organs by which they manifest themselves, and that these may, like a muscle or nerve, be weakened or strengthened by habitual use or disuse, and thus descend to posterity." Again, our cerebral organs are said to be affected by the laws of hereditary descent, and therefore we cannot expect "a child to be born with the germs of an organization favourable to perfect virtue from parents, the organization of both of whom (as well as their ancestors) are known to be, perhaps, extremely unfavourable to mental and spiritual excellence." Had Adam remained perfect, his children would have been in a condition of perfect obedience, "but as he did not, his race have become more and more imperfectly organized, more and more unfit for communion with God," &c. Hereditary depravity then is a disease of the brain, a deterioration of the cerebral organs, which is getting worse and worse. These passages may be found in the notes on Rom. 5; and at the end of ch. 7, we have a whole system of biblical phrenology.

We are extremely sorry to be forced to make these strictures on a work, from which we had anticipated much good. We rejoiced in the prospect of so much truth and piety being diffused among the people; but now who can recommend a work designed for families and bible classes, containing such sentiments as those which we have quoted? The publishers owe it to fair dealing, and to their own interests, to have all the objectionable parts of the work cancelled.

Report of the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the Memorial of Henry Hall Sherwood, claiming to have made new and important discoveries in Magnetism generally, and more particularly in the Magnetism of the earth; and representing that he is the inventor of an instrument called the Geometer, whereby, &c. Washington, pp. 23.

We notice this report in order to express our disapprobation of the high encomiums pronounced by the committee of Naval Affairs on the labours of Dr. Sherwood, and to protest in behalf of the scientific character of our country, against the plan of discussing such subjects in Congress before proper means have been taken to determine their true character. The committee state that they have availed themselves of the opinions of scientific gentlemen, and that these opinions are annexed, and form a part of the report. Now, the name of but *one* person known to science is attached to this article, and he acknowledges that he has not examined the subject with proper attention. Yet "from these opinions, as well as from their own examination, the committee are fully persuaded that the discoveries and invention of Dr. Sherwood are entitled to the most serious consideration of the public, and to the encouragement and patronage of congress. The committee regard them as highly interesting and important to the navigation and commerce of the United States, and as bidding fair to open a new era in the history of the science of magnetism.

"They deem the subject of so much importance that they do not hesitate to express the opinion that an enlightened policy on the part of the Government

should induce congress to grant the requisite aid. The committee will, as soon as they are able, present, for the consideration of the senate, such a bill as shall be best calculated, in their judgment, to carry out the recommendations of this report."

Now, notwithstanding this very favourable opinion of the committee, derived in part from their '*own examination*,' we do not believe that there is a person of any scientific reputation in our country, who has paid attention to this subject, who will not immediately say that the whole affair is perfectly puerile and entirely unworthy, for a moment, of the serious attention of congress.

An account of the labours of Dr. Sherwood is given by Dr. Dwight: they relate, 1. To "important discoveries" in the magnetization of plates of iron. 2. To the deductions from these of the laws of terrestrial magnetism, and 3. To the invention of an instrument, called a Geometer, for determining, by magnetism, the latitude and longitude of places with practical accuracy. We are first informed that "Dr. Sherwood has succeeded in magnetising a continuous ring and circular plate of iron, which has heretofore been considered impracticable." To prove this, an extract from Dr. Roget's treatise in the Library of Useful Knowledge is quoted, and misapplied. The true meaning of the extract is simply this; not that a ring cannot be magnetized, but that it may be so magnetized that it will exhibit no polarity until broken into pieces, the several poles in contact mutually neutralizing each other. But who ever doubted that a circular plate could be magnetized? Perhaps the committee, certainly not Dr. Roget, since at page 7, Art. Magnetism, of the same work, he has given a wood cut to illustrate the magnetism of the very article in question.

A detailed account in a very unscientific form is next given of experiments made with circular and oblong plates. These were magnetized, if we understand the account aright, regularly and irregularly. In regard to the irregular magnetism, it is perhaps not known to the committee that from the experiments of Haldat, plates of any form may with a strong magnet be magnetized with any number of poles from one to a thousand or more; nay, that Dr. Sherwood's name may be traced on a plate in magnetic but not imperishable characters, and that these will become visible only when iron filings are strewed over the surface. There is no end to the variety of polarity which can be thus given to a plate, but there is nothing important in all this, since the whole may be referred to a few well known principles.

In reference to the regular magnetism, Dr. Sherwood's discoveries, as far as they are susceptible of generalization, may be thus stated,

1. When an oblong plate of sufficient width is magnetized in the usual manner, he finds that the poles are not at the end of the plate, but a little within or towards the middle.

2. That the axis of magnetism does not coincide with the axis of the plate; that is, with a line drawn through the middle of its length.

3. "That when the magnetic fluid is allowed by the portions of the plate to act freely, the angle instinctively taken by the two axis, seems to be in all cases 23 deg. 28 min. The same phenomena are exhibited in the magnetism of circular plates.

4. "The discoveries of these laws led necessarily to their application to terrestrial magnetism," and he "at once concluded that the laws of magnetic influence in the magnet and in the earth are one and the same."

With regard to the first mentioned discovery, that the pole is not at the end of the plate, this is certainly true, but unfortunately for Dr. Sherwood's claims to scientific honours, it is by no means new, and is mentioned in almost all the elementary works on the subject, even in the one quoted by Dr. Dwight himself—Art. Electro Mag. p. 86, ¶ 282.

The second important discovery, that the two axes do not coincide, is also equally true and equally original, as may be seen by again referring to the same elementary work, Art. Mag. p. 58. ¶ 253.

The third discovery, that of the instinctive angle of 23 deg. 28 min., we must confess is entirely new, for we can find no statement so perfectly absurd in all the records of science. The angle which the two axes spontaneously assume is purely accidental, and is scarcely ever the same in two similar plates, for the truth of this we refer to the experience of all those who have ever measured the angle in question. The quantity 23 deg. 28 min. is well known in Astronomy as the approximate value of the inclination of the plane of the earth's equator to the ecliptic, and we can easily see how, with some, vague ideas of the connection of phenomena, Dr. Sherwood has himself "instinctively taken" this mysterious angle, not from experiment, but from some crude hypothesis.

Next, as to the laws of terrestrial magnetism, deduced from the foregoing experiments; namely, that the earth has one magnetic pole in the north; that this pole is at the distance of 23 deg. 28 min. from the true pole; that the line of no variation is a true circle, &c.

By these deductions Dr. S. is fairly brought to the *reductio ad absurdum*, for they are entirely at variance with some of the best established facts in terrestrial magnetism. The earth, from the labours of Hansteen and others, is now proved to have four magnetic poles, two in the northern and two in the southern hemisphere. The position of one of the former was determined from actual observation, in the northern part of our continent by Capt. Ross; that of the other in Siberia by a scientific corps, under the direction of Hansteen, and at the expense of the Russian government. Again, the line of no variation, instead of being a circle, as is asserted by Dr. Sherwood, is a line in the eastern hemisphere extremely tortuous, which may be represented, with some degree of accuracy, by SS thus placed, 

But how does Dr. S. explain these discrepencies? very easily; he "perceives, from the general laws of magnetic forces as established in the iron plate, that this account is wholly erroneous;" that is, all the actual observa-

tions made in the east of Europe, by men of science and respectability, to establish the position of the points, and consequently the line of no variation, are erroneous. This forms, certainly, a "new era," not in the history of magnetism, but in that of absurdity and presumption, and we shall scarcely be surprized to learn hereafter, through the medium of a congressional document, that all our maps, constructed from actual survey, have been proved erroneous by some new experiments on the laws of projectiles.

The space allowed for this notice will not permit us to make any comments on the invention called the Geometer. We may, however, say that an invention, founded on false principles, can never give uniformly true results.

We presume that Dr. Sherwood himself entertains a sincere belief of the importance of his discoveries, but interested as we are in the welfare of American science, we cannot, in silence, suffer its character to be injured abroad, and the public name to be abused at home, without endeavouring to expose the error. In conclusion, we must state our regret at seeing the name of a gentleman attached to this report, who has been long and favourably known to science, and who, we know, possesses much valuable and practical scientific knowledge. Magnetism, however, is not in his line, and since even Homer himself sometimes nods, Dr. J. may be allowed to be a little oblivious on this subject.

Introductory Lecture to a Course of Chemistry, delivered in Washington College, Lexington, Va., Feb. 21, 1838. By George D. Armstrong, A.M.

Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains, under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, performed in the years 1835, 1836 and 1837: containing a Description of the Geography, Geology, Climate and Productions; and the Number, Manners and Customs of the Natives. With a Map of Oregon. By Rev. Samuel Parker. Ithaca, N. Y.

Travels in Europe: viz. in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands. By Wilbur Fisk, D.D., President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. Fourth edition. New Haven.

The Principles of Political Economy. By Henry Vethake, LL.D., one of the Professors in the University of Pennsylvania; a Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c. Philadelphia, 1838.

This work contains many original views, presented, for the most part, in perspicuous language, and enforced by close logical reasoning. Professor Vethake has attempted, and we think successfully, the bold innovation of comprehending immaterial or intellectual products, as well as material, under the definitions of wealth and capital. We need not unfold the advantages resulting from this extension of the scope of the science. He has also imparted much interest to his work by discussing, in several respects, the bearing of economical doctrines upon moral questions; and we have been delighted to find that he has in all cases cast the weight of the science in favour of the higher interests of morality and religion. Political economy has suffered

more in public estimation, from its supposed tendency to materialize the mind, and lead its disciples to contemplate solely or chiefly the advancement of a nation in wealth, than from any other cause. Let any candid man, whose mind has been pre-occupied by the idea of some kind of opposition between the doctrines of this science, and the moral advancement of a people, read Professor Vethake's treatise, and he will not only find himself disabused of an unworthy prejudice, but he will also be surprised to discover at how many points the truths of political economy touch and support the higher truths of morality; and he will feel grateful to the author for having opened to him a field where he can gather many new illustrations of the Divine wisdom and benevolence.

Address delivered before the Brainerd Evangelical Society in Lafayette College, Pa., April 3, 1838. By John W. Yeomans, Pastor of the Presbyterian church, Trenton, N. J. Published by the students. Easton.

In this address the author discusses, in a very satisfactory manner, the missionary tendencies of practical religion. From an examination of the several Christian graces, he shows that by an in-born adaptation they seek the world as their field. This truth is presented, and the motives to Christian missions urged, without involving the pernicious heresy of leading us to overlook unduly our own hearts, and the spheres of usefulness which lie immediately around us, in our far-reaching benevolence. The address contains so many fine thoughts felicitously expressed, that no one can read it without feeling that the master of so terse and elegant a style ought not to hide his candle under a bushel.

Hints on a System of Popular Education, addressed to R. S. Field, Esq., Chairman of the Committee on Education in the Legislature of New Jersey; and to the Rev. A. B. Dod, Professor of Mathematics in the College of New Jersey. By E. C. Wines, Author of "Two Years and a Half in the Navy," and late Principal of the Edgehill School. Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 255, 12mo.

How shall I Govern my School? Addressed to Young Teachers; and also adapted to assist Parents in Family Government. By E. C. Wines, Author of "Two Years and a Half in the Navy," and "Hints on a System of Popular Education." Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 309, 12mo.

Being disappointed in our intention to give an extended review of these valuable works, we will, more briefly than we had purposed, express our approbation of them. In the first, there are hints thrown out which cannot but kindle where they strike; and in the second, the author has embodied in a set of important rules or maxims, the result of his reflections and his experience upon the subject of Education. The teacher or parent must be already richly furnished, who cannot gather from this latter work many valuable ideas and principles to aid him in the discharge of his duty. We are glad to learn that this is but the first in a series of works, connected with education, which the author intends to prepare and publish. His habits of mind, his experience, and his earnest devotion to the subject, fit him for eminent usefulness in this most important department of labour.

Discourse in Commemoration of the Glorious Reformation of the 16th Century, delivered before the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of West Pennsylvania. By S. S. Schmucker, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. New York.

An Inquiry respecting the Self-determining Power of the Will or Contingent Volition. By Jeremiah Day. President of Yale College.

Historical Causes and Effects from the Fall of the Roman Empire, 476, to the Reformation, 1517. By William Sullivan.

Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, who was murdered in Defence of the Liberty of the Press at Alton, Illinois, Nov. 7, 1837. By J. C. and Owen Lovejoy. With on Introduction by John Quincy Adams. New York.

Remarks on Literary Property, by Philip H. Nicklin, A. M. Philadelphia, 24mo. pp. 144.

This little work contains many valuable facts, and much pithy argument upon the subject of which it treats; and we commend it to all who have taken any interest in the question, which has been recently so much agitated, of an International Copy Right Law. It presents, within a brief compass, and in a style of uncommon ease and liveliness, a convincing argument in favour of a perpetual copy-right to authors; some plausible reasons against the expediency of an international copy-right law at present; and a cogent appeal for a congress of nations, to establish a universal republic of letters and a uniform law of literary property throughout the world.

The Hebrew Reader: designed as an easy Guide to the Hebrew Tongue for Jewish Children and Self-instruction. No. 1. The Spelling Book. By Isaac Leeser. Philadelphia.

The Great Want in Schools. An Address delivered at the close of the Sessions of 1837–8, of the Woodward College. By the Rev. B. P. Aydelott, D.D., President and Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy. Cincinnati.

The Happy Christian: or Piety the only Foundation of true and substantial Joy. By J. S. Waterbury.

Union: or the Divided Church made one. By the Rev. John Harris. New York.

The Sacred History of the World, attempted to be philosophically considered in a Series of Letters to a Son. Vol. III. By Sharon Turner, F. S. A. & R. A. S. L. London, 1837, pp. 603, 8vo.

The former volumes of this work are already well known to the public; two different editions of them have been circulated in our country. This volume, which concludes the series, is in many respects more valuable than either of its predecessors. Its style is more simple and direct, and the class of subjects discussed, and the facts by which they are illustrated, possess more of novelty. The learned author attempts to explain the provisions which have been made for the spread and perpetuation of the human race, and for their continual support and improvement,—the laws of life and

death,—the relation between these and the means of subsistence,—and the arrangements made for the social and civil combinations of men. It is pleasant to find these topics discussed with so much learning and piety as Mr. Turner has brought to bear upon them. Even those who dissent from his anti-Malthusianism, will be ready to acknowledge the candour and truth-loving spirit in which he discusses the difficult question of the law of population, and to admit the value of the facts which he has collected in illustration of of this and other points.

China: its State and Prospects with especial reference to the Diffusion of the Gospel: containing allusion to the Antiquity, Extent, Population, Civilization, Literature, Religion and Manners of the Chinese. By the Rev. W. H. Medhurst, twenty years a Missionary to the Chinese. London.

History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic. By William H. Prescott. In three volumes—second edition. Boston.

Zion called upon to Awake. A Sermon preached in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, May 22, 1838. before the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. By Samuel Miller, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, Princeton, N. J.

ERRATA.

Page 441, line 7 from top, for "word ἐπίσκοπες," read "word; and ἐπίσκοπος."

Page 441, line 15 from top, for "בדך" read "בגל."

Page 443, line 19 from bottom, for "than any," read "than those of any."

Page 451, line 4 from top, for "was," read "were."

Page 413, line 7 from bottom, for "Review and Translations," read "Review on Translations."

Page 455, line 6 from bottom, for "their," read "its."