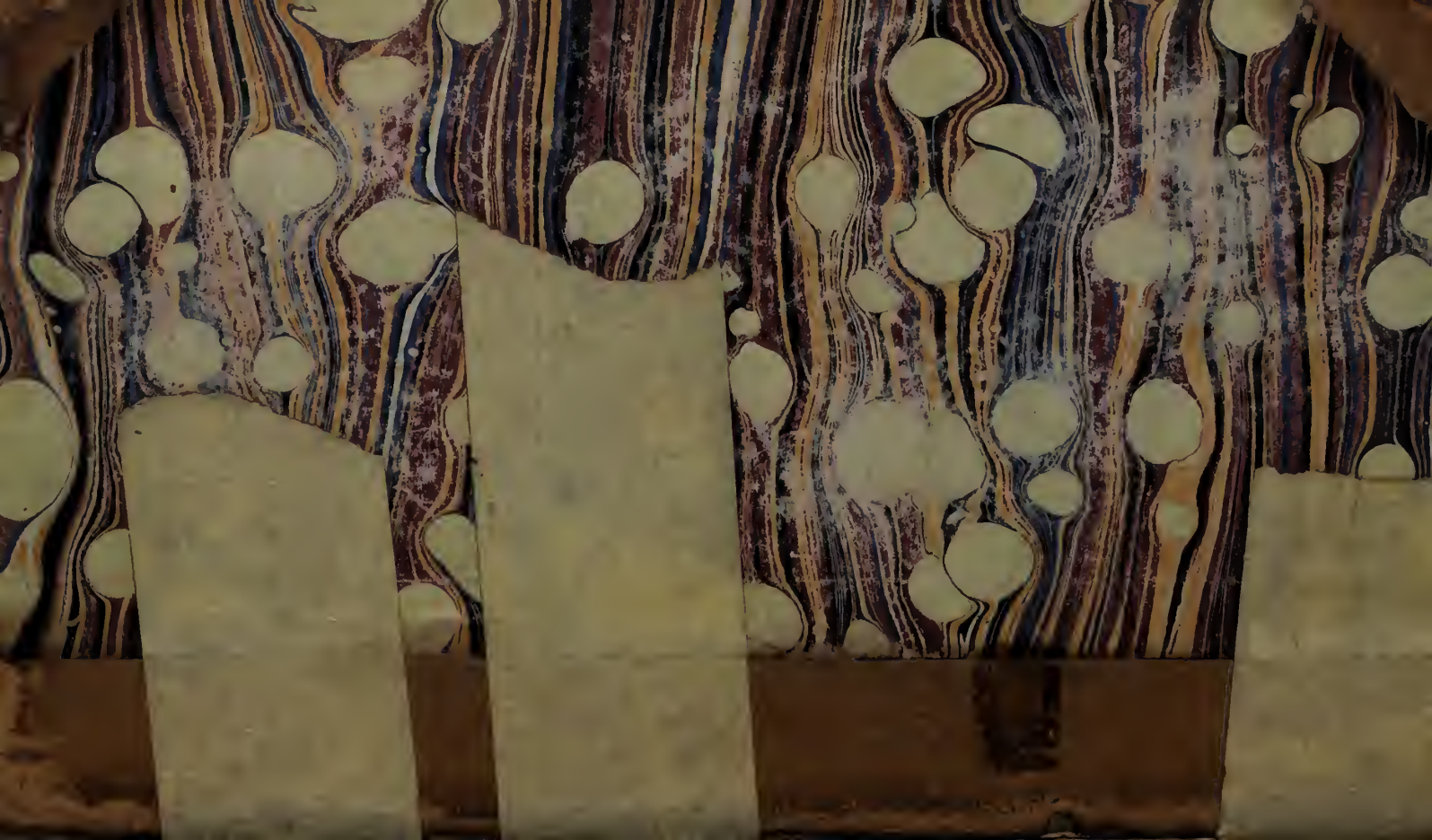

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Art. I.—*Concordantiae Librorum Veteris Testamenti Sacrorum Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae, &c. &c.* Auctore Julio Fürstio, Doct. Phil. Lipsiae. 1837–8. Sect. I—VIII.

The appearance of great literary undertakings, whether deserving of the name from the novelty or importance of their subjects, or from the amount of patient labour or of original thought expended in their execution, may appropriately be compared to that of eminent individuals in the political world. For as these latter exert a powerful influence upon the character and conduct not only of the men among whom they live and move, but also of their posterity to distant times: so important literary achievements, while thousands of ordinary publications are suffered to sink into oblivion, remain as monuments of the intellectual prowess of the age in which they are produced, and serve as guides and helpers to future advances in knowledge, virtue, and happiness. Hence it is highly proper that their appearance and character be recorded in literary history for the benefit of posterity as well as of contemporaries, in like manner as those of celebrated men are preserved in the history of political events. These

two histories unitedly compose that of the entire man, considered both as an acting and as a reflecting being.

The two principles of action and reflection, although inseparably combined in every individual of the human race, have each arrived in various nations and epochs at various degrees of development. The predominance of the former tendency displays itself in the performance of deeds of heroism, while that of the latter is exhibited in aspirations after literary distinction. This truth will be found strikingly exemplified on comparing the history of the middle ages with that of our own times.

The former of these two tendencies may be termed the *objective*, or that in which the united faculties of mind and body seek to manifest themselves in outward action; while to the latter we may give the name of *subjective*, or that in which the mental powers, having attained a high degree of development, are more especially directed to abstract reasoning. Two opposite tendencies analogous to these may likewise be observed in the operations of the mind alone, which either restricts itself almost exclusively to a consideration of the objects presented to it by the world without, or, soon leaving these, proceeds to digest, to combine, and to work out new results of its own, independent of any further external influence. The former tendency is exhibited in the production of learned compilations, the latter in that of speculative and theoretical works.

As all ideas, including even the most abstract, are in the first place excited although not created by perceptions, and those chiefly of external objects, it follows that the objective development of the mind must necessarily be first in the order of time; and that only after the completion of such development can its subjective powers manifest themselves in any pre-eminent degree: or as Schiller beautifully expresses it,

> Nur durch das Morgenthor des Schönen
> Dringst du in der Erkenntniss Land;
> An höhrem Glanz sich zu gewöhnen,
> Uebt sich am Reize der Verstand.

If we desire to know the degree in which these opposite tendencies of the mind are developed in any nation or epoch, we have only to ascertain the character of its principal literary productions; and on this account if no other, their appearance must attract the attention of those who desire to become acquainted with the history of the progress of the human

mind. The work whose title is placed at the head of this article is one which we regard as presenting strong claims to consideration, on account of the extraordinary amount of mental labour both subjective and objective which its execution manifests as well as its important bearings on the advancement of biblical studies.

As this work comprises a Hebrew Lexicon as well as a Concordance to the Hebrew Bible, we will consider its claims in each of these respects separately, commencing with the former. The lexicography of Dr. Fürst does not consist in the mere introduction of improvements of greater or less consequence into the systems of his predecessors; but is founded on an original plan of his own, the result of new and most enlarged views of the philosophy of language. These views, by making higher claims on the philologist than have been heretofore preferred, give rise to such bold investigations and happy discoveries, that, although occasionally warned by a too great boldness of conjecture to be cautious in their application, we feel continually more and more inclined to adopt them in all their breadth and fulness.

On examining into the leading features of the new system of Hebrew lexicography as compared with those which have preceded it, and tracing the course pursued by this department of philological science, we obtain a full confirmation of the truth of the axiom above laid down, that the chief tendency of the mind in its first operations is decidedly objective.

Lexicography, or that science which has for its object the elements of language, viz. words separately considered, was first applied to the Hebrew about a thousand years after it had ceased to be a living tongue. Up to that period it had been learned much in the same manner as that in which a child acquires its maternal idiom, namely by obtaining a knowledge of a succession of phrases and entire sentences rather than of detached words. Now this synthetical mode of acquiring a language closely resembles the operations of nature in the formation of speech; for it should be remembered that the words which constitute the body of a language are created not singly and in succession, but simultaneously in the form of propositions. The same method of study is still in use among the Oriental and Polish Jews, who obtain a practical acquaintance with the entire contents of the Old Testament and even of the Talmud, without ever knowing that such a work as a lexicon exists, its place being supplied to them by living

teachers, who, as it were, resuscitate the inanimate form of the language by again clothing it in living articulate sounds.

This mode of learning a dead language can be successfully pursued only when we enjoy the constant aid of a living instructor, who, by first explaining the meaning of the strange sounds through the medium of others which we have been accustomed to employ as the exponents of ideas, and by afterwards accustoming us through a long course of practice to associate our ideas with the new sounds and the signs representing them, may in time succeed in making the dead language bear to us the relation of a living one. Without such assistance the signs in which the spirit of the dead language lies embalmed must forever remain to us a mystery, unless we can learn their signification by means of others with which we are familiar, or, in other words, unless we are furnished with books which, by explaining the etymological history and meaning of every word, in a language already known to us, may in some measure supply the place of *viva voce* instruction.

As regards the Hebrew, when we consider that the reverence in which the sacred records it contains have ever been held by the Jewish nation has caused the language to be preserved by tradition from generation to generation, and provision to be made for a constant succession of teachers spending their lives in the study and explanation of the law and its language, we are less inclined to feel surprized at the fact that the attention of their learned men was not sooner directed to the investigation of single words, even when copies of the Scriptures, glosses and various readings of the text, and copious commentaries written for the elucidation of particular books existed in abundance, and were continually receiving fresh accessions to their number. And in fact, it was only when, in consequence of increased oppressions and dispersions, the band of teachers became diminished, their schools shut up or destroyed, nay the study of the Law itself at times prohibited under penalty of death, that some of the most intelligent men of the nation, perceiving the danger to which the holy language lay exposed of becoming at length irretrievably lost, undertook the compilation of lexicographical works, in order to prevent the occurrence of so deplorable a misfortune.

The earliest attempt in this department of literature of which we have any certain knowledge, is a collection of seventy difficult words made by R. Saadia Haggaon in the

ninth century, accompanied by brief explanations in Arabic. But the first work deserving the name of a Hebrew lexicon was that composed by R. Menahhem ben S'ruk about the commencement of the eleventh century, and which, although never submitted to the press, was evidently, from the accounts we have of it, far in advance of the philological science of the day; since its author, by considering roots whose second letter is doubled or which contain a weak letter as derived from primitive biliteral themes, anticipated improvements in Hebrew lexicography which have been brought forward and developed by a distinguished scholar of our day, and are made by Dr. Fürst the stepping-stones to new and splendid discoveries. Considered however as a whole, the lexicon of Ben S'ruk was greatly surpassed by that of a Spanish physician named Rabbi Jonah. This author, while he did not neglect the traditional authority, on which, with the aid of the context, the work of his predecessor entirely rests, made an admirable use of the numerous analogies existing between the Hebrew and his mother-tongue, the Arabic. Many of the illustrations contained in his work, as well as those in the similar one of R. Jehuda ben Karish, were afterwards adopted by R. David Kimhhi, whose lexicon, the Sepher Hashshorashim, has remained the standard Jewish authority to the present time. It far excels those that preceded it both in fulness and accuracy, as well as in the number of valuable exegetical remarks with which it abounds. The roots, under which the words belonging to them are promiscuously ranged, succeed each other alphabetically, with the exception that the pluriliterals and those of the biblical Chaldee are respectively placed after all the triliterals which commence with the same letter. The grammatical order of the species and modes of verbs is usually though not invariably observed, and each word is in general supported by numerous quotations.*

In the productions of these native lexicographers a prominent objective tendency is manifest throughout. They all show the acquaintance of their authors with the Hebrew to have been exceedingly familiar and minute; so that the imperfections they exhibit are properly to be ascribed to their want of insight into the philosophy of language.

* We are glad to have it in our power to announce that a new edition of this work with improvements by its editors, F. S. Lebrecht and J. R. Biesenthal, is now publishing at Berlin in two quarto volumes, of which the first has already appeared.

The earliest among these writers were firmly of opinion, with the commentators who preceded them, that as the Law of the Lord is perfect, the language in which it is contained must also be perfect, and therefore would stand in no need of aid from foreign sources for its elucidation. In consequence of this belief and of the general objective tendency of their minds, whenever they undertook the illustration of an individual word, they regarded it as it presented itself in the Bible, without referring to any other language than the Hebrew, and without attempting to discover those natural laws of speech which caused it to assume such and such a form rather than another. They supposed their task performed when they had collected the several meanings in which, according to traditional interpretation, the word was employed in the various passages where it appeared; and when, as was not unfrequently the case, these meanings appeared entirely unconnected and even diametrically opposite, their purely objective mode of viewing the subject prevented them from seeking to trace out the primary signification of the root, a knowledge of which alone could remove these apparent discrepancies.

In a few instances indeed, where the customary aid of tradition appears to have been wanting, we find them having recourse to a living sister dialect. Thus it is related in the Talmud (Rosh Hashshána, fol. 26) that the rabbis were ignorant of the meaning of the word טאטאחי Is. 14: 23, until one of them heard his foreign servant say to a woman שקילי מאטיתא וטאטי ביתא "take the broom and sweep the house." So also they did not know what יהבך Ps. 55: 23. signified, until an Arab was heard to use the expression שקול יהבך ושדי אגמלאי "take thy burden and cast it upon the camel." (Meg. fol. 18.)

To the general rule however of closely adhering to tradition, and of endeavouring by means of it and of the context to make the Hebrew elucidate itself, we meet with no considerable exception until the time of R. Jonah, who first laid under contribution for this purpose the rich treasures of the copious and nearly related Arabic; an example which has been followed up with the most signal success by learned European Orientalists of the two last centuries. These scholars observed that words of the same form and bearing precisely the same meaning as the Hebrew, were of constant occurrence in the Arabic; frequently too they found the primary signification of a root still in use in the latter language which no longer appeared in the former, and were enabled

by means of it to exhibit all the secondary acceptations in a beautifully logical connexion. In many instances the root itself of a numerous stock of derivatives was discovered, and thus a number of words united under a single stem which before had been supposed to belong to several. Much information was also gained on the subject of the interchange of letters, the study of which in the Arabic is facilitated by an orthography at once euphonic and etymological.

Still these investigations were not regulated by a comprehensive philosophical view of the laws regulating the creation and development of languages or of the essentially organic nature of the connexion existing between those of the same stock; and hence the rage for directly referring every thing in the Hebrew to the standard of the Arabic was suffered to increase to an extent the injurious effects of which are still but too apparent in our best lexicons. A full consideration of this interesting subject if undertaken here would lead us too far from our main purpose; it must therefore be reserved for a future occasion: but before leaving it we would remark, that we are far from desiring either to depreciate the value of modern labours and discoveries, or to deny the closeness of the connexion existing between the Hebrew and the other branches of the Shemitish stock. What we do mean to say is, that when the investigation of the Hebrew shall have been conducted with a clear conception of the true origin and nature of language, and accompanied by an accurate analysis of articulate sounds and of the laws on which their mutations depend, not only will the true relations which the Hebrew bears to its sister dialects be perceived, but the language will likewise be seen extending its points of affinity far beyond these narrow bounds, and uniting with all other primitive tongues in the indissoluble bond of a community of origin.

Notwithstanding what may seem the boldness of this assertion, and the magnitude of the obstacles which the philologist must encounter who undertakes a practical demonstration of its truth, still we think that its probability at least will become evident to all who attentively consider the numerous examples given by Gesenius of strong resemblance and even identity between Shemitish and Indo-European primitives. If any fail of being fully convinced by these facts, although unable positively to deny the truth of the theory they tend to support, they should reflect that the discovery of them has proceeded rather from a partly unconscious anticipation, the result of long continued and laborious

researches, than from any very profound or original views of the organic nature of language. That such is really the case, and that much more remains to be accomplished in this respect than has hitherto been performed, is incontestably proved by the multitude of striking comparisons contained in the concordance of Dr. Fürst.

In the lexicographical department of this work its author shows a constant endeavour, excited by the distinguished success which has attended the application of the science of comparative philology to the Indo-European languages, to burst asunder the bands that for a thousand years have held the Shemitish tongues in an isolated condition apart from every other. And in truth his deeply penetrating mind and extensive knowledge of the Indo-European as well as Shemitish languages, have enabled him to bring forward a host of cogent proofs in support of his theory of the original intimate relation if not identity of those primitive languages of the ancient world to which he gives the name of Sanscritico-Shemitish, and which comprise the Sanscrit family including the numerous dialects of India, the Medo-Persic, the Shemitish, the Græco-Latin, the Teutonic, and the Slavonic.

Such being the opinion of this eminent philologist, it becomes requisite for our own satisfaction to inquire into the reason of its adoption. This is not to be sought in the mere external form of these languages, since their striking dissimilarity in this respect is that which presents the greatest obstacles to their reunion under one head, and has hitherto caused those belonging to the Shemitish family to be considered as completely *sui generis*. In fact it was something lying far deeper in the philosophy of language than this: it was the perception and acknowledgment of a constant relation between the objective sound of a word and the subjective idea which called it into existence, an idea which must be radically and essentially the same in every human mind. In consequence of this relation between a word and its producing cause, the idea it conveys, and of the fundamentally uniform nature of a given idea by whomsoever entertained, it follows that even the words employed by different classes of men must bear the stamp of a common origin; notwithstanding that discrepancies may appear, owing to the variety of ways in which the same idea may be perceived by different individuals, and still more to the many influences acting upon the sound representing it both in its creation and during its whole existence.

This relation of a word to its originating idea is not to be looked for in all its parts as we now meet with it, or even as it was first produced; since nothing purely ideal can be endowed with a physical existence, without at the same time receiving some alloy:

> Dem Herrlichsten was auch der Geist empfangen
> Drängt immer fremd und fremder Stoff sich an.*

So that a word even in its purest and most genuine form will usually be found to contain some foreign admixture in addition to the sounds immediately related to the idea it expresses; a fact which Prof. Bopp, in following out and improving upon the views of the Indian grammarians, has developed with singular ingenuity and depth of research in his Sanscrit Grammar, when treating of the formation of words by the addition of Krit and Unâdi suffixes to primitive themes. A full and clear perception of this truth is of the greatest importance to the successful investigation of the etymological history of the Hebrew; since it affords the means both of uniting under single heads the greater part of its synonyms and of ascertaining the relations of its roots to those of other primitive tongues.

Formerly Hebrew roots were considered as indivisible totalities, each constituent part of which had an equal share in conveying the idea. Consequently each root preserved a distinct exclusiveness with regard to the rest, and was supposed to participate in a peculiarity pervading all the Shemitish languages, viz. that of being composed of three consonants. It being however perceived that many verbs of the same or a similar meaning had two radicals in common, while the third was an *imperfect* letter, lexicographers at length came to the conclusion that they must have been constructed from biliteral themes by the addition of a prefixed, affixed, or inserted imperfect letter to complete the usual triliteral form. These views were further extended by observing, on a comparison of the Hebrew roots with their cognates in Aramaic and Arabic, that certain classes of letters were frequently interchanged, especially those of the same or neighbouring organs, the liquids, and the quiescents. But although the roots of the several Shemitish languages were thus brought nearer together, the great majority of Hebrew synonyms continued to be regarded as destitute of any other etymological connexion.

* Göthe's Faust.

This supposition is successfully combated by Dr. Fürst, who has ascertained beyond doubt that the admixture to a primitive biliteral may and often does consist of a *perfect* letter. The investigations to which he was led by this discovery, have not only brought the great mass of Hebrew roots into close comparison with those of numerous other languages, but have also shown an interconnexion both in form and meaning between many of the former which had been regarded as entirely independent of each other. This he accomplishes by a skilful analysis of words and their elements, in order to distinguish between those sounds which are of importance as being strictly related to the ideas they convey, and those which are adscititious and therefore of no moment. Being however well aware that the further the province of a word is extended and the greater the allowances made for the changes to which sounds are liable, the more imminent is the danger of running into vague speculation and conjecture, he, before pronouncing as to the essentiality or non-essentiality of any of the elements of a word, carefully compares it with its cognates in the other Shemitish dialects and with all its derivatives and synonyms. He then concludes that the elements which are common to them all, constitute the real theme, and that the remainder, being mere admixtures, may safely be disregarded in further etymological comparisons.

Having thus ascertained the root, he next traces it through the principal languages of the Indo-European stock, thus giving it a greater historical development, and as it were setting the seal to his former discoveries. By this means he often succeeds in reducing a number of existing roots to a single primitive theme; while those which are no longer to be found in the language, and which lexicographers formerly attempted to supply directly from Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic sources, often in a very far-fetched and unsatisfactory manner, he clearly and naturally deduces from languages which, although less related to the Hebrew, belong indubitably to the same great class of tongues.

This analytical process he employs also in finding out the primary significations of roots, whence all their own acceptations as well as those of their derivatives naturally spring. Here too the danger of being confounded and misled by the numerous particulars which must be considered in order to arrive at correct conclusions, pointed out the necessity of establishing some guiding principle by which to regulate the investigation. Our author chose for this purpose the traditional

history of the significations of each word; having detailed these at length, he adopts them as the data on which to ground subsequent inquiries, and then proceeds to develope, unite, and complete them by means of his researches in comparative philology.

The success attending the constant and faithful application of this analytico-historical method of induction, caused him to lay down, in a previous work,* the following propositions as incontestable: "1. That there is no verbal or pronominal root in Hebrew or Aramaic which is not completely identical in primary form and meaning with those of the other Sanscritico-Shemitish languages; and that consequently the frame-work and plan of all the languages included under this designation must be in effect the same. This is not a mere lifeless unity of language, but an organic one, inspired by an animating principle throughout, with development and progress, growth and death, natural simplicity and unnatural artificiality, like man himself. 2. That the opinion maintained by the rational school of the fossilizing (Erstarrung) of the Shemitish roots in a certain number of consonants and syllables is without foundation, seeing that they are identical both in form and meaning with the Sanscrit. That the alleged incapacity for composition in the Shemitish roots is disproved by the historical comparison with those of the Sanscrit, from which it appears that a great part of them are composed of an original theme and a prepositional prefix. 3. That these prepositional prefixes which enter into the composition of the roots, and which are readily discernible by analysis in the initial non-radical syllable, have, as in the other families of tongues, strictly defined and permanent significations, which, as well as those of the themes themselves, are to be ascertained by historical comparison. 4. That this unity extends not only through the roots, but also through the primary and most predominant grammatical formations; in short every afformative has its history."

That the dazzling results of these bold and in general happy speculations have occasionally led this indefatigable scholar to too great length in slighting the labours of his predecessors, we cannot altogether deny: yet it would be doing his merits signal injustice were we not to acknowledge that the success which for the most part has crowned his exertions, clearly evinces the correctness of his views and also of the plan

* Perlenschnüre aramäischer Gnomen und Lieder, Vorrede, pp. 15, 16.

which they have induced him to adopt. Indeed we regard his work as the expositon of a new system in Hebrew lexicography, and one which we cannot doubt will in a short time be carried by the judicious application of the principles he has laid down to a degree of perfection of which no other language in the world can boast. To support these remarks by copious and appropriate examples would be an easy task, as such are furnished by almost every page; but, as we have already reached the limits assigned by us to this part of our subject, we will merely state in addition the outlines of the plan on which the lexicographical portion of the work is conducted, before proceeding to a consideration of its claims as a concordance properly so called.

Immediately under the word to be explained, and preceding the citation of the passages of Scripture containing it, is placed its etymological history and elucidation in rabbinic Hebrew and in Latin. The Hebrew part of the exposition, which is written in a pure and elegantly idiomatic style, comprises the traditional history of the word and its significations as given by ancient Jewish authorities. In the Latin, also remarkable for its beauty, this history is further carried out by means of an extensive and most ingenious comparison with its cognates in sound and meaning among the principal languages of the Sanscitico-Shemitish stock, as the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, German, &c., together with the expressions by which it is rendered in the Chaldee Targums, the ancient Greek versions, and the Latin Vulgate.

Before making our remarks on the work of Dr. Fürst in its quality of concordance, we shall offer some observations on the *objects*, *plan*, *use*, and *history* of concordances to the Hebrew Bible.

I. The *objects* of a complete Hebrew concordance require that it should embrace the following particulars:

1. All the principal words both notional and relational contained in the Hebrew Scriptures.

2. All the forms in which they appear.

3. All the connexions in which these forms are severally to be found with the places where they occur.

1. Every language possesses, as its material, a greater or less number of words. These consist of *notional* words, or such as convey the idea either of a material or immaterial existence, or of an action or state of being; and *relational* words, or those which serve to point out the relations which

such existences and actions bear to each other. The words of the first class are divided into nouns, pronouns, and verbs; those of the second are collectively termed particles.

These words are either created immediately upon the conception of the ideas they convey, through the agency of the organs of speech, and hence receive the name of *primitives;* or they are constructed in various ways from the elements of other words already in existence and representing some analogous idea, whence they are called *derivatives.* Now as the formation of neither of these species of words can precede the conception of the ideas which they represent, and can at most only be contemporary with such conceptions, the number of words composing a nation's language must depend entirely on that of its ideas; or, in other words, on the nature of the external world by which it is surrounded, and the amount and quality of the intellectual cultivation it may receive.

But the circumstances of a people's existence are subject to continual changes, which exert a powerful influence on the national idiosyncrasy; consequently its stock of ideas, and together with them the words which serve as their exponents, will be liable to corresponding fluctuations, such as the introduction of new terms, the attributing of new significations to the old, and finally the rejection of them altogether. The changes superinduced in the language of a nation by its external circumstances are not more numerous than those which result from the improvement or deterioration of the general state of its intellectual culture; for the mental faculties of a nation, like those of an individual, may either remain through neglect in an undeveloped state, or be brought by assiduous cultivation to the highest perfection. And hence, as long as a people retain the same language for the communication of their wants, feelings, and ideas, its richness or poverty will serve as an exact index to the degree of development to which the national mind has attained.

As all living languages are in this constant state of mutation, it is impossible to construct lexicons for them which shall remain even tolerably complete for more than a limited space of time. This however is not the case with the Hebrew, which has ceased to be a living tongue for more than two thousand years, and whose whole authentic remains are contained in the small number of books composing the Old Testament. This fact, together with the important character of the sacred writings, on the knowledge of which our tem-

poral and eternal happiness depends, long ago suggested the idea of making a systematic collection of all the words contained in the Bible, with all their forms and connexions and the places in which they are found, to serve as a perpetual guide to the thorough understanding of the sacred volume. A concordance then differs from a lexicon principally in this, that while the chief object of the latter is the scientific exposition of the various shades of meaning which words convey, that of the former is to show where these words occur.

2. The notional words in Hebrew appear in a variety of forms, produced by changes in their vowels and consonants, and by the addition of initial and final augments. The principal changes to which verbs are subjected consist in the inflections made use of to distinguish the different species, modes, tenses, persons, and numbers, in which they are employed. Those which nouns undergo are produced by the influence of the pause accents, by passing from the absolute to the construct state, and in forming the plural number. Every part of speech may receive accessory letters of different kinds in the shape of prefixes and affixes. In the concordance all the forms to which these changes and additions give rise should constitute distinct heads arranged in a proper order; so that any one of them may instantly be found, and the number of times it occurs ascertained.

3. As the significations of words are affected in no slight degree by their various connexions, it is requisite, as we have already observed, that the concordance should give these connexions also, by quoting with sufficient fulness the passages in which a word is contained; and in order that the inquirer may be enabled to turn to their places in the text for his further satisfaction, they should be accompanied by references to the book, chapter, and verse whence they are taken.

II. Having now briefly described what the objects embraced by a concordance render necessary that it should contain, we next proceed to a delineation of the *plan* on which it should be conducted so as to facilitate its use to the utmost. In the first place, then, the author must decide upon what is to constitute the governing principle of the whole arrangement, —whether signification or grammatical form. He has next to determine upon the order in which to dispose the words, viz. whether to commence with the simple forms of a primitive word and its derivatives, and then give the different shapes arising from inflection and from the reception of prefixes and affixes; or whether first to go through all the

forms of the primitive and afterwards those of each derivative in regular succession. The proper arrangement of the quotations also demands some consideration; since various reasons may be urged in favour of placing the books in the order of the Hebrew Bible, in that of the Vulgate, or in that of the periods in which they were composed. These are some of the principal points which must engage the attention of the compiler of a Hebrew concordance; and on the justness of his conclusions with regard to them the utility of his work will in great measure depend.

In stating our own views on the subject we have no hesitation in giving the preference to a plan founded on the scientific principle of disposing words in the order of their grammatical development, and combining, as far as may be practicable, the advantages of the alphabetical arrangement. Thus, the verb should be divided into its several species of Kal, Niph'hal, Pi'hel, Pu'hal, Hiph'hil, Hoph'hal, and Hithpa'hel, and each treated separately in course. The modes of each species should succeed each other in the following order: the Indicative, comprising the preterite and future tenses; the Imperative, which being formed from the future, should be placed immediately after it: the Infinitive; and lastly the Participle, which as well as the infinitive is a verbal noun, and receives for the most part the same prefixes and suffixes as other nouns.

The two tenses should be subjected to a further subdivision depending on number and person, and arranged as follows: first, the third pers. masc. sing., since it usually constitutes the root of the verb; next, the third pers. fem. sing.; then, the sec. pers. masc. sing., &c., as laid down in most grammars of the language. For the sake of uniformity the same arrangement should be observed in the future tense, since no regular disposition of the persons can be effected by observing the alphabetical order of their preformatives. The persons of each tense are to be subdivided according to their vowel changes and the suffixes they may receive, and these again according to their prefixes. The imperative is to be treated in all respects like the future.

The infinitives and participles should be divided into absolute and construct, and the latter also into singular and plural. Besides these divisions, to which all other nouns are to be subjected, participles and adjectives are still further subdivided into masculine and feminine. Suffixes and prefixes give rise to new subdivisions in the nouns as well as in the verbs.

The order then in which the different parts of a verb and the nouns derived from it will succeed each other according to this method is as follows. First we have the third pers. masc. sing. preterite Kal of the verb, as for instance קָטַל, and immediately under it the passages of the Bible in which it appears. The next is the form קָטָל, which differs from the preceding only by a vowel change arising from the reception of a pause-accent; here too, as in all other instances, the quotations containing the word are placed directly beneath it. The same word is again given, accompanied by its prefixes; thus וְקָטַל, הַקָּטַל. It next appears with the pronominal suffixes, arranged in the order of the persons, first, second, and third; and each, like the nude form, with its prefixes, e. g. 1. קְטָלַנִי, הַקְּטָלַנִי, וּקְטָלַנִי; 2 m. קְטָלְךָ, &c. &c. When the third pers. masc. sing. of the verb is thus disposed of, the third pers. fem. is treated in the same manner; and so on through all the persons and both numbers of the preterite, future, and imperative of the Kal species.

After the imperative are placed the verbal nouns belonging to the species, viz. the infinitive and participle. The infinitive is given first in the nude form of the absolute, as קָטֹל, and then with ה interrogative and ו conjunctive. This is followed by the construct state, first with the prepositions כְּ, בְּ, לְ, מִן alone; and next with the personal pronouns both without and with the prepositions, thus קָטְלִי, בְּקָטְלִי, &c.; קָטְלְךָ, בְּקָטְלְךָ, &c. &c. Of the participles active and passive the masculine form is gone through first, both singular and plural, and afterwards the feminine; both numbers being subjected to a subdivision according to their suffixes and prefixes, similar to that of the infinitive.

All the forms belonging to Kal being thus exhausted, the remaining species are treated in the same manner, until the entire verb has been disposed of. The derivative nouns from the same root are then taken up, beginning with the simplest and ending with the most complex: accordingly we have first those which are derived from the root by a mere vowel change, next those which receive a preformative or afformative letter or syllable, and lastly such as take both.

The passages quoted from the Bible should succeed each other in the order of chronology, as this will assist the inquirer in ascertaining the comparative antiquity of the various senses in which a word may be employed.

III. The above is our opinion as to the mode which should

be pursued in constructing a Hebrew concordance so as to be most conveniently and profitably consulted. We have now to speak concerning the *uses* to which a properly executed work of this description is capable of being applied. In so doing, our remarks will apply to the assistance it gives, 1. to an editor of the Hebrew Scriptures, as affording the best means of restoring and preserving the purity of the text; 2. to the Hebrew lexicographer and grammarian; 3. to the interpreter of Scripture and to biblical students in general.

1. The most important service which a concordance renders to the editor of a Hebrew Bible, is that of enabling him, by consulting the fragments of the Masora, to apply at once to the original sources of information respecting the true orthography of doubtful words, instead of being under the necessity of blindly following in the track of his predecessors, perpetuating if not indeed aggravating the errors they may have committed. In order to place this fact in its clearest light, we will here give a brief account of the Masora itself.

The word *Masora* (מסורה), or *Masoreth* (מסורת), signifying *tradition*, is used to denote a collection of critical remarks relative to the text of the Hebrew Scriptures, which, according to the Talmudists, was settled by the High Synod, an assembly of the most wise and learned men of the Jewish nation, constituted immediately after the return from the Babylonian captivity, with Ezra the high priest at their head. These are said to have collected the numerous ancient traditions respecting the divisions, verses, words, letters, and points of the Bible, and to have employed them in a thorough revision of the text, undertaken with the view of restoring it if possible to its pristine purity, and of guarding against its subsequent deterioration. The mass of ancient critical remarks thus brought together, with the additions made to them by the members of the Synod, continued to be preserved and taught in the schools of Judea until about the middle of the third century of the Christian era, when the chief seat of Jewish learning was removed to Babylon. There, according to the Jewish Chronicles, it continued to flourish for a space of eight hundred years, when at length the schools were broken up, and the learned men scattered through Spain and other parts of Europe. About the beginning of the sixteenth century the fragments of the Masora were collected, revised, and published by R. Jacob ben Hhayim in the Rabbinical Bible printed by Daniel Bomberg at Venice.

The Masora is divided into *greater* and *less;* or, more

properly speaking, there are two Masoras, which respectively bear these appellations. The greater Masora, which formerly constituted a large independent work, is printed in Bomberg's Bible in the margin of the text, both above and beneath it, and likewise down the side when the brevity of the Rabbinical commentary leaves room. It states the number of times that words of uncommon occurrence are to be found in the Pentateuch or in the whole Bible; how often words appear in unusual connexions; how often they receive certain vowels and accents; and how often words usually written fully, i. e. with one of the semivowels, are to be found defective or without them, and *vice versa*. It also points out the K'ri and C'thibh, and records the number of sections, verses, words, and even letters in each book and in the entire Bible. The lesser Masora consists of extracts from the greater, and is commonly placed between the text and the Rabbinical commentaries. It is composed chiefly of numeral letters and abbreviations, showing how often certain words occur in the Bible, but without quoting or referring to the passages where they are found, except in the case of such as appear only twice. The greater Masora gives the passages although not their places.

Many attempts have been made by Jewish writers to determine the date of the origin of the Masoretic scholia, and to account for the various readings they exhibit, without at the same time impugning the integrity of the sacred text. The principal opinions broached by them on this subject are as follows.

Aphodi, in the seventh chapter of his grammatical treatise, says that "Ezra the high priest endeavoured to correct all the faults of manuscripts, as did also to the utmost of their abilities the learned men who succeeded him, in order that they might hand them down to us in a perfect state. To this end they numbered the sections, verses, words, and letters of the Bible, noting those words which were written fully, defectively, and irregularly, together with the different opinions of the learned concerning them. All these observations they collected into books, which form the fragments of the Masora; and in those places where they found mistakes or disputes, they put the various readings in the form of K'ri and C'thibh."

With this statement Kimhhi in the main agrees. In the preface to his commentary on the historical books of the Old Testament he observes: "It would appear that these words (viz. those with respect to which a diversity of opinion is expressed in the Masora) were found variously written in dif-

ferent manuscripts: for during the first captivity the sacred books became lost or corrupted, and the learned men died; so that when the High Synod, who undertook the restoration of the text, found their manuscripts to disagree, they followed the majority in the text, and placed the variations in the margin."

This theory of Aphodi and Kimhhi, however, is strongly opposed by Abarbanel in the preface to his commentary on Jeremiah, where he makes the following remarks: "1st. How can any one believe and maintain that Ezra could possibly have found the Book of the Law and the Prophets defective or corrupt—that Book of which, if a single word or letter be wanting, no use can ever be made? yet according to these writers there must be wanting many letters!

"2dly. If it were true that after Ezra's having found in the manuscripts corrupt or doubtful words, he, being uncertain as to which was the true reading, placed one in the text and the other in the margin, or pointed the words in the text according to a reading different from that indicated by the letters, wherefore do we always adhere to the K'ri and disregard the C'thibh? or wherefore did Ezra always point according to the K'ri? and if he considered those to be the genuine readings, why did he not insert them in the text, and place the C'thibh in the margin?

"3dly. If the K'ri and C'thibh owe their origin to the corruptions that took place during the captivity, and thus be the work of mere accident, whence comes it that the same word appears in different places with the same K'ri and C'thibh? Thus, for example, we frequently find צבאים in the K'ri for צביים in the C'thibh, נערה for נער; and always טחורים for עפלים, and ישכבנה for ישגלנה, which cannot assuredly be the result of chance."

The conclusion to which Abarbanel comes, is, that Ezra and his contemporaries found the Book of the Law in a perfect condition. He supposes that Ezra, before settling the vowel-points, accents, and the division into verses, subjected the text to a thorough revision; and that those words which exhibited some singularity of form or construction he either considered as written so intentionally and with some mysterious import, on which account he left them as they stood in the text, and placed in the margin the word or form which grammatical analogy or the context seemed to require; or possibly he regarded them as arising from negligence or ignorance of the proper orthography, in short as errors of the

prophet's own making (כשגנה היוצא מלפני השליט), and therefore, not venturing to alter the writings of those who spoke by inspiration, inserted in the margin his corrections, in making which he doubtless only followed the opinions of antiquity which had reached him by tradition.

This writer is opposed in turn by R. Jacob ben Hhayim, the editor of Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible. Although he agrees with Abarbanel in rejecting the supposition of Aphodi and Kimhhi, that Ezra found the manuscripts to differ from each other; yet he will not allow that the K'ri could in any way have proceeded from Ezra, it being contrary to the authority of the Talmud, which declares that Moses received them on Mount Sinai. Thus R. Gedalya, in Shalsheleth Hakkabala, says, "I am persuaded that all these things, (i. e. those of which the Masora treats) were delivered to Moses on Sinai, and afterwards neglected and forgotten in the lapse of time; or else they were never committed to writing, until the members of the Great Synod performed that service, and communicated them to all Israel." The same sentiments are delivered by R. Isaac in the Mikra Sopherim.

From this, says Ben Hhayim, it is evident that the K'ri are to be considered as a series of observations on certain strange forms of the C'thibh, collected indeed and applied by Ezra, but proceeding from Moses himself; while the hypothesis of Abarbanel, that they may have originated in the carelessness of the prophets, is scarcely worthy a serious refutation. For how can it for a moment be imagined that the inspired penmen were liable to error from such a cause? and if they had suffered an occasional orthographical mistake to escape them in the ardour of composition, is it to be supposed that they would not afterwards have taken the pains to correct them? Yet we find the same K'ri and C'thibh repeatedly occurring in Jeremiah, whose prophecy contains *one hundred and thirty-three* of these various readings!

Again, in the tract Sopherim (ch. 6) it is stated that three manuscripts were found by Ezra; that in one of them was written מעון אלהי קדם, and in the other two מעונה וגו', upon which he adopted the latter reading and disregarded the former. So too he found in one manuscript ואל זטוטי בני ישראל and in the remaining two ואל אצילי בני ישראל, and in like manner decided according to the majority. From this R. Jacob proceeds to argue against the opinion of Abarbanel that Ezra wrote the K'ri because he doubted the correctness of the C'thibh; for, says he, if this were true, why did he not, as in

the cases just mentioned, consult the manuscripts in his possession, and follow the testimony of the majority? And if all the manuscripts agreed, why did he not show how those words are to be read in the synagogue roll, concerning which it is commanded that not one letter be pronounced which is not written? Again, if Ezra were in reality the author of the K'ri, how could the custom which now obtains ever have arisen, of reading in accordance with it and neglecting the C'thibh, which all acknowledge to have proceeded from the finger of God? In this way he comes to the conclusion, agreeably to the doctrine of the Talmud, that all the K'ri and C'thibh were delivered to Moses on Sinai, excepting the instances mentioned in the tract Sopherim, where Ezra was in doubt, in consequence of the discrepancy of manuscripts, and followed the majority.

Yet, notwithstanding the great antiquity and consequent high authority, which are thus ascribed to the Masora, we meet with a number of cases in which the Masora and the Talmud disagree. Thus we read in the tract Nidda: "In the passage והנשא אותם יכבס בגדיו (Lev. 15: 10), the word והנשא is written defectively;" but the Masora affirms it to be written fully. In the tract Shabbath, Rabbi Huna says, "In the word מעבירם (1 Sam. 2: 24), the plural termination is defective." Jarchi expresses his astonishment at this, and declares it to be erroneous; since the most correct editions give the word fully מעבירים, and the great Masora makes no mention of its being defective. Jarchi, however, was not warranted in contravening the statement of R. Huna on this latter account, since he himself is frequently found to differ from the Masora; and in this he is by no means alone among the Rabbinical writers.

In consequence of the opinion expressed by the Talmudists relative to the origin of the Masora, to which they give the name of סיג לתורה, or *hedge around the law*, it has for ages been regarded as an authority superior to the Talmud itself. And although we cannot concur in assigning to the Masora the high antiquity claimed for it, or in considering the various readings which it points out as indicative of certain mysterious significations, we are still compelled to acknowledge the unwearied assiduity of those men, whoever they were, who exerted their best efforts in endeavouring to remove from the written word of God the slight yet numerous imperfections by which it had gradually become defaced. The Masora in fact is a most important and useful collection of an-

cient critical remarks, the constant consultation of which is indispensably necessary to every editor of a Hebrew Bible who is inspired with the laudable ambition of improving upon the labours of those who have gone before him; for the mind gifted with the highest critical powers will not refuse assent to the truth of the Talmudic axiom: the older the tradition, the greater its authenticity (כל הישן מחבירו הוי יפה מחבירו).

But how are the secret recesses of the Masora to be penetrated, and its abundant materials rendered accessible for use? This can be accomplished only with the assistance of a competent guide, and such a guide is the concordance. By means of it the inquirer is enabled to ascertain, from the forms and connexions of the words referred to by the Masora, their places in the Bible; and is thus relieved from the necessity of relying upon the correctness and completeness of the testimony of others. The learned Ben Hhayim thus expresses his sense of the services rendered him by R. Nathan's Concordance (of which hereafter) in making use of the Masora, as well as in collecting its fragments from the different manuscripts in which it was contained:

"In performing the revision of the biblical text, the task of finding out the verses would have been impossible for me, without knowing the whole of the Bible by heart, which I do not; so that if I had not had the assistance of a book called a concordance, which a learned man, R. Isaac Nathan by name, about forty years ago composed and printed here at Venice, I must have resigned my undertaking. This is a precious work, which enumerates and explains all the members of the Holy Scriptures, placing every noun and verb with its like, and stating at the head the meaning or meanings of each word, according to which the different passages are divided and enumerated, with references to book, chapter, and verse; so that one may find any word both quickly and easily. The advantages of such a work are incalculable, and without it the Masora cannot be made use of: for if we wish to find a verse which it (the Masora) quotes, we know not in what book it is to be sought; and should we happen to know the book, we have still to hunt out the section and the verse. Whoever possesses this book, can dispense with Kimhhi's Otsar Hashshorashim:* in short, deprived of its aid, I never could have performed what I have."

* We have already mentioned the high estimation in which this lexicon is held among the Jews.

2. The utility of the concordance is not limited to furnishing good editions of the Sacred Scriptures; it likewise extends to the obtaining of an accurate knowledge of their contents. This it accomplishes in good measure by the aid it affords the Hebrew lexicographer. We shall, perhaps, make ourselves better understood, if we commence our remarks on this topic by concisely stating the objects which the lexicographer should have in view, and the means at his command for effecting them.

The principal objects then of the Hebrew lexicographer should be, to ascertain the primitive words or roots of the language; to exhibit in the natural order of their development the derivatives which spring from them; to state the primary and secondary significations of each of these classes of words; and to show the degree of relationship which the various meanings of words from the same root bear to each other and to the primitive idea.

In order to comply with these numerous requisitions (supposing him to be without the assistance of any previous work of the kind), he must begin by seeking out all the words in the Bible, and arranging them under their several roots in the order of their derivation and inflection. This done, he has next to ascertain their precise significations, in which he is aided by the meanings of words from cognate roots; the context, which frequently either settles the meaning of a word beyond a doubt, or furnishes the strongest presumptive evidence towards a decision; the ancient versions and commentaries, which often contain important traditional information, reaching back to the period when the language was yet a living one; and lastly, the cognate dialects, which the great progress made of late years in the science of comparative philology renders of immense utility.

Of all the means which the lexicographer has thus at his disposal, those afforded by the Bible itself, in exhibiting all the forms and connexions in which words are employed, undoubtedly rank the first. And it is only when this evidence has been carefully consulted, that other sources of information are to be resorted to, either for the purpose of confirming the testimony when sufficiently full and explicit, or of completing it when defective. One who, neglecting this fundamental precept, hastens to other quarters in search of aid, before having completely ascertained and duly considered that which the sacred volume offers for its own elucidation, runs into imminent danger להניח זרים בהיכל הקודש שלא לצורך

"of leading strangers into the holy temple without need," an error which has already been too often committed, and is even now by no means of unfrequent occurrence.

In Hebrew, as in other languages, some primitive words have few or no derivatives, while from others a large number are formed in a great variety of ways. Again, in some cases derivative words are found to have survived their primitives, which can now be discovered only by analogy, or by having recourse to the cognate tongues. A word has often many different shades of meaning, which depend in a great measure on the connexions in which it is placed. The significations too of the various forms which a word assumes, as, for example, the several species of the verb, often differ essentially from each other; while those of its derivatives are still more widely separated. These derivative words and meanings, however, must all, if possible, be exhibited in a natural relation to each other as well as to the original word and its primary signification.

The means for prosecuting the inquiries necessary to the proper accomplishment of this object are abundantly furnished by the Hebrew concordance. For, besides exhibiting all the words of the Bible with their connexions and the places where found, it is also of essential service in consulting the ancient Jewish glosses and interpretations. These, although containing much that may be made available for lexicographical purposes, are yet composed with such a total want of system, that access to the valuable hints they afford respecting the etymology of words can often be obtained only by means of a concordance; the reason being that a word is often passed by several times without remark, and is afterwards commented upon when occurring in some subsequent passage.

Of no less importance is the concordance to the Hebrew grammarian. As far as relates to the doctrine of the derivation of words, and the modifications of meaning accompanying the changes in form which take place in the process, the several duties of the lexicographer and grammarian may be said to coincide. But in addition to this, the latter is required to ascertain the laws on which depend the orthographical changes arising during inflection, and to account on natural principles for the origin of such forms as may deviate more or less from those in which the genius of the language usually exhibits itself. Besides these subjects of inquiry, which belong to the department of etymology, the grammarian has

also to investigate the principles which regulate the use of all these forms and inflections for the purpose of expressing the various operations of the human mind, and which constitute what is called the syntax.

Now the facts from which a knowledge of these principles as relates to the Hebrew language is to be derived, lie scattered through the Bible; and they must first be collected and systematized before the grammarian can hope to obtain that comprehensive view of them which is indispensable to his success. Thus, in order to ascertain the rules on which the inflections of nouns depend, it is necessary to trace a number of individuals of this part of speech through all the modifications of which they are susceptible. But what an expenditure of time and labour would it require, to hunt for them through a book of such extent as the Hebrew Bible? The difficulties in the way of making similar investigations with regard to the verbs, owing to the number and variety of their forms, would be, if not insurmountable, at least incomparably greater. In addition to the regular inflections of the language, the abnormal forms, as we have already observed, must also be stated and explained in the grammar; yet how is this to be done in a proper manner unless every passage be known in which a given word in any of its forms occurs? The concordance alone can give the information required.

3. If it be allowed that the concordance serves as the foundation to Hebrew lexicons and grammars, and is consequently superior in authority to them all, it follows that it must be of the greatest value to the biblical interpreter, whose success in elucidating the Scriptures depends in good measure on the extent and accuracy of his knowledge of the language in which they are contained. Morever, the strength of the intelligent interpreter consists chiefly in bringing forward new suggestions on difficult points, and in supporting them by the appropriate citation of parallel passages, which makes the Bible its own expositor; for this the concordance is peculiarly intended. He will also find it of great assistance in turning to the productions of the ancient Jewish commentators, which, owing to their absence of method, would otherwise be exceedingly difficult to consult.

The use of the concordance in an exegetical point of view is not confined to the finished Hebrew scholar, who aims at carrying forward the science of the language; it extends also to the far more numerous class of students who have acquired sufficient knowledge of it to enable them to consult, and even

peruse their Hebrew Bibles, but who do not possess that familiar acquaintance with its minutiæ, which alone can confer the power of deciding in all cases with certainty respecting grammatical forms. The liability of such to error is greatest with respect to the most important part of speech, viz. the verbs, of which there are a multitude of similar and abnormal forms, the confounding of which may lead to serious errors of interpretation. A concordance in a great measure obviates these difficulties; since, by presenting the student in regular order with all the forms of every word, it affords an instantaneous solution of many a doubt, which he might be unable to solve by means of the grammar and lexicon alone.

From the preceding observations on the utility of the concordance to different classes of scholars, it will be obvious that it constitutes the foundation of the whole apparatus of biblical learning. This has so long been apparent to those who have reflected on the subject, that even while the art of printing was yet in its infancy, and when the undertaking of large and expensive publications was attended with much greater difficulty and risk of pecuniary loss than at the present day, we find voluminous concordances in different languages issuing from the press, whose magnitude and laborious execution challenges our admiration.

4. We will now complete what we have to say on concordances in general by a short history of such works to the present time. And as our principal object in undertaking this sketch is to give an account of concordances to the Hebrew Bible, we will first briefly mention those compiled for the Latin Vulgate, previous to the publication of the first of the Hebrew concordances, and then confine our observations to the latter.

The author of the first Latin concordance, or rather of the first rudiments of one, for it appears to have been little more, was Antonio de Padua, a Spanish Franciscan, who lived during the pontificate of Gregory IX., and who for his wonderful facility in quoting the Scriptures received from that Pope the title Ark of the Covenant. He died in 1231. The second concordance to the Vulgate, which indeed was the first worthy of the name, was the production of the celebrated Cardinal Hugo, considered by many to have been the author of the existing division of the Bible into chapters, and who died at Rome in the year 1262. His work included only the common nouns and verbs. The third of the kind

was that of Pere Arloto, a native of Tuscany, who lived under the emperor Adolphus, about the close of the thirteenth century. With him was contemporary Conrad of Halberstadt, a German priest and professor of theology, who rendered the concordance more complete by the introduction of the particles. This department, however, remained in an extremely defective state until the year 1430, when Johannes de Segovia, a Toledan canon, published one containing the particles alone, which cost himself and an assistant the labour of five years.

The first concordance to the Hebrew Bible was that composed by Rabbi Isaac* Nathan, who was occupied in the work ten years, and completed it in 1448. According to the account given by himself in the preface, it was a mere translation or counterpart of a Latin concordance, which R. Gedalya in his historical work, the Shalsheleth Hakkabala, affirms to have been that of Arloto. The principal inducement to this undertaking, as R. Nathan assures us, was, that he might furnish his co-religionists with a controversial weapon which had been employed against himself by Christian theologians with the greatest effect. So high was his opinion of the value of such a work, and so earnestly did he desire to see it in the hands of his people, that he confesses himself to have hastened its publication at the expense of its completeness.

We find accordingly, on examining the work, that it contains only the principal words of the language, the verbs and nouns. The omission of the particles he endeavours to excuse, partly on the ground of their want of independent signification, and partly on that of the immense number of times they occur, which would have rendered their insertion a task infinitely tedious and laborious. For this reason also he omits the proper names. The execution of the work does not betray those marks of haste which the author's impatience in urging it forward might lead us to expect; but we cannot say as much for its plan, which is both ill-digested and inconvenient. Of this the following sketch will suffice.

* In the title of his work he is styled R. *Mordecai* Nathan, and in the preface R. *Isaac*. This discrepancy is conjectured by Buxtorf, with great probability, to have been the result of a severe sickness, during which he changed his name; a practice observed even among the Jews of the present day, and which is prescribed in the Talmud, with the view that the sufferer may thenceforth be regarded by God as a new being, and thus be delivered from the fate to which he appeared devoted.

The roots are in large square characters without points, and accompanied by their meanings in Rabbinic Hebrew. Under each one are arranged all the words belonging to it, without any other regard to system than the placing of them according to the books of the Bible in which they are found. Thus, for example, under the root אבר is first given the head בראשית (Genesis), and immediately after it all the passages of this book which contain any form of any word belonging to אבר, with references at the side to chapter and verse in Hebrew numerals; next follow all the passages from Exodus under the head שמות, and afterwards, in regular succession, those from the remaining books. A feature of the work which we have not yet noticed is, that whenever a root has two or more significations, each of them is made to constitute a great division, under which are placed all the passages in which, according to the author's opinion, that particular meaning obtains. In carrying out this part of his plan he appears to have experienced no inconsiderable degree of difficulty; for, besides placing words under the wrong signification, which he not unfrequently does, we find that he sometimes inserts the same passage under different heads, as though unable or unwilling to decide as to the proper one. Words which are derived from roots formed by the addition of different weak letters and liquids to a common biliteral theme, and bearing the same general meaning, are placed by the author together under the triliteral most in use; in this manner he intermingles words from איש and אנש, from בוש and יבש, from ישב and נשב, from קוץ and קצה, &c. Since his chief object was to enable the inquirer to find a given word or passage, he takes no notice of words written fully or defectively, or of the K'ri or C'thibh. The Hebrew Bible having not yet been divided into chapters, he makes use of the divisions of the Latin Vulgate which he found in his original; the references to them are by no means free from errors, yet they are far from abounding to the degree which might have been anticipated from the hasty manner in which the book was published.

One of the most serious faults of R. Nathan's plan is that of arranging words in the order of the places where they occur, and not according to their grammatical forms. By this means serious obstacles are presented to the ready consultation of the work even for the purpose of finding a given word or passage; for should the inquirer not know beforehand in what book it is to be found, he will probably be compelled to wade through several pages of quotations before obtaining the in-

formation required. These inconveniences are greatly augmented in the case of the lexicographer or grammarian, who desires to know to what derivatives each root has given birth and in what forms they are used; since to ascertain this he must examine each article from beginning to end, in order that facts may not escape him which a properly constructed concordance would exhibit at a single glance.*

The first edition of R. Nathan's Concordance was published by Daniel Bomberg at Venice in 1523; and the second by Ambrose Froben, the son of the friend and patron of Erasmus, at Basle, in 1581; this corrected some of the errors of the former, but introduced no improvements. The third was that of Mario de Calasio, Hebrew professor at Rome, which appeared in 1621 in four volumes folio. Many of the errors both in the quotations and references of the preceding editions were here corrected; yet the general plan of the work was suffered to remain untouched. Its immense increase in size was in part owing to the insertion of most of the Chaldee words in Daniel and Ezra, the appending of a Latin translation to Nathan's expositions of the meanings of the roots with additions by the editor, and the citation and explanation of cognate terms and synonyms from the Rabbinic, Aramaic, and Arabic. But what principally contributed to swell the bulk of this edition was a literal Latin version of all the quoted passages placed at the side of the text, with citations in the margin of the places in which the Septuagint and Vulgate differ from the interpretation given. The proper names of persons and places were also added in the form of an appendix.

The radical defects and numerous errors which still disfigured the Hebrew concordance caused the elder Buxtorf to undertake the compilation of a new one, which, besides being more complete and correct than either of its predecessors, should also be arranged on a more scientific and convenient plan. To this he was especially induced by the essential service the concordance had rendered him in editing Bomberg's rabbinical Bible, even while his attention was continually drawn to its many imperfections. The admirable performance in which his labours resulted was published after his death under the superintendence of his learned son,

* What will the reader think when informed that we have now before us a prospectus lately issued in London for the publication of a concordance, dedicated by permission to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, which is faithfully to copy the very plan we have now been deprecating?

at Basle, in 1632, and has been the standard work ever since. As the chief merit of Buxtorf's Concordance consists rather in its new and excellent plan than in the amount of its corrections and additions, we will describe it somewhat in detail.

The roots are arranged in the same manner as in Kimhhi's lexicon, that is, the triliterals are placed in alphabetical order and the multiliterals are collected together at the end of each letter of the alphabet. The root is followed by R. Nathan's Hebrew exposition and its substance in Latin. The various inflections of the root and its derivatives then succeed each other in regular grammatical order. Not only every word, but also every one of its forms, whether arising from the mere change of a vowel or consonant, or from the reception of an augment, is made to constitute a separate head. These are printed in smaller characters than the root, and are accompanied by a Latin translation, and followed by the passages from the Bible in which they occur, with reference to book, chapter, and verse.

The verb is given first, beginning with the Kal species in all its modes, tenses, numbers, and persons, and proceeding with the remainder in the order in which they are treated in the grammars. Each species is subdivided as follows: 1. The Preterite tense, the persons of which are placed in the order of third, second, and first; the reason, as we have before mentioned, being that the third person constitutes the root. Each person is divided into several heads according to the suffixes it receives, and these are subjected to a further subdivision depending on the prefixes. 2. The Participles, subdivided according to their numbers, genders, suffixes, and prefixes. 3. The Infinitive in all its forms. 4. The Imperative. 5. The Future tense, divided and subdivided in the same manner as the preterite, excepting only the arrangement of the persons, which is here reversed, probably because the first commences with א. When the verb has been completed, the nouns belonging to the same root are introduced in the order of their development. These as well as the infinitives and participles are divided according to their inflections and to the suffixes and prefixes they may receive, in the manner prescribed in the portion of our article relating to the plan of a concordance.

The concordance is thus made to embrace all the verbs and common nouns of the language extant in the Bible, excepting a few that are not inserted on account of their extremely frequent occurrence. The particles, whether derived

from verbs or nouns, are entirely omitted, as are also the proper names. The biblical Chaldee, added by the younger Buxtorf, is not intermingled with the Hebrew, but is placed by itself at the end of the volume. The words of the quoted passages are in general given fully or defectively, as they stand in the text, but the various readings indicated by the K'ri and C'thibh are allowed to go unnoticed. The references to book, chapter, and verse, are given, as in the work of R. Nathan, in Hebrew letters; the order of the books adopted by the latter, which, as we have seen, is that of the Vulgate, is likewise retained.

Buxtorf succeeded in a great measure in correcting the most prominent faults of his predecessor by constructing his plan on a grammatical basis, not only separating the primitive and derivative words, but also making each form of a word a distinct head. These improvements rendered the concordance so well adapted to the uses for which it is designed, that the work of Buxtorf retained its preëminence for more than two centuries, a proud testimony to the extensive learning, and the praiseworthy industry of its author. When speaking of the deficiencies which the advanced state of modern science enables us to discern in the works of such men, we should do it in the spirit of filial veneration which prompted the Talmudic expression employed by himself with reference to his predecessors: מקום הניחו אבותינו להתגדר בו *our fathers have left room for improvement.*

The faults of plan and execution with which the work of Buxtorf is fairly chargeable, although comparatively few, are yet sufficiently numerous to render an improved edition desirable, and indeed necessary for the present age. The defects of its plan are seen chiefly in the lexicographical portion, and in the influence this was suffered to exert upon the conduct of the entire work. Although it is not clear that a concordance should be required to embody a lexicon within itself, yet when this is undertaken, it is to be expected that it will offer at least the results of the most important lexicographical discoveries and improvements that have been made till the time of its publication. As we have already mentioned, the lexicographical remarks of Buxtorf are taken almost wholly from the meagre statements of R. Nathan respecting the significations of words as determined by their use in the Bible, or by Rabbinical commentators. This perhaps was doing as much as could be expected in the then state of lexicographical science; but as every department of

philology has of late years been brought to a higher point of perfection than at any former period, Buxtorf's work has come to be regarded with all its acknowledged excellence as wanting in many important particulars.

The influence which Buxtorf's lexicographical views had upon the arrangement of the concordance was of greater detriment than their more immediate consequences, since they caused him to follow Nathan in arranging the words of each root under the several meanings assigned to it in the outset. The author's intention in so doing was doubtless to increase the value of his work to students of the Hebrew, by affording them the means of ascertaining with certainty the literal meaning of every passage of Scripture. But in reality this was a serious defect, since by distributing passages which contain the same word under various heads, the work is rendered more troublesome to consult, and, what is worse, the chief ends of a concordance are in a great measure defeated by fettering the judgment of the lexicographer and interpreter, for whose decisions it should merely furnish the materials.

These faults in the plan of Buxtorf's work in addition to many in its execution, as for instance the omission of hundreds of citations and even entire articles, besides a multitude of typographical errors, all combine to insure a favourable reception for a new concordance designed to embody the improvements which the progress of philological science, and the accumulation of materials, have now rendered both practicable and requisite. And we feel happy in being able to state, after a careful examination of the work of Dr. Julius Fürst, that as a concordance it completely answers every reasonable demand, while its excellence in point of lexicography is such as to exceed the most sanguine expectations. This latter subject we have already discussed in the early part of our article; it therefore remains for us only to offer a few observations on the author's concordance, properly so called, as distinguished from that of Buxtorf.

He gives in the same manner and order as Buxtorf the forms of words both primitive and derivative; but by placing together all the passages which contain words agreeing in form and grammatical derivation, and differing only in use, he leaves the precise significations of words to be ascertained from the connexions, aided by his own masterly etymologico-historical illustrations, and thus avoids the grave error into which Buxtorf had suffered himself to be led by the example

of his predecessor, Rabbi Nathan. Dr. Fürst has likewise endeavoured to combine the double advantages of the alphabetic and scientific modes of arrangement, by inserting in the order of the alphabet the forms of such derivatives from imperfect roots as do not contain all the radical letters. These are accompanied by references to the pages in which they regularly occur according to their etymology, and cannot but prove very acceptable to students not perfectly familiar with the niceties of formation. The insertion of the Chaldee words in the body of the work immediately after their respective Hebrew equivalents, we regard as another decided improvement, since it affords the means of readily comparing the uses of a word in both languages, which often throw considerable light on one another.

Besides these advantages in the plan of Dr. Fürst's concordance, it also excels that of Buxtorf in completeness. This is chiefly observable in the following points.

1. He inserts some entire articles, verbs as well as nouns, which Buxtorf, after R. Nathan, had omitted on account of their frequent occurrence.

2. He inserts all the particles, both Hebrew and Chaldee, which are derived from verbs.

3. He gives many hundred quotations more than Buxtorf. These he obtained partly from an examination and comparison of various lexicographical works, and partly from the collections of other scholars to which he was allowed access. Among these latter was one of more than six hundred passages noted in a copy of Buxtorf by the learned Jewish grammarian, Wolff Heidenheim. The effects of this large accession of materials soon became apparent; thus under ואבי Buxtorf cites *two* passages and Fürst *four*.

אביכם Buxtorf has not Gen. 31: 9, given by Fürst; it should, however, have been referred to 31: 8.

אביה Buxtorf omits Num. 30: 5, and Judg. 19: 3, which Fürst inserts.

אבתיהם Fürst gives three passages not found in Buxtorf, viz. 2 Chron. 7: 22. 30: 7, 22, &c. &c.

Dr. Fürst is also more correct than his predecessor in many minor details. For example, Buxtorf places אבר Deut. 32: 28 under the head אבר, תכף Deut. 13: 1 under תכף, לאביו 1 Sam. 13: 24 under לאבי; the form לאבי is likewise retained in quoting the passage under רעה. All these errors Dr. Fürst corrects. He also makes a better choice of the words to be included in the quotations than Buxtorf; thus under אב, in-

stead of לבית אב מאת כל Num. 17: 17, he gives in preference מטה מטה לבית אב.

The most numerous errors in Buxtorf are to be found among the references, which, as we have before observed, are given by him in Hebrew letters. These have been subjected to a strict revision by Dr. Fürst, who has greatly lessened the liability to the future recurrence of such mistakes, by exchanging the Hebrew numerals for Arabic figures. We will not detain the reader with a long enumeration of mistakes of this class; a few, with their accompanying corrections by Dr. Fürst, will suffice. Thus we have under אב Lam. 4: 28, for 5: 3. Prov. 15: 2, for 15: 20. (this was not properly corrected by Dr. Fürst, who, not observing that ב = 2 had erroneously been put for כ = 20, omitted the passage altogether); under לאב Jer. 31: 8, for 31: 9; Ezek. 44: 26, for 44: 25; under אבינו Num. 26: 27, for 26: 3; Is. 64: 8, for 64: 7, &c. &c.

Over and above the improvements introduced into the body of the work, of which we have attempted to give something like an adequate idea, the following additions are promised by the author in the form of appendices:

1. An etymologico-alphabetical index of all the words in the Old Testament, with references to the pages of the Concordance where they are to be found.

2. An index purely alphabetical, with references like the preceding.

3. A tabular view of all the forms of nouns systematically arranged according to their origin and formation.

4. All the particles in alphabetical order.

5. An alphabetical list of all the Aramaic, Talmudic, and modern Hebrew words explained in the lexicographical part of the Concordance, with references to the places where they are introduced. This will be so large as to form an almost complete Aramaic and Rabbinic lexicon.

6. An alphabetical list of all Hebrew proper names.

7. The Hebrew verbal roots alphabetically arranged in a tabular form, according to the relations shown to exist between them and those of the six other families of languages belonging to the ancient world.

8. A complete collection of the fragments of the Masora, with an introduction containing a full history of it, and with notes showing the points of difference between the Masora and the received biblical text.

9. A chronological table of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Combining such great and manifold advantages, the Concordance of Dr. Fürst may be affirmed with the greatest truth to be superior in all respects to every other that has hitherto been published, Buxtorf's not excepted. The only fault of consequence that we have detected, is a certain negligence in following out the minutiæ of the plan laid down. The different forms of words do not invariably succeed each other in the order generally observed: thus, the participle, which usually precedes the future tense, is placed after it in the Pi'hel of ברל; and sometimes the suffixes are made secondary to the prefixes in regulating the subdivision of the forms, which is contrary to the general practice. The books of the Bible are not always quoted in the same order, and in some instances they are even mingled together in a promiscuous mass, as for example under אול and אז. Such slight defects as these, however, cannot be considered as materially detracting from the extraordinary merit of the work. On the contrary, the talents, learning, and industry displayed by its author, with the splendid style of its typographical execution, are such as to demand the admiration of all competent judges, and do honour to the age and country in which it is produced.

Art. II.—*The Life of John Calvin, the Great Reformer.* By Paul Henry, D.D. Berlin. Volume II. 1838.*

It is almost two years since we gave an extended notice of M. Henry's first volume, and we laid it down in the confident expectation that long before this time we should see the completion of the work. It is, however, still unfinished; nor need any one be surprised at this, who considers the Augean labour of decyphering and correcting ancient manuscripts, not to speak of other more ordinary toils pertaining to the enterprise. The volume before us, though larger than the first, brings down the history no later than the year 1549, so that we must look for at least another volume.

* Das Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators: mit Benutzung der handschriftlichen Urkunden, vornehmlich der Genfer und Zuericher Bibliothek, entworfen, nebst einem Anhang bisher unbedruckter Briefe und anderer Belege; von Paul Henry, Dr. der Theologie, Prediger und Seminar-Inspector zu Berlin. Hamburg. 1838. pp. 660, 8vo.

We see no cause to retract any of the commendations which we bestowed on M. Henry as a biographer. He is acute, impartial, pious, and indefatigable. At the same time we should be much more gratified if two German traits were absent from the plan of the work. The first of these is the needless prolixity with which the author goes into every question of doctrine or discipline, which may be suggested by the train of facts; it is this which swells the volumes to inordinate size. The other fault is, in our judgment, a greater deformity: it is the unreasonable attempt to methodize the narrative under heads or topics, thus breaking the chronological series, so as to take the reader again and again over the same ground, and making it almost impossible to know whereabouts, in the stream of time, the author is hurrying him. We have no patience with biographies which give us first the private character, then the ministerial character, then the learning, then the eloquence, of their subject, in as many different partitions; and we are not quite sure that, in the abstract which follows, we shall in all cases be able to extricate the thread of the story from this incorrigible tangle.*

The time at which Calvin returned to Geneva, to commence the foundation of his more important structure, was one of great interest in the affairs of the world. The threatening approaches of the Turks under Soliman filled with terror the people of eastern Europe. The Emperor Charles the Fifth, meditating the greatest enterprises, was now in Italy; full of projects for the conquest of Algiers, and the humiliation of the Sultan: the signal disappointment of these plans is well known. In Germany, the Protestants were in correspondence with England and France, and the perfidious Francis I. was feeding their hopes with promises, and at the same time allowing his kingdom to be the theatre of grievous persecutions.

The first efforts of Calvin, upon his restoration, were directed towards the establishment of pure teaching, and the reformation of morals. In the pursuance of the latter object

* The portrait of Calvin, which was promised for this volume, has been delayed for a reason which is highly pleasing. Since it was in hand, the interesting intelligence has been received that there exists in the gallery of the duke of Beviloqua at Naples, *an original portrait of Calvin by Titian*, which was painted in the year 1535, at Modena. A copy of this youthful likeness, invaluable as well in regard of the master as the subject, will appear in the third volume.

he was actuated by the most sincere zeal for the glory of God, yet the means which he used were such as seem to us to conflict in many instances with the principles of religious liberty and ecclesiastical independence, which have since become almost universal, especially in our own country. In a state of public morals so abandoned as that of Geneva, it was natural to think of strong measures: it was indispensable that strong measures should be employed; but it would have been less hazardous to consign the conduct of these to the civil rather than the ecclesiastical power. In our day this would be done, as a matter of course; but in that period the minds of good people were filled with the idea of the ancient Theocracy, and this proved the source of many inconveniences. "The church," says M. Henry, "was intimately woven with the state; the state protected the church which was subject to it, and the church in turn ruled over the state, as all citizens were under the superintendence of the consistory."

The return of Calvin was welcomed by the people with enthusiasm. The whole city was moved at his coming. It appears, from the municipal records, that a mounted herald was sent to meet him at Strasburg. It was resolved to send for his wife, and for his household furniture. They furnished his house, and appropriated eight dollars 'pour la robe de Maistre Calvin, minister evangelique.' St. Peter's church was fitted up for preaching, the pulpit being so disposed that the speaker might be near the people. Antiquaries persuade themselves that they find the dwelling of Calvin in the *rue des chanoines*, in the highest part of the town. It was conveniently near to the Convent of St. Peter's, where the consistorial meetings were held, and to the old Gothic church where he preached and lectured. A neighbouring spot afforded an open prospect of the fortifications, and of Mount Jura, and other summits.

The field was now open for Calvin's disciplinary measures. The populace of Geneva, it should seem from the accounts, was devoted to dancing and the like sports and pastimes, and to every form of license and voluptuousness. It was now ordered that they should resort to public worship, at stated times during the week. The city was divided into three parishes, St. Peter's, la Madelaine, and St. Gervais'. The first and last of these were under the care of Calvin and Viret. St. Peter's was for the higher class, and St. Gervais' for the common people. Laws were now enacted against all

prevalent vices, and a vigilant care was exercised over the manners of the whole city.

Another favourite object of the Reformer was the perfection of schools. He brought to Geneva the classical Castellio, and Maturin Cordier, or Corderius, whom we have already mentioned. In the very beginning of the Reformation a school had been set up by Farel, but this had been neglected. Numbers of learned men were subsequently collected. The care of these things withdrew Calvin in some measure from his expository writings, but he returned to them afterwards with new animation. His time was greatly occupied: "Besides my ordinary business," says he, "I have to write so many letters and answers to inquiries, that many a night passes without having brought to nature the offering of sleep."

In 1542 Farel was at Metz, engaged in his usual daring measures. He determined to preach upon a certain Sunday in the month of September, and chose as the place the churchyard of the Dominicans, in which there was a pulpit. The number of hearers was very great. During the sermon there came two Dominican friars who commanded him to be silent. This had no effect, and the Dominicans began to ring all their bells, but Farel made such use of his Stentorian voice that the interruption was of no avail. They succeeded, however, in ejecting him from the consecrated pulpit. Next came a public disputation between Farel and a Franciscan monk. Farel maintained that the participation of the body of Christ was spiritual: there was an audience of three thousand persons. Farel was dragged before the magistrates, and was asked by whose authority he preached: he answered, that Christ had commanded it, and his people had desired it. The Protestants found a man who greatly resembled Farel, and by conducting this person out of the city on horse-back, appeased the mob. The missionary however remained at Metz. In consequence of these proceedings Calvin repaired to that city, and was absent from home about six weeks.

Amidst these things a new champion for the truth appeared among the Reformed: "There is a man come out of Italy," writes Bucer, "very learned in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and delightfully versed in the Holy Scriptures; forty-four years old, of a serious mind, and discriminating judgment. He has been one of the regular canons at Lucca. His name is Peter Martyr." This is the man who was afterwards much celebrated at Zurich and Oxford; a theologian whom

Calvin loved and valued, calling him the wonder of Italy.

In 1542 Geneva was visited by the plague. All the country around was desolated by pestilence and dearth. The dread of this disease, usually held to be contagious, was extreme. Even of pious persons the great majority shrank from all intercourse with the sick. Castellio, Blanchet and Calvin offered themselves as chaplains at the plague-hospital. They cast lots, and the lot fell upon Castellio, who thereupon changed his mind and drew back. Calvin held himself ready, but this was prevented by the council and by Blanchet himself, upon whom the duty finally devolved. About ten months after this good man fell a victim to the disorder. The plague raged at intervals during three or four years. After the death of Blanchet, it was expressly ordered that Calvin should not go to the hospital, 'as the church had need of him.' In 1543 its prevalence was such that the courts of justice were closed.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the precise relation which Calvin during this period held to the authorities of the city. He was the object of conflicting opinions. His talents and piety commanded respect, and his counsel was sought with avidity, while at the same time we find that he was suspected, and that his books were submitted to a censorship which he regarded as highly offensive. Nevertheless, he received many tokens of respect. He was allowed to have a herald when he travelled, and when he was sick a secretary was furnished at public expense. Those who have called this reformer the Pope of Geneva may be answered in the words of M. Henry, that the forms of the republic and the presbyterial organization of the church were alike incompatible with that despotic sway which has been ascribed to him. It cannot but happen, however, as Bretschneider has said, that men of such strength of character and of such exalted genius should govern the minds which come into contact with them. "As to the power which makes me the object of envy," said Calvin himself, "I wish it were in my power to transfer it to them, for they see a Kingdom in the multitude of affairs, and the oppressive burden which I have to bear." And he appeals to his brethren as having never complained of any usurpations on his part.

It is not intended here to represent Calvin as having held himself aloof from the civil regulations of the little republic. On the contrary he was undeniably the life and soul of these. Such was his ideal of a true Christian state, in which the

civil and ecclesiastical power should go hand in hand to carry out the principles of God's word, that he used all his influence to render the constitution of the city as pure as human arrangements can be made. It was his principle, that sins against God, no less than sins against man, should be punished. The authorities therefore animadverted upon profaneness, sabbath-breaking, incontinence, blasphemy, heresy, and witchcraft. It is entertaining to find copies from Calvin's own manuscript respecting some of the minutest points, and, as we should say, the most out of his line; such as, provision against fire—inspection of buildings—the artillery—and the forms of civil process.

Where it was possible, all remains of the old superstition were annulled. The preacher had a watchful eye over the families, examined them on the faith, and inquired into their fitness for the sacraments and their attendance upon them. No one was allowed to lie sick more than three days without informing the minister of his quarter. Sermons were frequent, and attendance was enforced. In later days, but in pursuance of the same system, we find that divine service was solemnized in the garrison twice every day; a laudable custom which continued until the prevalence of the new divinity. At every gate of the city, in front of the guard-house, a soldier knelt down before the opening of the gates, and offered a prayer with a loud voice. All profane and abusive language was forbidden. Galiffe sneeringly relates, that while the preachers employed all sorts of vituperation, the consistorial court enjoined that the peasants should speak politely to their oxen, and that a fellow was dealt with because he had let slip an oath at his beast. Parental authority was enforced by the severest penalties. In 1566 a peasant's child, who had called her mother a devil, *diablesse*, was openly scourged, and suspended by the arms from a gibbet, to shew that she was deserving of death. All games of chance and boisterous amusements were visited in like manner. The ancient laws against heresy and witchcraft retained their force. In the course of sixty years, the registers show that 150 persons were burnt for witchcraft in this little city: nor was this infatuation brought to a close until the end of the seventeenth century. M. Henry sees reason to believe that these regulations are indicative of a period in which the mind of Calvin had not yet gained complete mastery over the traditionary spirit, and that at a later time we discern a milder and more consistent code.

M. Henry devotes a chapter to the exposition of Calvin's theory of church government: this however is a subject so familiar to our thoughts, and so much more clearly laid open in the original works, that the accounts of the biographer need not detain us. The Catechisms of Calvin have been celebrated. The first of these appeared in 1536 in French, and in 1538 in Latin: it was an epitome of his Institutes. His Catechism for children, more familiar to us under that name, was first published in 1541, and acquired great notoriety as a church-symbol. It is painful to observe the desuetude into which this work has fallen. In some churches it has given place to that of Osterwald: in Geneva it has been superseded by that of Vernet, a rationalist. "And surely," says M. Henry, "it is among the follies of our age, that it busies itself with innumerable attempts to construct a new popular catechism, which can never succeed, because the best in this kind is already extant, and the new in comparison appears unsatisfactory, colourless, and superficial." The fundamental idea in this, as in the other works of Calvin, is living faith in God: to this every thing is referred. The beginning therefore is not made, as in Luther's, from the exposition of the law, but the 'true knowledge of God,' and confidence in him.

On the subject of creeds and confessions M. Henry gives the following statements. "When Calvin entered into his church he found some formularies already in existence; as, the confession of Zuinglius to Charles V., which had no symbolical force; the *Confessio tetrapolitana*, and the two Helvetic confessions, which had acquired a high authority. The first Helvetic Confession is that of Mühlhausen, by Oswald Myconius; the second is that of 1536, which was the work of Bullinger, Myconius, and Grynaeus, and of which Ruchat says: "C'est celle que nous appelons première Helvétique, pour la distinguer d'une autre plus étendue faite l'an 1566." But altogether there were four Confessions of Faith in the reformed churches: First, that which was set forth at Geneva, by Farel, with Calvin, in twenty-one articles, to which the citizens were caused to swear in 1536, but which had no symbolical force. Secondly, the Third Helvetic Confession, of 1566, which was occasioned by the resolutions of the *Consensus Tigurinus* of the years 1549, 1551, 1554. This is the earlier one of 1536, entirely newwrought by Bullinger, Beza, and Gualter; it was subscribed by all the Swiss churches, except Basle and Neuchatel, and

is consequently the confession of the Genevan churches. Thirdly, The French Confession, the origin of which is related in Beza's church history, and Crespin's history of the Martyrs. The earliest church existed as early as 1555. Under Henry II. the assembled parliament declared itself almost with one voice for the new doctrine; many members of parliament were imprisoned; but in 1559 when the Reformed for the first time met in a national synod, they set forth the discipline, as well as the confession of their faith, in forty articles.* It is this which, in 1561, was laid before Charles IX. and Catharine de Medicis, at Poissy, and became the symbolical book of the old French Reformed Church. Fourthly, we find a well-considered confession, which Calvin wrote in 1562 for the Reformed churches, addressed to the Emperor of Germany and the Prince of Condé at Frankfort, but which remained without symbolical authority."

Psalmody was a darling object with the Reformers. All the world knows what Luther did in this matter. The French churches were not without like efforts. Calvin introduced the singing of psalms into divine service as soon as it was practicable, but he seems to have discountenanced the use of the organ. The French poet Marot versified fifty psalms, and the remainder was done by Beza, under Calvin's direction. It appears from the registers, that a singing-master was employed to teach the children an hour a day. This old translation is remarkable for its inimitable naïveté and deep feeling, and the melodies which were composed, or harmonized, at the time, by Goudimel, partake of the same character, and are still used. This musician fell a victim to the St. Bartholomew's massacre, at Lyons, together with thirteen other Huguenots.† The effects produced by this psalmody are characteristic of the French people. The psalms were sung by the king and his courtiers; each one making choice of a favourite one. Henry II. made a hunting-song of the forty-second psalm. Madame de Valentinois used to sing the 130th when she danced. The Queen

* On dressa Confession de foi, à laquelle toutes les Eglises se tiendroient. Beza hist. eccl. L. 2. p. 173, 185.

† Thuanus I. 52. p. 1084: Honesti cives e carcere educti ac sicis jugulati in Rhodanum projiciuntur; eandem fortunam expertus est Claudius Gaudimelus excellens nostra aetate musicus, qui psalmos Davidicos vernaculis versibus a Clemente Maroto et Theodoro Beza expressos ad varios et jucundissimos modulationum numeros aptavit, quibus et hodie publice in concionibus Protestantium ac privatim decantantur.

selected the 6th; the king of Navarre the 43d. Many of the tunes to which these were sung were the most popular airs of the day. In Paris they were sung by great crowds in the public streets, were received with enthusiasm by the people, and produced effects such as have seldom followed any religious music of modern times. If space were allowed us, we could easily fill several pages in giving the details of this influence.*

We are sorry to be under the necessity of expressing our strong dissent from some of the opinions of M. Henry in regard to the supposed extremes to which Calvin pushed his reformation of divine service. Though we cannot go out of our way to argue the point, we may say, that what the biographer suggests concerning the monastic life, the use of the cross, auricular confession, and the multiplication of festivals, is as really superstitious, as it is inconsistent with the whole tenour of this excellent book; and we cannot conceal the surprise with which we have been affected by it.

It is with other sentiments that we turn to the consideration of Calvin's personal and ministerial temper and habits. This is a point upon which our clerical readers will naturally feel an interest, and M. Henry has here taken great pains, and availed himself of resources hitherto unexplored. Our only difficulty in treating of it arises from the singular dislocation of facts, which is demanded by M. Henry's rage for classification, to which we have already adverted. If one were to confine his view to the works of Calvin, he might readily suppose that he was a mere recluse theologian. Nothing could be further from the truth. His life, and even his writings, had throughout a practical tendency; and while he lived he was perhaps more influential by his personal exertions than by his books. In the minutest affairs of the household, we find him as zealous and exact as in the confutation of heresy; or the exposition of Scripture.

The literary labours of Calvin, like those of Luther and Melancthon, were amazing. The ages of these three men may be stated at an average of fifty-nine years, yet each of of them, as our biographer observes, left ten volumes of masterpieces. Who can calculate the labour which they cost! All three were professors, and two of them pastors. Calvin lived long in a short life. He was a man of little

* Many of these, both music and words, may be found in the exquisite little selection used in the Evangelical Churches, under the title, *Chants Chrétiens:* Paris, 1834. 12mo. pp. 368.

sleep, as he says, *somni paene nullius*, and little given to indulgence. He speaks of days in which besides preaching and lecturing, he had corrected twenty sheets, and attended to public business. He always took part in the consistorial affairs, the clerical association and the 'congregation' or popular conference. Three days in the week he lectured on theology, and every other week he preached daily. The tradition is that in the multiplicity of his avocations, he never forgot any thing that belonged to his office; and his memory enabled him, as Beza records, to return to a piece of writing, and take up his pen where he had laid it down, without even looking at what preceded. Like many other great men, he had a remarkable faculty of recognising any countenance which he had ever seen. His correspondence was immense: the care of all the reformed churches came upon him daily. Besides this he translated most of his own works. Musculus compared him to a bow which was always bent. He prepared and sent out preachers, and used to say 'Give us the wood, and we will give you the arrows.'* The council also gave him much to do, and he had to spend a good portion of his time in journeys for some public object. He was never happier than when fully employed in some great work. During the pestilence he was indefatigable; in the dread of the siege in 1559, he worked with his own hands at the fortifications. Yet he sometimes bewailed his inefficiency, and on his death-bed craved the pardon of the council for having done no more. This tension of mind was kept up in spite of a condition of body which would exempt most men from all labours; and it lasted as long as his life. For many years he was afflicted with asthma, vertigo, gout, and stone, besides other less insupportable maladies.

It is almost superfluous to state that the style of Calvin is celebrated. From nature and from fixed principle he allowed his thoughts to fall into short, pithy, sententious periods: consequently his oral discourses required close attention. His Latin style evinces great familiarity with the classics: he excelled in this, more than in his mother-tongue. In freedom and grace he was however surpassed by Melancthon. His writings show great clearness of thought, exact discrimination, and a repugnance to parade and verbiage. There is scarcely a quaint turn or a superflu-

* Cet excellent serviteur de Dieu, M. Calvin, qui vivoit alors, avoit accoutumé de répondre à ceux qui lui demandoient des pasteurs: "Envoyez nous du bois, nous vous envoyerons des flêches."

ous epithet in all his volumes. Pungent sarcasm, and overwhelming invective abound: these however are always despatched at once; falling like lightning.* Beza says of his manner of composition, *Tot verba, tot pondera.* He further ascribes much of his exactness and conciseness to the custom of dictating, and says that he wrote almost exactly as he spoke. Melancthon expressed admiration of his nervous eloquence;† and Salmasius solemnly declared that he should have gained more fame by being the author of the Institutes alone, than from all the works of Grotius. The Dedication to Francis I. has been frequently cited as one of the noblest compositions of its kind.

As a preacher Calvin was expository. In no instance does he seem to have aimed at oratorial pomp. As compared with Luther, he is less idiomatic and racy in his diction, less illustrative and humorous, less strong in single strokes, but equally addicted to apothegmatic forms, and vastly more ratiocinative and connected. In every discourse, one sees through from the beginning to the end.

Calvin preached extempore: there is no trace of his having written a sermon before delivery. Indeed he says himself, in a letter now for the first time published, that his discourses on the eighth psalm were taken down from his lips.‡ In writing to the lord protector Somerset, he speaks thus: "The people must be so instructed as to be touched to the quick, and feel, as the apostle says, that the word of God is living and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, even to the marrow of the bones. I say this, my lord, because it seems to me that their is very little lively preaching in your kingdom, but that the most recite it, in the reading way. I see very well the necessities which constrain you to this; for, in the first place, you have not, I suppose, as many good pastors as you desire. And then, there is danger lest certain volatile spirits should overleap all bounds, and disseminate idle fancies, as is often the case with novelties. But all these considerations do not hinder the duty of giving free course to the ordinance of Christ re-

* See his own observations on his manner of writing. Instit. l. iii. c. 6. §. i.

† Nullius hoc tempore oratio in disputando vel nervosior fuit, vel splendidior.

‡ Je n'ai point écrit en chambre les vingt-deux sermons sur le pseaume octonaire, mais on les a imprimés naïfvement, comme on les avoit pu recueillir de ma bouche au temple. Là vous voyez notre style et façon ordinare d'enseigner.

specting the preaching of the gospel. Now this preaching ought not to be dead but living, in order to instruct, to exhort, to correct, as St. Paul says in 2 Tim. iii. 16."

The four sermons of Calvin against the Nicodemites are rather long. Those on the book of Job, in number one hundred and fifty, are quite short. The former may have been forty-five minutes, the latter half an hour. His practical discourses on the minor prophets and the epistles are still shorter. In this we think him wiser than many of his successors; for we hear few long sermons which are not made so by the preacher's spinning out "the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument." Weariness is a foe to edification, especially where, as is common, the speaker fills his hour by saying every thing twice over. Mathesius once asked Luther how he should regulate the length of his sermons: "When you see," said Luther, "that the people are listening with great earnestness and avidity—stop just there—the next time they will come with more willingness."

Scaliger, who had heard Calvin preach, says that he spoke slowly, in consequence of the asthma, and that it was therefore easy to take down almost every word. There was a man at Geneva who made a living by reporting his sermons. The city registers contain statements of prodigious multitudes that attended his preaching. The discourses on Job were commonly read throughout France in places where there were no preachers; yet, as Beza tells us, they were printed against his wishes. There are preserved at Geneva, in forty-four volumes, two thousand and twenty-three manuscript sermons of Calvin; of these some have been published. He never wrote out any of his theological lectures for the press. Many of them were published in the same way as his sermons. It is matter of regret that we have no reports of the fiery discourses which he pronounced at Paris in the days of his youthful daring, every one of which used to end with the words, 'If God be for us, who can be against us!'

The merit of all Calvin's compositions resides so much in the structure, the connexion, the *ensemble*, that to offer a specimen is to show a brick as a sample of a building. There are a few separable passages which may be seen in the appendix to this volume.*

* Some of these are striking. In speaking of the covetousness of rich masters, he says: "The wages of those who have laboured for our profit, and which is kept back by fraud, will send a cry up to heaven, and will make all

It is natural in this connexion to allude to Calvin's diligence and faithfulness in making provision for the pastoral care. His love for souls breathes from the little prayers introductory to his lectures on Job, which would, if collected, form an edifying manual. He often speaks of a solicitude for the salvation of his flock, such as filled him with anguish—of his accountability for every individual—and of the peril of having the blood of souls on his garments. Among his labours in this field, we find these following. Every Friday there was a meeting of the congregation for the exposition of Scripture. On this he laid great stress. At this were delivered certain discourses on Providence, Predestination, and the Lord's Prayer, which are extant. At these meetings any one who chose might debate any point with the preacher. Calvin always encouraged this open participation of the people in the conference; and on the same principle he caused the children to be catechized in the presence of the whole congregation.

Another excellent institution was the stated visitation of the sick, to which Calvin allotted a special article in his liturgy, *de la visitation des malades.* In this it is declared that "it is the duty of the preacher not only to preach the truth, but so far as is possible, to warn, encourage, and comfort every individual." And particular directions are given as to the way of discharging this duty to the sick. As it regards the Lord's Supper, Calvin was in favour of having it administered at least once a month. As soon as the way was clear for such a measure, he established stated family visitation, with strict examination into the spiritual state of every inmate, the servants not excepted. M. Henry declares that this practice is utterly unknown in the Reformed Churches of the Continent; and there are signs of its going into disuse in parts of America. In order to keep up the interest of the hearers, Calvin took measures for a rotation of services in the different churches.

From the voluminous correspondence of the Reformer, M. Henry has given a number of characteristic extracts. Many

creatures bear witness of our violence and extortion towards our neighbours. Thus the prophet Habakkuk says, that the walls of the houses which have been built by fraud and rapine will cry out loud and clear; the cry will echo and recho, answering from side to side. One will say, here is blood! another, here is murder! another, here is fraud! Here is cruelty! Here is plunder! Here is avarice! Here is theft! Here is malice! Here is perjury! Let us therefore take good heed, that as we have abused the creatures of God, he will cause that at the last day they shall cry out for vengeance against us."

of these are addressed to persons labouring under strong temptations to despondency; and we observe the same in the correspondence of Luther. Others, and these are among the most remarkable, were written to imprisoned Christians, sometimes on the eve of martyrdom. These are full of heroic sentiments, and of faith and courage like that of primitive times. To some brethren at Aix, who asked whether it was right to repel force by force, he wrote: "It is the dictate of the higher Christian wisdom, that we abide by the rule which our divine Master has laid down, namely, to possess our souls in patience. And indeed our only sure resort, is to seek shelter under his shadow from heat and tempest and every necessity. But as soon as we repel force with force, we put his hand and help far from us. Hence the apostle admonishes us to leave vengeance to God alone, and to rely on his promise, that he will guard his people against the rage of the ungodly. The blood of the pious cries from earth to heaven, and is the seed of the church." So also, as to the question whether one might use false keys, or bribes, in order to escape from prison: "I would neither advise nor countenance any thing of the kind. Yet, if it actually occur, I would accompany it with my prayers, and heartily rejoice, if any one, without offence to the good, regain his liberty." He was almost overwhelmed with the greatness of his epistolary commerce; and there is scarcely a point of casuistry in which his judgment was not asked and received.

The period including 1542 and 1549 was fraught with great events. During these eight years the activity of Calvin with regard to the general interests of Protestantism was tasked to the utmost; and he was called upon to protect the church against a diversity of enemies—in the empire—in the Romish Church—in the intolerant portion of Lutheranism—in the Pelagian party—and in the bosom of the Reformed communion. Two great events made this season critical, the Council of Trent and the death of Luther. The writings of Calvin in these emergencies were numerous. He addressed himself to the Princes at Spire; he armed himself against the Tridentine decrees, and the Interim, and stood upon the defence of the doctrines of Grace; and this over and above the preparation of a goodly number of exegetical works.

In 1542 the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne issued twenty-five new articles of faith, in opposition to Protestant heresies. Calvin replied to these, and exposed the ignorance and stupidity of the papists with an irresistable wit much like

what was afterwards employed in the same cause by Pascal.* The whole is an ironical apology for the papistical errors. We would gladly cite some of M. Henry's exquisite specimens of this triumphant raillery.

He was soon called forth against a higher adversary, no less a personage than his holiness Paul the Third. This ambitious and voluptuous pontiff was not more remarkable for his imperious ecclesiastical demands, than for the infamy of his son and grandson, Pietro and Octavio Farnese. Paul was so much dissatisfied with the attempts made by the emperor at the Diet of Spire, in 1544, towards pacification, that he wrote him a letter of mingled admonition and threatening, in which he held up for his alarm all the instances in which Providence had signally punished those Princes who were disobedient to the Holy See. The occasion was felicitous, and Calvin immediately came forward with strictures on the Pope's letter;† these may, in point of boldness and energy, be put by the side of any of Luther's. It was no ordinary courage which could beard the lion in such terms as these:

"If this example of the judgment of God upon Eli alarms the Holy Father so much, one may well wonder, that troubled about the alleged fault of the emperor, he yet sinks into the deepest slumber when it comes to the faults of his own sons. God punished the remissness of Eli, in that he did not chastise his children. But the apostle Paul enjoins that the children of the Christian bishop should be penetrated with good morals and the fear of God. Now our pope Paul Farnese has a son, and this son has children, besides other bastards; and nevertheless this old man, with one foot in the grave—a mere mass of corruption—persists in his iniquities.‡ Who is Pietro Luigi? I will tell what is portentous, and yet no more than the bare truth. Italy has never produced such an abomination—and wherefore do you slumber over this, O Pope? while the scandalous whoredoms of your son have reached up to heaven, while the whole earth is full of their stench, and the whole world cries out against them. Is not here the occasion for your Holiness to exercise severity?

* In Latin: Antidoton adversus Articulos Facultatis Theologiae Sorbonnicae. The French title was: Les Articles de la sacrée faculté de Theol. de Paris concernant notre foi et religion chrétienne et forme de precher. Avec le remède contre la poison. 1543.

† Scholia in epist. Pauli III. pontif. max.

‡ We give the more pregnant original: Et outre ce, il a des bastards, et ce viellard qui est sur le borde de la fosse, et ceste charongue à demi pourrie, fait encore des enfans!

What shall I say of his avarice, of his ravenous cupidity, of his inhumanity ? in which he has outstripped all mankind—his father only excepted! If Eli was punished for undue lenity, shall Pope Paul go free, who shuts mouth and eyes, and gives his hand and approbation to such wickedness ? O infamous Pope, doth not the judgment of God fill thee with anguish!" The Pope had quoted the apostle's maxim, *Evil communications corrupt good manners.* "O thou godless apostate!" exclaims Calvin, "what hast thou that agrees with these words ? Thou, who art the ringleader and captain in all denial of God—thou, who spendest whole days in forging treasons, wars, plots, fresh rapine, and ruin of the innocent—who destroyest religion with the worst counsels—and who spendest the rest of thy time in pleasure with thine epicurean friends, ... or in the midst of thy concubines."

This was immediately followed by the letter, which Calvin addressed to the Emperor, then at Spire; and of which Beza says: *haud scio an ullum nervosius et gravius ejus argumenti scriptum nostro saeculo editum fuerit.* It was the object of this production to conciliate the Emperor in behalf of the Reformation.

About the same time, namely, in 1543, Calvin felt it to be his duty to enter the field against what M. Henry calls 'the fundamental error of the world,'—Pelagianism. We direct attention to this with the more earnestness, because it is a part of the policy of errorists in our own day, to keep out of view the fact that much of the warfare of Protestant Reformers was against the Pelagianism of the Papists. A certain Pighius of Kempen had appeared in opposition to the doctrines of grace, and the controversy which followed was much like that between Erasmus and Luther.† Calvin and Pighius, says our author, were preparing the very controversy which afterwards agitated the Synod of Dort. The Reformers were unanimous upon this topic. Calvin tells his opponent, not to wonder at the mighty spread of their doctrine, for, "it is not Luther who has spoken, but God who has thundered and lightened by his lips." M. Henry confirms the statement of all sound historians as to the entire coincidence of Luther and Calvin upon the doctrines of election

* Supplex exhortatio ad invictissimum Caesarem Carolum Quintum et illustrissimos principes aliosque ordines Spirae nunc Imperii conventum agentes, ut restituendae ecclesiae curam serio velint suscipere, 1544.

† J. Calvini Defensio sacrae et orthodoxae doctrinae de servitute et liberatione humani arbitrii adversus calumnias Alb. Pighii. Genev. 1543.

and predestination. In the analysis of this work, into which M. Henry goes very fully, we cannot follow him. The book made a deep impression. Melancthon, to whom it was dedicated, received it at Cologne, where he was with Bucer. He wrote a letter in which he hails and encourages this younger coadjutor, declaring that the latter had written with piety and eloquence—*non solum pie, sed etiam eloquenter.* He cheers him on in his course of polemical authorship, and asks: "Who, in our day, is master of a style either more nervous or more eloquent?"

Calvin was the first to come forth against the decrees of the Council of Trent.* His work is learned and profound, going thoroughly into the differences between the two churches. It was answered by John Cochlaeus. After setting aside the authority of Council, in general, and of this in particular, he proceeds to canvass the specific points. It is a triumph of wit and dialectics. Among other things, he fixes upon the Tridentine fathers the charge of repelling Pelagianism with the left hand, while they welcome it with the right.

During this period the name of *Nicodemites* was given to those faint-hearted persons, who were convinced of the errors of Popery, but were afraid to avow it, and excused themselves in assisting at the Catholic rites. Among these were found many persons of quality, who were altogether unable to stand erect in the storm of persecution which raged in and after the year 1545. Such weakness, at a time when multitudes were going to martyrdom, filled Calvin with indignation: hence his two works *against the Nicodemites.*† These were by some considered severe, but they were useful in arming many for the mortal conflict, not only in France and Switzerland, but in Germany also. It was such sentiments as those expressed in his tracts, and a hundred times in his private letters, which produced decisions like that of the Waldensian believer, who being left to choose between kissing the cross or being cast headlong from a tower, chose the latter without one moment of tremor or hesitation. "What would have become of the church," exclaims Calvin, "if early Christians had done as we do? The whole theology of the ancient martyrs consisted in knowing that there is

* Acta synodi Tridentinae, cum antidoto. 1547.

† 1. De vitandis superstitionibus. 2. Excusatio ad Pseudo-Nicodemitas, cum duabus epistolis ad ministros ecclesiae Tigurinae.

only one God, to whom we must pray, and in whom we must put all our trust, and that there is no salvation out of Jesus Christ. They had no such knowledge of these things as that they could learnedly explain them, but maintained them in all simplicity. Neverthless they threw themselves with joyful hearts into the fire; yea, women even yielded up their own children. But we—who are great doctors—know not what it is to bear witness to the truth." Upon the subject of these writings, there appeared opinions from Melancthon, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, who all agreed with Calvin.

As only a single letter seems to have been written by Calvin to Luther, we should think ourselves inexcusable if we omitted it here. Its date is January 20th, 1545; and after a respectable salutation it proceeds as follows:

"When I have seen such of our Frenchmen as have been brought from popish darkness to soundness of faith, still making no change in their public profession, and continuing to pollute themselves with the sacrileges of the Papists, as if they had never tasted true doctrine, I have been unable to refrain from rebuking such remissness with the severity which I think it deserves. For what sort of faith is that which lies buried in the mind, and never breaks forth into a confession? What sort of religion is that which lies plunged in a pretence of idolatry? But I do not here take up this topic, which I have largely handled in two books, wherein, if it be not too much trouble to cast your eye over them, you will better see what are my opinions, and my reasons for them. By the reading of these, some of our people have been awakened, who were before at ease in deep sleep, and have begun to think what they ought to do. But as it is hard for one so far to forget self as to jeopard life, or stirring up obloquy to invite the hatred of the world, or abandoning fortune and natal soil to go into voluntary exile, they are restrained by these difficulties from coming to any certain resolution. They allege, however, other and quite specious reasons, but such as show that they are merely seeking for a pretext. But as they hesitate in a sort of suspense, they desire to hear your judgment, which, as they justly revere it, will have the effect of greatly confirming them. They have, therefore, besought me to send to you express a sure messenger who may bring back your answer upon this matter. This their request I was not willing to refuse, both because I supposed it would be greatly to their advantage to be aided by your authority, so as to be relieved from per-

petual fluctuation, and because I wished the same support for myself. Now, therefore, most revered father in the Lord, I conjure you in the name of Christ, that for my sake and theirs, you will take the trouble first of reading the epistle written in their name, and then of running over carelessly at some leisure hour my little books, or at least that you would commit the reading of them to some one who may report to you their contents; further that you would briefly write your opinion. It is with reluctance that I give you this trouble in the midst of so many and so great occupations, but I am persuaded, as I do this from necessity, your usual equity, will pardon me. O that I could fly to you, and enjoy your conversation, at least for a few hours! This I would greatly prefer, and it would be much better to confer with you face to face, not only concerning this question, but other matters also: but this favour, not granted here on earth, will shortly, I hope, be enjoyed in heaven. Farewell, most illustrious man, most excellent minister of Christ, and my ever honoured father! The Lord continue to guide you by his Spirit to the end, for the common good of his church!"

This letter was accompanied by another, addressed to Melancthon; the object of which was to urge the latter to use every means of keeping the mind of Luther from being embittered, of which there was the greatest danger in consequence of the Sacramentarian controversy. Both Calvin and Melancthon manifested the strongest desire to avoid even the appearance of dissension in doctrine. But the latter years of Luther were marked by excessive irascibility on every point connected with what he thought the Zuinglian heresy. The reply of Melancthon was characteristic. "I have not shown your letter," says he, "to Doctor Martin: for he looks on many things with suspicion, and is unwilling that his opinions on such questions as those which you propose, should be circulated."

The latter years of Luther's life were frequently embittered by his morbid and excessive zeal in the Sacramentarian controversy. A word or two concerning the origin of this may not be unnecessary. Zuinglius maintained, as is well known, that the body of Christ was not present with the elements in the Eucharist. Luther held the contrary opinion, and, in 1526, entered the lists against Zuinglius. A year later Zuinglius published a treatise which was very decided, but highly respectful towards his venerable opponent. Luther rejoined, charging the origin of the dispute upon the other,

and declaring that the question was of such moment, that one or the other party must be God's enemy. Next appeared another publication on the Swiss side, and then their great Confession. In 1529, Philip of Hesse caused a conference to be held at Marburg, in which both sides claimed the victory. By degrees the controversy was relaxed, particularly after the death of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, in 1531; their disciples were satisfied with propagating their doctrines. In 1536, chiefly through the instrumentality of Bucer, the Wittenberg Conference took place. But in the last years of his life, Luther showed a disposition to renew the conflict, even if he should be left alone upon the field. In 1543 he wrote to Froschauer, that neither he nor any church of Christ could hold fellowship with the Swiss. Melancthon sought in vain to soften him. In 1545, he published, in his Annotations on Genesis, and in other forms, the most bitter expressions against the Reformed, denominating Zuinglius, Oecolampadius and their adherents, 'Enemies of the Sacrament,' 'Heretics,' and 'Reprobates.' Long ago, he declares, he had ceased to pray for men who were murderers of souls —'*Seelfresser und Seelmörder.*' The Swiss answered these assaults by the hands of Bullinger, but the book did not meet the views of Calvin. "If the matter stands," he writes to Melancthon, "as the men of Zurich say, they have had just cause to write. But they should either write otherwise or not at all. For not to say that the whole tract is jejune and puerile, that in many things they excuse and sustain Zuinglius with more pertinacity than learning, and with too little modesty, and that they censure certain things in Luther unjustly, in my opinion they handle the main matter in dispute very unhappily." The feelings of Luther towards the Zuinglians were unchanged. After his death there were found in a letter of date January 17, 1546, these words: *Beatus vir, qui non abiit in consilio Sacramentariorum, nec stetit in via Cinglianorum, nec sedet in cathedra Tigurinorum.*

Many of the writings of Calvin show how greatly he was concerned in this controversy. His endeavours were almost all towards conciliation. In 1544, we find him beseeching Bullinger to treat the aged Reformer with forbearance. "I have often said," Calvin writes, "that if Luther were to call me a devil, I should nevertheless continue reverently to regard him as an extraordinary servant of God, who certainly, as he is endowed with remarkable virtues, has also some great faults. Would to God, that he had taken more pains

to get the mastery of that tempestuous passion, which is perpetually bursting forth!" He also endeavoured to animate Melancthon, whose mild and almost cowardly temper was overborne by his great patron. The words of Calvin are notable: "In truth," says he, "we set a poor example to posterity, if we chose to surrender all our liberty, rather than to offend one individual. Truly his spirit is imperious, and often knows no bounds. Yet this must continually go further, if all give up to him, and yield him every thing. If in the newly awakened church such an example of tyranny finds place, what may we expect, when affairs shall have taken a more unfavourable turn?" He then proceeds to administer to Melancthon a most penetrating rebuke for his want of courage in not avowing his convictions upon this point.

The triumphant progress of the Emperor in 1547 filled the hearts of all Protestants with alarm. The elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse were both made prisoners, and were led about as captives. Calvin was called to see his dearest friends, Melancthon, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, exposed to the imminent vengeance of the persecutors. The league of Smalkalde was dissolved, and a diet was called at Augsburg. Here a number of the protestant princes were overawed, and there was every appearance that the work of reformation, at least in Germany, was rapidly approaching its close. Many refugees were received in Geneva, and much of Calvin's time was employed in writing for the comfort and corroboration of those brethren who were under persecution. But his principal effort was directed against the grand expedient of the emperor, namely the *Formula ad Interim*, which was issued in 1548. This was a scheme of doctrine, set forth as a basis of pacification, until the decision of a general council. In this formula, the doctrine of justification by faith alone was denied, and almost every popish error was asserted; but it left the Protestants in the enjoyment of the eucharist in both kinds, and freed their clergy from the obligation of celibacy. The emperor had made it a capital offence to write against the Interim; yet it was answered in no less than thirty-seven publications. Among these not the least remarkable was that of Calvin, which appeared in 1549. It closes with a spirited exhortation to all evangelical Christians, to hold themselves ready to die for the truth. At a later period, when Melancthon seemed to vacillate, and yielded to the terms of the modified

Leipsick Interim, he was thus addressed by Calvin: "In such a man, vacillation is not to be endured. A hundred times rather would I die with thee, than see thee survive a doctrine which thou hadst betrayed"

Many of the protestants, after the destruction of their hopes in Germany, fled to England, where they contributed not a little to the establishment of the truth. The most remarkable among these exiles were Peter Martyr, Bucer, Fagius, and Ochinus. Through these men, and more directly by correspondence with the leading reformers of the kingdom, Calvin, as is well known, exerted a salutary influence upon the religious changes in the church of England. Other countries also shared in his labours. In 1545 he was in correspondence with the reformed churches of East Friesland, to whom he dedicated his catechism. In 1549 he addressed his commentary on the Hebrews to Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland. At a still later period he was in correspondence with the Christians of Denmark.

It is characteristic of Calvin, that no troubles, public or domestic, seem to have diminished his labours as an author. During the stormiest period of his history, he found time to edit Melancthon's Loci Communes with a preface, A.D. 1546. In 1544 he published a work against the Libertines, together with one against the Anabaptists; also a letter to the church at Rouen, against certain Libertines whom he calls New-Carpocratians; also a Treatise against relics. In 1545 a Latin Translation of the French Catechism. In 1548 Commentaries on the epistles to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and on the epistles to Timothy. In 1549, his *Consensio in re sacramentaria*, and an excellent work against Astrology. In two of these, the works against Relics and against Astrology, he rose much above his age, and evinced, as he did on all analogous subjects, a rationality and freedom from superstition which it took almost two centuries to make universal, if indeed this can be said to be the case even now.

No part of M. Henry's archaeological investigations has produced more copious results than those which concern the war that was waged against Calvin within the walls of his own city, by the party of Libertines. These were men who turned the grace of God into lasciviousness. Like the Anabaptists, from whom they are not always distinguishable, they owed their origin to the excitement and convulsion of an age when a new element was evolved in the social state.

While the Lord was sowing good seed, the enemy was sowing tares, and the world was agitated by theories subversive of all morals and all civil government. Alas! the crop is not extinct, in our age, or even in our own country. Neither the mighty labours of Luther, nor the death of Münzer, availed entirely to suppress the fanatical spirit. The chief dogma of the Anabaptists was the rejection of pedobaptism. The Libertines went further, and were pantheists of the crudest sort, and enemies of all righteousness. Calvin wrote against both. His work against the Libertines bears the date 1544 in the Amsterdam edition: that against the Anabaptists is of the same year.

Holding false opinions respecting liberty and grace, these men rushed into the most horrid enormities of practical Antinomianism, uniting this with a mystical jargon which was sometimes blasphemous. They avowed, as their cardinal dogma, that there is but one spirit in the universe.* In France many of the higher classes were infected with this plague. Even the queen of Navarre was led far astray by two favourite teachers, Quintin and Poques. M. Henry gives an original letter of Calvin to the queen, in which there is such severity of reprehension and courageous faithfulness as have seldom been addressed to crowned heads.

There was perhaps no place on earth in which this antichristian Libertinism revealed its hideous features more fully than at Geneva. It was there an organized system of infidelity, licentiousness, and blasphemy. A work was written by a man named Gruet, of which the object was to show that the founders of Judaism and Christianity were alike impostors, and that Christ was justly crucified. The author was put to death for sedition and blasphemy, agreeably to the harsh and intolerant jurisprudence which was universal at that day. We cannot enter into the painful details. Many of the horrible impieties of this man are recited by M. Henry. It was in connexion with such opinions that the impurity of morals prevailed to an extent almost incredible. Opposition to the truth, and to the rigid discipline of the church, drove the libertine party to the direst extreme of malignity. Prostitution and violence were practised almost without a veil. The history of Madame Ameaux, the wife of one of the civil counsellors, is given by our author, and displays at a glance the diabolical tendency of a system which could thus oblite-

* See Calvin's Institut. l. 3. c. 3. p. 14.

rate the last trace of chaste reserve even in a matron of the highest rank.

During the prevalence of the plague in Geneva, the wickedness of the people arose to its acme. In their unaccountable fury of impious revenge, some of this party succeeded in persuading themselves and many others, that it was in their power to communicate the contagion by some virus which they carried about with them, sprinkled on food, and spread upon the bolts and latches of doors. Men were known to come to Geneva expressly to buy this poison, and many avowed their intention to use it against their enemies. Calvin thundered from the pulpit against the iniquity of the city, declared the pestilence to be a judgment of God, and forewarned the authorities of greater wrath unless they would take stronger measures against the overspreading scourge of incontinence in its worst forms. Besides those whom we have mentioned, there were many political Libertines, as they were called, whose sole object was to oppose the theocratic tendency of Calvin's system, and to free their city from subjection to Savoy and Berne. These were not necessarily connected with the religious Libertines. Their leader, Perrin, does not seem to have been actuated so much by any antichristian zeal, as by ambition. In the way of these partizans the Reformer was a rock of offence; for so long as his eloquence and his iron will remained, they could not advance a step. It was a trait of Calvin's policy, that when he found the city almost overwhelmed by corrupt men, he resolved to gather around him spirits of a purer sort. The persecutions, especially in France, favoured his plan. Refugees rallied around his banner, from Italy, Flanders, and Spain. New churches were erected in which there was divine service in the Flemish, the Italian, the Spanish, and the English tongues. Not even the plague deterred these exiles from coming to the free city, and hundreds of young men were found sitting at the feet of Calvin, who were afterwards the missionaries of the reformed faith in their respective countries. His influence gained by every such accession until he finally rose above all opposition.

It may be supposed however that the Libertines did not allow this change to take place without rage and conflict; but the more infuriated they became, the more secure was Calvin. He gave free course to the law, which made itself felt as well upon the proudest senator as on the populace. The preface to his Commentary on the Psalms will be more in-

telligible and interesting to one who bears in mind these statements. An accusation was brought against Calvin, as a preacher of falsehood and a bad man, by Pierre Ameaux, one of the Council of Two Hundred. Calvin was unanimously acquitted, and the accuser himself, on being fined sixty dollars, made ample retractation. Calvin however insisted on a public penance in the streets, a severe sentence which was accordingly pronounced and executed.

Perrin, the chief opposer, had married a daughter of the noble house of Faber; she was a woman of great strength of character; indeed Calvin once says *uxor est prodigiosa furia.* This woman, and the whole party were excessively galled by the regulations against stage-plays, promiscuous dancing, and sumptuous apparel. As might have been expected, many trials resulted from this, and some cases of imprisonment; and all who fell under the censure of the law considered themselves as personally injured by Calvin. Thus the party opposed to the ministers became stronger and stronger. It was evident that they would stop at nothing in accomplishing their purpose; and both the courage and the address of Calvin were put to the test. He writes to Viret, September 17, 1547: "Our enemies are so blinded, that they know no longer what caution is. Yesterday served not a little to confirm the previous suspicion, that their temerity would soon excite a tumult. The Council of Two Hundred had been summoned, and I had informed my colleagues that I meant to go to the Council. We were there even before the hour, as many were walking up and down without. We retired by the door nearest to the Council-chamber. Here was heard a very tumultuous outcry, which so increased, that I soon recognised in it the sure sign of an insurrection. I immediately ran to them. The sight was fearful. I threw myself into the thickest of the throng. Though much agitated, all hastened to me, and tried to bear me hither and thither, to save me from harm. I called God and men to witness that I came to offer my body to their swords, and besought them, if blood must be shed, to begin with me." "At length I was forced into the meeting of the Council. Here was a new conflict, into the midst of which I cast myself. All are of the opinion that by my presence I prevented a great and horrible carnage. My colleagues, meanwhile, mixed themselves with the mass. I requested that they would quietly be seated. By a long and earnest speech, which I made suitably to the circumstances, all were won-

derfully agitated." Farel and Viret came twice to Geneva to reconcile the parties. The former, before the Council, said of his friend: "How could you do otherwise than honour Calvin, as no man upon earth has warred against antichrist with so much power. There is none so learned, and if he does not spare you, neither has he spared the greatest men—Luther and Melancthon." The contest with Perrin broke out ever and anon, until he was finally excluded from the city; which however does not fall within the period comprised in this volume.

Through these, and the like scenes perpetually recurring, Calvin went forward, and did not bate one jot of his characteristic firmness and fidelity. The pulpit resounded with the most unsparing denunciation of vice, and was therefore the principal object of detestation on the part of the libertines. We leave to the foes of Calvin to explain the paradox, that at the time when, if they are to be believed, he was labouring to propagate a system which subverts all morals, and opens the door to licentiousness, his chief enemies and persecutors were the avowed patrons of luxury and uncleanness, and the most bitter charges which they brought against him were founded on the rigour and alleged intolerance of his moral code. His opposers tried him with every variety of malicious assault. He was insulted in the streets, and his life was threatened. Beza relates that they gave the name of Calvin to their dogs. Even the Senate sometimes hindered him in the publication of his works; and called him in question for some of his private letters. "I am prepared," said he, "to undergo any species of death, for the defence of the truth." "With a good conscience, I fear no assaults; for what can they accomplish worse than death?" So far from clinging to Geneva from ambitious views, nothing detained him but the force of conscience. His soul was among lions. In expectation of the Lord's Supper, he writes to Farel: "If it could be solemnized without me, I would be willing to creep to you on my hands and knees." "I bring my sacrificed heart," said he, "as a gift to God. I submit my burdened, straitened soul in obedience to God." "Yet," said he, with admirable self-neglect, "when I consider to what insults my brethren are subjected, I seem to myself almost to be engaged in a mock-contest."*

* Sed cum reputo, quales insultus fratribus nostris sustinendi sunt, videor mihi propemodum sub umbra certare lusorium certamen.

In the midst of these troubles, he sought repose in the sympathy of his friends, especially of Viret and Farel. In what concerned practical business, he set most value on the advice of Viret; but Farel had most of his heart. The latter in return used to compare Calvin to Moses; and the analogy is striking.

We are so much accustomed to receive our impressions of Calvin from his enemies that we too often look on him as a mere polemic. Such he was not; but on the contrary, there seems to be no one of his many controversies into which he thrust himself wilfully. He was a lover of peace, and there was no object in life so dear to him as the promotion of entire unity among all evangelical believers. Not even the pacification of Geneva was half so dear to him as this. It was with this in view that he did every thing to further the acceptance of the *Consensus Tigurinus*, in which he hoped, especially after Luther's death, that the Christians not only of France and Switzerland, but of Germany, would unite. "And thus," says M. Henry, "the church would have formed a great connected whole, and Calvin, by his zealous, yet truly conciliating endeavours, would have made that good, which Luther in his heat had destroyed." Towards this contemplated union it was a principal step to bring the Swiss brethren to admit a spiritual but real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which indeed many of them secretly held. In Berne there was much contention, and Viret was in controversy with Sulzer. In Zurich, there were those who charged Viret and Calvin with defection to the Lutheran tenet: this suspicion vanished when Calvin accompanied Farel to Zurich in 1548: for the venerable Farel was as efficient in peace as in war. The *Consensus Tigurinus* was opposed chiefly by Westphal, a hot-headed Lutheran of Hamburg, and by other unwise but fiery spirits of his communion. This formulary, which acquired the force of a church-symbol, was adopted in 1549, and marks an epoch in the Sacramentarian controversy. In 1554, it was revised and amended. Our author gives specimens of the letters which Calvin wrote in order to conciliate Bullinger and the other Zuinglians; for though our Reformer used to call Bullinger a *durum caput*, they were always close friends, and in 1547 Bullinger submitted one of his works to Calvin's revision.

The essays towards a general union were going on favourably at the entrance of the year 1549. This was to Calvin a year of mingled joy and sorrow. The libertine faction in

Geneva was for a time subdued; but the churches of Saxony were in a ferment upon the question concerning 'things indifferent.' During this year Calvin underwent a severe trial in the death of his wife. After this event, and after the happy termination of the synod of the Swiss and French ministers at Berne, Calvin and Farel, as has been intimated above, made a tour through the Swiss churches, for the purpose of promoting unity of opinion and feeling. In September he writes to Viret concerning the probable effects of the *Consensus:* "The hearts of the pious will be lifted up and our constancy and boldness will contribute much, in these unhappy times, to break the hearts of the wicked. Those who have thought ill of us, will see that our thoughts are good and just. Many who are now wavering in uncertainty will know what they have to rely upon. Those in foreign lands who differ from us in opinion will soon, I hope, reach out the hand to us. And finally, at all events, posterity will have such a testimony of our faith as they could never gather from our controversies." And indeed, as Planck has observed, by this Zurich Confession was properly accomplished, or at least evinced, the entire reconciliation of the Swiss with the Lutheran theology on the points first in debate." There was universal joy among all the Protestant churches, and all united in ascribing to Calvin the principal agency in this union. The mournful events by which it was violated fall under another period.

While Calvin was engaged in these labours, there came from France to Geneva eight men of rank, flying from persecution. Among them was one who was pre-eminent for his commanding countenance and figure, as well as for genius and accomplishment, but who was still much attached to the world. In this man Calvin recognised a friend of his youthful days. It was Theodore Beza, of Vezelay, in Burgundy. They asked leave of the Council to remain in Geneva, and Calvin, with affectionate impetuosity, conjured Beza to abide with him and join in his labours. He had previously learned from Melchior Wolmar the talents of Beza, and saw in him the very man whom God had sent to be his right arm, and finally to take his place in the consistory. Beza established himself at Geneva, and under the influence of Calvin became one of the most useful men of the age. For a time he was at Lausanne, as professor of Greek. At the request of the French refugees he there expounded the epistle to the Romans, and also laid the foundation for his learned work on

the New Testament. From this time forward Calvin undertook nothing without Beza, who became the eloquent interpreter and powerful defender of his opinions, as he was afterwards his successor and biographer. The enthusiastic friendship of Beza became more firm and pure as he entered more and more into the fellowship of faith with his preceptor and patron.

Though this was certainly the most striking, it was by no means the only instance of this influence upon men of learning. From every part of reformed Christendom such persons were attracted by the genius, the learning, and the pious energy of Calvin. We have already named Peter Martyr Vermili. He was called by Calvin *Miraculum Italiae.* Another Italian was Bernardino Ochino of Siena, whom Calvin designated as *praeclarus vir*, and *vir magnus omnibus modis.* In this connexion it is interesting to mark the relation of our Reformer to that heresiarch Laelius Socinus. Calvin treated this learned man with great tenderness, for he thought he perceived in him a real desire for the truth; and he even gave him letters of recommendation when he went into Poland. We cannot, however, add to the length of this article by any extracts from their correspondence.

M. Henry closes his volume with a section upon the agreement between Calvin and Luther in living faith. The subject is one which has been much discussed, and while we arrive at no new results, we gain from M. Henry's investigation corroboration to our previous belief. On the Sacramentarian controversy, it is true, they never came to a clear understanding, but there was a hearty concurrence in all that related to the vital truths of religion. M. Henry goes somewhat into the question whether Luther and Calvin coincided in opinion concerning Predestination and Election, or whether on the other hand Luther changed his mind on these points, as has been alleged by the Arminians and modern Lutherans. The truth seems to be this, that Luther always retained his belief in the doctrine of unconditional election to life, but that he became cautious in his expressions concerning it, and justly fearful of its being abused to the purposes of fatalistic Antinomianism. It has been argued, from certain passages in Luther's later writings, that he had abandoned the doctrine, but M. Henry shows very conclusively that these are aimed entirely against its abuse, and has cited exactly similar passages from Calvin; as, for example, the following: "We are not of the number of these fantastic spirits, who, under

the shadow of God's eternal predestination, make no account of coming to the promised life *by the right way;* but we rather hold, that to be owned as children of God, it is necessary that we believe in Jesus Christ, because it is in him alone that we must seek for all that pertains to his salvation." Calvin and Melancthon, however, differed considerably upon this point in later years, when the latter, in Calvin's judgment, treated it *nimis philosophice.*

There is in Hering's Brandenburg Church-History a pleasant story which throws light upon the mutual relation of the two great Reformers. We have only to regret that in detailing an anecdote which takes us back to the heart of old Wittenberg, we can make so feeble an approach to the savoury humour of the idiomatic Saxon. "So soon," the history states, "as Calvin's book, made German by Galasio, appeared anew in print in 1545, and was brought to Wittenberg, Dr. Luther, on the Monday after *Quasimodogeniti,* after the lecture then holden by him on Genesis, went to the shop of Moritz Goltsch, the bookseller. He bade welcome the bookseller who had just come home from the Shrovetide Fair, and accosted him with these words: 'Well Moritz, what is the best news from Frankfort? Are they minded to burn up the arch-heretic Luther?' whereupon Moritz Goltsch made answer thus: 'Of that hear I nothing, reverend Sir; but I have here brought with me a little book, on the Supper of our Lord, written first in French, by John Calvin, but now set forth anew in Latin. They say abroad of Calvin, that he is, though a young, yet a pious and a learned man. And in the little book aforesaid, Calvin is said to show, wherein your reverence, and wherein Zuinglius and Oecolampadius have exceeded in the dispute about the holy sacrament.' When Moritz Goltsch had imprudently said this, Dr. Luther immediately replied, 'Give me rather the book.' Upon which the bookseller gave him an *exemplar in octavo,* bound in leather, which Dr. Luther took into his hands, and sitting down began to read the first three pages after the title, and the last four and a half at the end, and then said: 'Moritz, this is surely a learned and pious man, to whom I might well have committed the whole matter of this dispute from the beginning. On my part I confess, if the other party had done the like, we had soon been reconciled; for if Oecolampadius and Zuinglius had so explained themselves at the first, we had never gone into so lengthened a disputation.' Besides many other of the students who were standing around Dr. Luther

at the time, this was heard by Matthias Stoius, then Dr. Luther's table-companion, but afterwards Doctor of Medicine, and body-physician to the old Duke of Prussia, who many times related it to the Duke, in the presence of many distinguished people of quality."

With this characteristic incident we close our notice of the work, hoping at some future day to follow the history to its conclusion.

Charles Hodge

ART. III.—*A Brief History and Vindication of the Doctrines received and established in the Churches of New England, with a specimen of the New Scheme of Religion beginning to prevail.* By Thomas Clap, A.M., President of Yale College. New Haven, 1755.

OUR readers may be somewhat surprised at seeing, as the heading of this article, the title of a book published near a century ago. The character of this periodical, however, does not restrict us to the notice of works of a recent date. The past is the mirror of the present, as the present is of the future. What is now, has been before, and shall be hereafter. It is well, at times, to look back and see how the trials of our forefathers agree with our own; to observe how the errors and disorders with which we have to contend afflicted them; to notice how the methods adopted in former ages to secure the introduction of false doctrines answer to the devices of the present day; and how signally God blessed the faithful efforts of his servants in defence of his truth, and how uniformly compromise and subserviency have been followed by the triumph of error and the decline of religion. The history of the church is replete with instructions on all these points; and these instructions are presented in the history of the church in our own country in a form peculiarly adapted to our present circumstances. The pious founders of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in America brought with them the very doctrines which the friends of truth in those churches are now struggling to maintain; they had to contend with the same errors and disorders, and they resisted them by the same means which we are now endeavouring to employ, viz. testimony, discussion and discipline. Their fidelity produced just the same outcry about ecclesiastical

tyranny, inquisitorial powers, freedom of thought, march of intellect, new discoveries, with which the ears of the public are now assailed. The same plea of essential agreement, of mere *shades* of difference, of the evils of controversy, was urged then, as now. But, blessed be God, not with the same success. The men of those generations did not allow themselves to be either frightened or beguiled. And as long as they retained their courage and fidelity their efforts were crowned with success.

There is another instructive feature in the history of the last century. Those who could not endure sound doctrine, would not endure sound discipline. As soon as they had departed from the faith, they got their eyes wide open to the evils of ecclesiastical authority. This opposition to supervision manifested itself in Connecticut in two ways. Some objected to the examination into the doctrinal opinions of ministers, or to the exercise of discipline for the prevailing errors; while others withdrew from the consociated churches and set up for themselves. These separatists called themselves strict Congregationalists. One of their standing subjects of complaint was the supervision of the consociation. This was found to be very inconvenient. It is readily admitted that many Christians have honestly and from good motives preferred the purely independent system of church government, yet there can be no doubt that then, as now, many who advocated that system did it because of the convenient latitude which it affords for all kinds of doctrine.

So much has been said of late years of the contentions in the Presbyterian church; such assiduous efforts have been made to produce the impression that there is either some great evil in Presbyterianism, or that its present advocates are peculiarly and wickedly bigotted, that we have thought it wise, and likely in various ways to be useful, to recall attention to one chapter of the ecclesiastical history of Connecticut. It will be seen that so long as there is a regard for divine truth and for real religion in the church, there will be controversy and contention when errorists arise and endeavour to propagate their doctrines. There can be no surer sign of degeneracy than the peaceful progress of error. If, therefore, the same or analogous errors and disorders, which a century ago agitated many parts of New England to its centre, are now allowed to prevail without opposition, it will prove to all the world that the faith and the spirit of the Puritans have perished among their descendants. It is not

our intention, though largely in the debt of a certain class of our New England brethren, to read them a lesson out of their own history. It is not for their benefit so much as for our own, that we bring to the notice of our readers President Clap's Defence of the Doctrines of the New England Churches. It will serve to confirm the purpose and strengthen the faith of the friends of truth in our church, to see that they are fighting the same battle which has once before been fought and won, and that on New England ground. It will serve to refute the calumny of those who represent the struggle in our church, as an opposition to genuine New England doctrines. It will show that we are now opposing what all sound and faithful Puritans ever have resisted; and that the reproaches which we now suffer were just as freely lavished on New England men a hundred years ago.

There is so little in this pamphlet which is not directly applicable to the present times, that we shall do little more than extract its contents, giving, it may be, an occasional remark, by way of application or improvement.

"The great motive," says President Clap, "which induced the first planters of New England, to leave their pleasant European seats, and settle in this howling wilderness, was, that they might enjoy religion in the purity of its doctrines, discipline and worship, and transmit the same down to the latest posterity. The doctrines which they believed and professed, were those which had been generally established in all ages of the Christian church; and more especially summed up, and declared in the several confessions of faith, in the various churches of the protestant Reformation; though there were some lesser circumstances in their ecclesiastical discipline, which were in some measure peculiar to themselves. For the sake of these inestimable privileges, they undertook to settle a new and uncultivated country, filled with the most savage and barharous enemies; and nothing but these religious prospects could induce them to believe that they did not purchase it at too dear a rate. And the leaving the gospel in its purity, they judged to be a better inheritance to their posterity, than the valuable soil which they acquired with such incredible hardship, danger and fatigue: therefore any attempt to deprive them of their religion, is as injurious as to deprive them of their lands, or to change their happy form of civil government.

"Soon after their first settlement, there was a general Synod of the elders and messengers of all the churches in New

England, in the year 1648, wherein they unanimously declared their sentiments in the doctrines of the gospel, in these words, *viz.* 'This Synod, having perused and considered, (with much gladness of heart, and thankfulness to God,) the Confession of Faith lately published by the Reverend Assembly in England, do judge it to be very holy, orthodox and judicious in all matters of faith; and do therefore freely and fully consent thereunto, for the substance; only in matters of church government and discipline, we refer ourselves to the platform of church discipline agreed upon by this assembly.' And accordingly published it as 'their Confession of Faith, and as the doctrine constantly taught and professed in these churches.'

"In their preface they say, 'that it has been the laudable practice of the churches of Christ, in all ages, to give a public account to the world, of the faith and order of the gospel among them; and that it has a tendency to public edification, by maintaining the faith entire in itself, and unity and harmony with other churches.'

"Our churches, say they, believe and profess the same doctrine which has been generally received in all the reformed churches in Europe. I suppose the Assembly's Catechism was not expressly mentioned, because before this it had been generally received and taught to children.

"A few years after there was a Synod of Congregational churches held at the Savoy, in London; wherein they consented to the Westminster confession aforesaid; only they left out some things relating to church discipline and divorce, and amended some few expressions. This is called the Savoy Confession.

"A general Synod of the elders and messengers of the churches in New England, in 1680, approved of and consented to this confession; and the general court at Boston ordered it to be printed 'for the benefit of the churches in the present and after times.' The Synod, in their preface, say, 'That it must needs tend much to the honour of the blessed name of the Lord Jesus, when many churches join together in their testimony for the truth. That the Lord hath signally owned the confessions of the four first general councils or Synods for the suppression of heresies in the primitive times. That the confessions of the Bohemians, Waldenses, and other Protestant reformed churches (which also show what harmony of doctrine there is among all sincere professors of the truth) have been of singular use, not only to those

who then lived, but also to posterity, even to this day. That it must needs be a work pleasing unto God, for his servants to declare to the world, what those principles of truth are, which they have received, and purpose to live and die in the profession of; nor are they worthy of the name of Christians, who refuse to declare what they believe.' They conclude with these words, 'What hours of temptation may overtake these churches, is not for us to say; only the Lord doth many times so order things, that when his people have made a good confession, they shall be put upon the trial, some way or other, concerning their sincerity in it. The Lord grant, that the loins of our minds may be so girt about with truth, that we may be able to withstand in an evil day, and having done all to stand.

"In the year 1690, there was a meeting of the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in England, who, agreeing perfectly in points of doctrine, compromised those small circumstantials wherein they had disagreed in church discipline. This they published under the title of, *Heads of Agreement assented to by the united Ministers formerly called the Presbyterian and Congregational.* In which they declare their approbation of 'the doctrinal articles of the church of England; the Confession of Faith; the larger and shorter Catechisms composed by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and the Savoy Confession, as agreeable to the word of God.'

"In the year 1708, there was a general Synod of all the churches in the colony of Connecticut, assembled by delegation, at Saybrook, in which they unanimously consented to the Savoy Confession, and the heads of agreement before mentioned; and drew up some articles for the administration of church discipline. One principal thing wherein these articles differed from what had been before generally received and practiced in the New English churches, was this, that whereas the Cambridge platform had said in general terms, that councils should consist of the neighbouring churches, and some questions had arisen who should be esteemed the neighbouring churches, and what number should be called in particular cases: these articles reduced it to a greater certainty, that councils should consist of the neighbouring churches in the county; they forming themselves into one or more consociations for that purpose.

"These three things, viz. the Confession of Faith; Heads of Agreement, and Articles of Church Discipline, were presented to the General Court at Hartford, in May 1708; and

they declared their great approbation of them, and 'ordain, that all the churches in this government, thus united in doctrine, worship and discipline, shall be owned and acknowledged established by law.'

"The Synod of Saybrook, in their preface, say, that 'the usage of the Christian church, whose faith rested wholly on the word of God, respecting confessions of faith, is very ancient; and necessary for the correcting, condemning, and suppressing of heresy and error. For this purpose, ancient and famous confessions of faith have been agreed upon by Oecumenical councils, e. g. of Nice, against Arius; of Constantinople, against Macedonius, &c. That the several reformed nations agreed upon confessions of faith, famous in the world, and of special service to theirs and the succeeding ages. That the faith of these churches is the same which was generally received in all the reformed churches in Europe. This confession of faith, they say, they offer as their firm persuasion, well and truly grounded on the word of God, and commend the same to the people of this colony, to be examined, accepted and constantly maintained. That having applied the rule of holy Scripture to the articles of this confession,* and found the same to be the eternal truths of God, you remember and hold them fast: *contend earnestly for them, as the faith once delivered to the saints:* value them as your great charter: the instrument of your salvation, and the evidence of your not failing of the grace of God, and of your receiving a crown that fadeth not away. Maintain them, and every of them, all your days, with undaunted resolution, against all opposition, whatever the event may be; and the same transmit safe and pure to posterity; having bought the truth, sell it not: believe the truth will make you free. Faithful is he that hath promised. Let no man take away your crown.'

"In this state our pious fore-fathers established the pure religion of Christ in this land, and left it as the best legacy to their posterity. They were doubtless men of great piety; fervent in prayer, and assiduous in studying the sacred Scriptures, in order to find out the truth, and recommend it to their posterity. They did not undertake to make a religion, but to declare it from the word of God: nor did they suppose that their faith or belief should be the ground and

* "By this is meant, not the applying those few texts of Scripture only, which are set in the margin, (for it is probable they were not put there by the Assembly of Divines) but every text of Scripture applicable to these articles."

foundation of ours, but resolved all into the authority of God speaking in his word.

"Among the various means they used to propagate this pure religion to their posterity, they esteemed the erecting of colleges and subordinate schools, to be the principal. To this purpose the general synod at Boston, in 1679, fully express their sentiments. 'That we read of schools and colleges in scripture; 1 Chron. 25: 8, Mal. 2: 12, Acts 19: 9, and 22: 3. That Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, were presidents of the schools of the prophets; 1 Sam. 19: 18. That Ecclesiastical History informs us, that great care was taken by the apostles, and their immediate successors, to settle schools at all places; that so the interest of religion might be preserved, and truth propagated to all succeeding generations. We have reason to bless God, who hath put it into the hearts of our fathers, to take care in this matter; for these churches would have been in a deplorable state, if the Lord had not blessed the college, so as thence to supply most of our churches.'

"'When the people in New England were poor, and but few in number, there was a spirit to encourage learning; and as we desire that religion should flourish, it concerns us to endeavour that the college and inferior schools be duly inspected and encouraged.' Thus far that synod.

"The fathers of the colony of Connecticut, from the same pious and religious design, erected a college among themselves in the year 1701: the scheme was concerted principally by the ministers, with an especial design to maintain and propagate that pure religion, which was before settled among them; as appears by sundry letters to and from those ministers who first undertook to found this school, dated before the charter, and still extant.

"The charter is predicated, 'upon the petition of sundry well-disposed persons, of their *sincere regard to and zeal for upholding and propagating of the Christian Protestant religion, by a succession of learned and orthodox men.*' And the grant was made, 'to encourage such *a pious and religious undertaking.*' At their first meeting they came into the following solemn act.

"At a meeting of the collegiate undertakers, holden at Saybrook, November 11, A.D. 1701, present, the Revs. Israel Chauncey, Thomas Buckingham, Abraham Pierson, Samuel Andrew, James Pierpoint, Noadiab Russel, Joseph Webb.

"'Whereas it was the glorious public design of our now

blessed fathers, in their remove from Europe into these parts of America, both to plant, and under the Divine blessing, to propagate in this wilderness the blessed reformed Protestant religion, in the purity of its order and worship; not only to their posterity, but also to the barbarous natives: in which great enterprise they wanted not the royal commands and favour of his majesty king Charles the Second, to authorize and invigorate them.

"'We, their unworthy posterity, lamenting our past neglects of this grand errand, and sensible of the equal obligations better to prosecute the same end, are desirous in our generation to be serviceable thereunto.

"'Whereunto the religious and liberal education of suitable youth is, under the blessing of God, a chief and most probable expedient. Therefore, that we might not be wanting in cherishing the present observable and pious disposition of many well-minded people, to dedicate their children and substance unto God in such a good service: and being ourselves with sundry other Reverend Elders, not only desired by our goodly people, to undertake as trustees, for erecting, forming, ordering and regulating a collegiate school, for the advancement of such an education: but having also obtained of our present religious government, both full liberty and assistance, by their donations to such an use: tokens likewise that particular persons will not be wanting in their beneficence: do, in duty to God, and the weal of our country, undertake in the aforesaid design. And being now met, according to the liberties and aids now granted to us for the use aforesaid; do order and appoint, that there shall be, and hereby is erected and formed a collegiate school, wherein shall be taught the liberal arts and languages, in such place or places in Connecticut, as the said trustees with their associates and successors, do or shall, from time to time, see cause to order.

"'For the orderly and effectual management of this affair, we agree to, and hereby appoint and confirm the following rules:

"'1st. That the rector take special care, as of the moral behaviour of the students at all times, so with industry, to instruct and ground them well in theoretical divinity; and to that end, shall neither by himself, nor by any other person whomsoever, allow them to be instructed and grounded in any other system or synopsis of divinity, than such as the said trustees do order and appoint: but shall take effectual

care, that the said students be weekly, at such seasons as he shall see cause to appoint, caused memoriter to recite the Assembly's Catechism in Latin, and Ames's Theological Theses; of which, as also Ames's Cases, he shall make, or cause to be made, from time to time, such explanations as may (through the blessing of God,) be most conducive to their establishment in the principles of the Christian Protestant religion.

"'2d. The rector shall also cause the Scripture daily (except on the Sabbath) morning and evening, to be read by the students at the times of prayer in the school, according to the laudable order and usages of Harvard College, making expositions upon the same: and upon the Sabbath, shall either expound practical theology, or cause the non-graduated students to repeat sermons; and in all other ways according to his best discretion, shall at all times studiously endeavour, in the education of the students, *to promote the power and purity of religion and the best edification of these New England churches.*'

"The founders of the college, and their successors, have upon several times and occasions, come into some further and more explicit resolves, in pursuance to the original fundamental plan; particularly,

"At a meeting of the trustees of Yale College, in New Haven, October 17, 1722: present, the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Andrew, Timothy Woodbridge, Samuel Russell, Joseph Webb, John Davenport, Thomas Buckingham, Stephen Buckingham, Thomas Ruggles, Eliphalet Adams.

"'16. Voted, That all such persons as shall hereafter be elected to the office of rector or tutor in this college, shall, before they are accepted therein, before the trustees, declare their assent to the confession of faith owned and consented to by the elders and messengers of the churches in the Colony of Connecticut, assembled by delegation at Saybrook, Sept. 9, 1708, and confirmed by act of the General Assembly; and shall particularly give satisfaction to them, of the soundness of their faith, in opposition to Arminian and Prelatical corruptions, or any other of dangerous consequence to the purity and peace of our churches: but if it cannot be before the trustees, it shall be in the power of any two trustees, with the rector, to examine a tutor, with respect to the confession and soundness of faith, in opposition to said corruptions.

"'17. Voted, That upon just ground of suspicion of the rector or tutor's inclination to Arminian or Prelatic princi-

ples, a meeting of the trustees shall be called, as soon as may be, to examine into the case.

"'18. Voted, That if any other officer or member of this college shall give just grounds of suspicion of their being corrupted with Arminian or Prelatical principles,* or of any other of dangerous consequence to the peace and purity of our churches, the rector and tutors shall call them upon examination according to the articles of the said confession; and in case they refuse to submit thereto, or do not give a satisfactory account of their uncorruptness, they shall suspend them to the next meeting of the trustees.'

"N. B. Five of the first founders were at this time alive, and four present at the passing of these acts.

"At a meeting of the president and fellows of Yale College, November 21, 1751, present, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Clap, President: the Rev. Messrs. Jared Eliot, Joseph Noyes, Anthony Stoddard, Benjamin Lord, William Russel, Thomas Ruggles, Soloman Williams, and Noah Hobart, Fellows.

"'Whereas the principal design of the pious founders of this college was to educate and train up youth for the ministry in the churches of this Colony, according to the doctrine, discipline and mode of worship received and practised in them; and they particularly ordered, that the students should be established in the principles of religion, and grounded in polemical divinity, according to the Assembly's Catechism, Dr. Ames's Medulla, and Cases of Conscience, and that special care should be taken, in the education of students, not to suffer them to be instructed in any different principles or doctrines; and that all proper methods or measures should be taken to promote the power and purity of religion, and the best edification and peace of these churches:

"'We, the successors of the said founders, being in our own judgments, of the same principles in religion with our predecessors, and esteeming ourselves bound in fidelity to the trust committed to us, to carry on the same design, and

* "By Prelatical principles, I suppose, they intend, the opinion that Prelacy or Episcopacy is, by divine right, absolutely necessary to the being of the Christian ministry and church; which opinion being entirely subversive of these churches which the college was founded to support; those who endeavour to propagate it, counteract the fundamental design of the college: but such as suppose, that Episcopacy is only most convenient, as tending to maintain unity and order, and don't nullify Presbyterian ordination (which is the opinion of the greatest part of the church of England, in England), may consistently be admitted members of our college, and to the communion of our churches too, as has been the practice ever since there have been churchmen in the Colony."

improve all the college estate descended to us, for the purposes for which it was given, do explicitly and fully resolve, as follows, viz.

"'1. That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only rule of faith and practice, in all matters of religion, and the standard by which all doctrines, principles and practices in religion are to be tried and judged.

"'2. That the Assembly's Catechism and the Confession of Faith, received and established in the churches of this Colony (which is an abridgement of the Westminster Confession), contain a true and just summary of the most important doctrines of the Christian religion; and that the true sense of the sacred Scriptures is justly collected and summed up in these compositions: and all expositions of Scripture, pretending to deduce any doctrines or positions, contrary to the doctrines laid down in these composures, we are of opinion are wrong and erroneous.

"'3. If any doubt or dispute should happen to arise about the true meaning and sense of any particular terms or phrases in the said composures, they shall be understood and taken in the same sense in which such terms and phrases have been generally used in the writings of Protestant divines, and especially in their public confessions of faith.*

"'4. That we will always take all proper and reasonable measures, such as Christian prudence shall direct, to continue and propagate the doctrines contained in these summaries of religion, in this college, and to transmit them to all future successions and generations; and to use the like measures to prevent the contrary doctrines from prevailing in this society.

"'5. That every person who shall hereafter be chosen a president, fellow, professor of divinity, or tutor, in this college, shall, before he enters upon the execution of his office, publicly give his consent to the catechism and confession of faith, as containing a just summary of the Christian religion, as before expressed, and renounce all doctrines or principles contrary thereunto: and shall pass through such an examination as the corporation shall think proper, in order to their being fully satisfied that he shall do it truly without any evasion or equivocation.

* "The general rule of interpreting all writings, is, that words and phrases shall be taken in the same sense in which they are commonly used in other writings upon the same subject."

"'6. That since every such officer is admitted into his post upon the condition aforesaid, if he shall afterwards change his sentiments, entertain any contrary set of principles or scheme of religion, and disbelieve the doctrines contained in the said catechism or confession of faith, he cannot, consistent with common honesty and fidelity, continue in his post, but is bound to resign it.

"'7. That when it is suspected by any of the corporation, that any such officer has fallen from the profession of his faith, as before mentioned, and is gone into any contrary scheme of principles, he shall be examined by the corporation.

"'8. That inasmuch as it is especially necessary, that a professor of divinity should be sound in the faith; besides the common tests before mentioned, he shall publicly exhibit a full confession of his faith, drawn up by him in his own words and phrases, and shall in full and express terms renounce all such errors as shall in any considerable measure prevail at the time of his introduction; and if any doubt or question shall arise about any doctrine or position, whether it be truth or error, it shall be judged by the word of God taken in that sense of it which is contained and declared in the said catechism and confession of faith; as being a just exposition of the word of God in those doctrines or articles which are contained in them.*

"'9. That every person who shall be chosen president, fellow, professor of divinity, or tutor in this college, shall give his consent to the rules of church discipline established in the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches of this Colony: it being understood, that our ecclesiastical constitution may admit of additions or alterations, in such circumstances as according to our confession of faith are to be regulated by the light of nature, and the rules of Christian prudence. And it is especially declared, that if any person shall deny the validity of the ordination of ministers of this Colony, commonly called Presbyterian or Congregational, or shall hold, that it is necessary or convenient that such ministers should be reordained, in order to render their administrations valid, it

* "This does not make the catechism and confession the rule of expounding Scripture (as some have suggested), for the best rule of interpreting Scripture, is the Scripture itself, i. e. comparing one place with another. See Confession, Chap. 1. Sect. 9. It was principally by this means, the Assembly found out the true meaning of Scripture, and expressed and declared it in those composures."

shall be deemed an essential departure from our ecclesiastical constitution, and inconsistent with the intentions of the founders of this college, that such a person should be chosen an officer in it.

"'10. Yet, we would suppose, that it is not inconsistent with the general design of the founders, and is agreeable to our own inclination, to admit Protestants of all denominations to send their children to receive the advantage of an education in this college: provided that while they are here, they conform to all the laws and orders of it.' "

As we understand this matter these statutes were in force until within a few years. It has been said indeed that the usage of the institution, since the accession of President Stiles in 1773, allowed of considerable latitude in this subscription; that the substance of the confession is all that any officer was required to assent to. In reference to this subject the Rev. Daniel Dow of Connecticut, in the appendix to his pamphlet on the New Haven Theology, asks the following question: "Whether the ancient Confession of Faith be not a part of the constitution of Yale College, upon which the funds of the college are established. And if it be, whether the Corporation have any more right or authority to alter it, or repeal it, or to accept of any ascititious creeds as containing the substance of it, than any other corporate body has to alter the conditions of their charter?" We presume Mr. Dow had a right to ask this question. We have never heard whether he has been favoured with an answer. It would seem however that the Dwight Professor of Theology must be greatly straitened in order to avail himself of the liberal usage above referred to. It seems the founders of that professorship required that "Every professor who shall receive the income or the revenue of this fund, shall be examined as to his faith, and be required to make a written declaration thereof, agreeably to the following, 'I hereby declare my free assent to the Confession of Faith and Ecclesiastical Discipline agreed upon by the churches of the state in the year 1708.' " They further say, "If at any future period, any person who fills the chair of this professorship, holds or teaches doctrines contrary to those above referred to, then it shall be the duty of the Corporation to dismiss such person from office forthwith." We are no further interested in this matter than the New Haven gentlemen are in the affairs of the Presbyterian church; or than the whole Christian com-

munity is interested in the maintainance of good faith and true religion. We proceed with our extracts.

"The body of the ministers in the Colony of Connecticut, in their public conventions, have several times renewed their consent to their Confession of Faith; particularly at the general council at Guilford, in 1742, and at the general association at Fairfield, 1753, in these words:

"'We recommend it to the particular associations, that they be very careful, that the true and great doctrines of the gospel, agreeable to the Confession of Faith, be maintained and preached up, against the Arminian, Antinomian, and other errors, and that especial care and pains be taken with our youth, to instruct them in the principles of our holy religion, and articles of our faith.'

"At a general association of the Colony of Connecticut at Middletown, June 17, 1755, present, the Rev. Messrs. Jared Elliot, *Moderator;* Benjamin Colton, John Graham, William Worthington, Solomon Williams, Jacob Elliot, Noah Hobart, Elnathan Whitman, Nathaniel Eells, Jonathan Todd, Edward Eells, Joseph Bellamy, Noah Welles, James Beebe, Izrahiah Wetmore.

"'This association apprehending that various errors, contrary to the doctrines owned in the churches of this Colony, are spreading and prevailing in the land, and that it is highly necessary for ministers to bear testimony against those prevailing errors; this association earnestly recommend it, to the particular associations of this colony, to agree among themselves, frequently to insist upon these doctrines contained in our Confession of Faith, which are contrary to the prevailing errors of the day; and particularly that they would bear a sufficient testimony against Socinianism, Arminianism, Arianism, Pelagianism, and Antinomianism, or any other errors that may arise among us.

"'And whereas one particular association of this colony, have declined coming into the proposal of a general consociation, till the several associations have declared their adherence to the Confession of Faith owned in our churches; we freely declare our adherence to the doctrines contained in our Confession of Faith, and we would recommend it to particular associations strictly to adhere to the doctrines of our Confession of Faith.'

"It was the practice of the once famous French Protestant churches, at every meeting of their national Synod, to read and give their assent to their Confession of Faith; and pro-

mise to preach according to it.* And it might be well if this was practised among us; notwithstanding the opposition made by those who dislike the doctrines.

"Although the Protestant churches in general, and those of New England in particular, have been thus fully fixed and established in the pure doctrines of the gospel, yet sundry persons of late have risen up openly to oppose and deny them; and have by various means endeavoured to introduce a new scheme of Religion, and an easy way of salvation, unknown to the gospel of Christ. To this purpose a great variety of books have been written, either expressly denying, or artfully endeavouring to misrepresent, perplex, and undermine the great doctrines of the gospel. Although those authors do not perfectly agree among themselves, yet their scheme is in the main, tolerably consistent with itself, in as much as the denying of some of the doctrines of the gospel (amongst which there is a necessary connection) naturally undermines and destroys all the rest.

"I shall present the reader with a general view of this new scheme of religion, as I some years ago collected it from the writings of Chubb, Taylor, Foster, Hutcheson, Campbell and Ramsey, and other books, which are by some highly extolled and assiduously spread about the country.

"'The only end and design of the creation is the happiness of the creature: and this end shall certainly be attained, so that all rational creatures shall finally be happy; or at least, taken together as a body, shall be as happy as they can possibly be; and if some individual should be eternally miserable, it is because it is beyond the power of God to make them happy; it being impossible, that a creature should be happy against its will, and the will cannot be immediately changed without destroying the nature of the agent. God has no authority over his creatures as creator, but only as benefactor, and has no right to command his creatures, but only so far as he annexes rewards to obedience, and makes it their interest to obey: the only criterion of duty to God is self-interest; and God commands us to do things, not out of any regard to his own glory or authority, but merely because the things commanded, naturally tend to promote our own interest and happiness. That he annexes penalties only for the good of the creature, and the only end of punishment is the

* "See Quick's Synodicon."

good of those upon whom it is inflicted; or, at least, for the good of the system of moral agents in general.

"The natural tendency which things have to promote our own interest, is the sole criterion of moral good and evil, truth and falsehood, right and wrong, duty and sin. That sin consists in nothing but a man's doing or forbearing an action contrary to his own interest; and duty to God, is nothing but the pursuit of our own happiness, with this view, that it is the will of God that we should be happy.

"We ought to have no regard to God, but so far as he is or may be a means or instrument of promoting our own happiness, and that to act from a view to the glory of God, his perfection, authority or laws considered as over and above, beside or distinct from our own happiness, is but a chimæra; it being impossible that any moral agent can have any rational view or design, but only its own happiness.

"Since the nature of all sin consists in man's doing what he knows to be contrary to his own interest and happiness: every sin must be known and voluntary; and consequently there can be no sin of ignorance, derivation or imputation; nor any sinful nature, state or disposition. That Adam was not created in a state of holiness, but only had a power to act virtuously, that is, to pursue his own interest, if he pleased: that he had in his original constitution, strong dispositions and inclinations to do acts that were sinful, i. e. contrary to his own interest, and he could not refrain from those particular acts without considerable pain and uneasiness: that God gave him inclinations which he ought not to gratify, and that an inclination to sin, being the gift of God is no sin, but is designed for the exercise of his virtue in restraining of it.

"Every man is now born into the world in as perfect a state of rectitude as Adam was created; and has no more of a disposition to sin than he had; and in all respects stands as fair for the favour of God as Adam did; not being obliged to be conformed to any standard of moral perfection, but only to pursue his own interest and happiness.

"And though it should be supposed, that men have some weaknesses now, which Adam had not at first; yet nothing can be a man's duty which is not now in his power, even

* "The author of Heaven open to all men, says, if our appetites are irregular, he who gave them is responsible for them."

though he has lost it by his own fault; for the law is abated in proportion with the power to obey.

"Adam, in a state of innocence, being liable to sickness, wounds and death; there is reason to suppose, that the special providence of God would interpose to preserve him from them. The present miseries and calamities of human life are no evidences of a sinful state, or tokens of God's displeasure; but are primarily designed as means for the trial of men's virtue, and to make them capable of a reward.

"Every man has a natural power to prosecute his own interest, and to do all that is necessary to be done by him for his own happiness. The actions of moral agents can be neither virtuous, vicious or free, unless they are done by a man's own power, nor unless he has also a power to do the contrary; and therefore it is absurd to suppose, that God should implant grace or holiness in any man, or keep him from sin, or decree or foreknow his actions; because all these suppositions destroy the free agency of a man, and consequently his moral virtue.

"That God cannot certainly foreknow the actions of free-agents; because they are not in their own nature foreknowable; they not depending upon any antecedent causes, but merely upon the free and self-determining power of the will.

"Since sin is nothing else but a man's not pursuing his own interest so well as he might, no punishment is properly and justly due to him; but only that he should suffer the natural ill consequences of his own misconduct; consequently no satisfaction is necessary in order to the forgiveness of sin; and therefore Christ did not die to make satisfaction for sin, and so there is no need to suppose him to be essentially God, but only a most perfect and glorious creature.

"The great design of the gospel, and of Christ's coming into the world, was to revive the light of nature, and to cultivate moral virtue, which had been greatly obscured by Jewish and heathenish superstitions, and to give men more full assurance, that if they endeavoured to promote their own interest in this world, they should be happy in the next, than the mere light of nature could do: and therefore there is no great weight to be laid upon men's believing Christ's divinity, satisfaction, or any of those speculative points, which have been generally received as the peculiar and fundamental doctrines of the gospel (some of which are prejudicial to moral virtue), but we ought to have charity for all men, let

their speculative principles be what they will, provided they live moral lives, whether they be Papists, Jews, Mahomedans or heathens: or, at least, for all that say they believe the Bible, though* they put no certain meaning to it, or construction upon it; but only that they believe it to be a good system of morality, and don't profess to believe any thing more about Christ, than the Mohamedans generally do.

"And some have charity for all who are willing to be happy, and have a benevolent temper towards their fellow-men, though they do not so much as believe the being of a God: yea, some extend their charity to the devils themselves, so far as to suppose, that though they are at present very much out of the way, yet they shall at length see their error, and all be finally happy in heaven: and pretend to produce plain demonstration for it in this form:

"'The ultimate end and design of God in the creation, is the happiness of the creature.

"'God's ultimate end and design never can be finally frustrated or defeated; therefore all intelligent creatures shall finally be happy."

Here let the reader pause. Let him review this new scheme of religion and ascertain its leading features. He will find that what we call new now was called new a hundred years ago, and for the same reason. The doctrines were no more new then than they are at present; but it was a new thing that those doctrines should be avowed in the midst of orthodox churches. The reader cannot fail to notice, that every doctrine characteristic of the system which is now agitating the country, is embraced in the scheme which pious and orthodox men of New England were called to oppose during the last century. These doctrines are, 1. That the promotion of happiness is the grand end of creation. 2. That self-interest is the ultimate foundation of moral obligation. 3. That God cannot control the acts of moral agents, or prevent sin in a moral system. 4. That he cannot, of course, decree the acts of free agents. 5. That all sin consists in the voluntary transgression of known law; consequently that there is no such thing as a holy or unholy nature. Adam was not created holy, but formed his own moral character; and his posterity are not born corrupt, but become corrupt by their own voluntary transgression of known law. 6. That plenary

* "These call themselves Bibliarians."

ability and full power to the contrary are necessary to the morality of any act.

There are some points embraced in the new scheme as given by President Clap, which do not belong to the new divinity of our day; as, for example, the speculations about the divinity of Christ; and there are some which belong to the new divinity, as, for example, making regeneration to consist in the choice of God, as a source of happiness, or in a change of purpose, which are not expressly stated, though they are implied in the new scheme of the last century. It would be easy, and perhaps useful, to point out the striking coincidence, even in language, between these two schemes, did our limits permit.* We must content ourselves here with a very few illustrations. With regard to the first point, President Clap remarks, "This fundamental principle, 'That the happiness of the creature is the sole end of creation,' naturally leads to most if not all the rest." We are afraid this is too true, though many who adopt this principle, or at least the theory of virtue of which it is the expression, repudiate many or all of these consequences. It is a strange perversion to make happiness the end, and holiness but a means; as though enjoyment were superior to excellence. The theory that virtue is founded in utility; that a thing is right simply because of its tendency to promote happiness; this tendency being not merely the evidence of its excellence, but that excellence itself, is the copious fountain of speculative errors, and of perversion of the moral feelings. If happiness is the great end of creation; if any thing is right that promotes happiness, then the end sanctifies the means, and it is right to do evil that good may come. If it is right for God to act on this principle, it is hard to make men feel that it is wicked for them to do so. The only difficulty is, that they may not have knowledge enough to enable them to apply the principle correctly, but the principle itself must be good. We think it might easily be made to appear that the theology and morals of the church have suffered severely from the adoption of this false theory of virtue.

That this theory is a constituent part of the new divinity is plain from almost every page of the writings of the advocates of that system. "Why is righteousness or justice,"

* This is the less necessary, however, as our readers have access to the admirable letters on the origin and progress of the New Haven Theology, from a New England minister to one at the South; to Mr. Dow's pamphlet on the New Divinity, and to Mr. James Wood's work, entitled, Old and New Theology.

asks the Christian Spectator, "better than injustice?" After rejecting other answers, he says, "We must come back to the tendency to good or evil, pleasure or pain, happiness or unhappiness. The same relation is implied in saying, that righteousness or justice is better, or preferable to injustice or oppression. How better? In what respect preferable? What fitness or adaptedness has it, unless to good? and what is good, except as it tends to promote happiness?"* According to this doctrine there is no such thing as morality. Pleasure is the only good, and pain the only evil. There are means of pleasure, and causes of pain; but there is no such thing as sin or holiness. There is no specific difference between beauty and moral excellence; between a crime and a burn. There is, however, no more sense in asking, as is done by the Spectator, "How righteousness is better than injustice?" than in asking, how pleasure is better than pain? Every sentient being knows that pleasure is better than pain; and every moral being knows that righteousness is better than injustice. No reason need be given in either case. Right is as much a primary idea as pleasure. If a man had never felt pleasure it would be in vain to make him understand it; and if a man has no moral sense, he can have no conception of the meaning of the terms right and wrong. To tell him that right is the quality of any act which tends to produce happiness; and wrong of one which tends to produce pain, would make him think these words synonymous with expedient and inexpedient, agreeable and disagreeable. It would convey no idea of the specific meaning of the terms. Happiness is the mere shadow of virtue. It must always follow it. But virtue is no more defined, by saying that it is that which tends to produce happiness; than the nature of a solid body is defined by saying, it is that which casts a shadow.

People are very apt to imagine that they gain a victory, when they ask a question which does not admit of an answer. This is a great mistake. We are no more concerned because we cannot tell an inquirer what there is in virtue besides its tendency to produce happiness, than we are because we cannot tell a deaf man the difference between a loud sound and a bright colour. The difficulty does not arise from the identity of the two things, but from a want of capacity in the questioner to perceive the difference. Such interrogations,

* Christian Spectator, vol. 10, p. 538.

therefore, as those of the Spectator, produce in us no other feeling than that of wonder how they can be put by any man with a moral sense.

But the plague-spot of the new divinity is the second point above specified, the principle that self-interest is the ultimate foundation of moral obligation. This is its point of alliance with the lowest form of speculative opinions on this subject, and which gives it a character which must degrade the moral and religious feelings of every human breast in which it gains a lodgement. This offensive doctrine is not only incidentally stated, or indirectly implied, it is formally propounded and vindicated in writings of recognised authority in reference to the new divinity. Thus we are told, "This self-love or desire of happiness is the primary cause or reason of all acts of preference or choice, which fix supremely on any object." And more plainly still, "Of all specific, voluntary action the happiness of the agent, in some form, is the *ultimate end.*"* Can there be a human heart which does not revolt at such a monstrous assertion? Has every act of piety, every deed of benevolence, every attention of maternal love, the happiness of the agent as its ultimate end? The assertion contradicts the consciousness of every human being. All religion, all benevolence, all the social affections do not centre in self. Any man whose own happiness is the ultimate end of all his specific voluntary actions, is a bad man. If such a being could be found, he would not deserve the name of a man. Every one performs a multitude of acts because they are right; and in which the happiness of others and not of himself is the ultimate end. It may be said, we do not analyse our feelings with sufficient accuracy. We have, however, no faith in this analysing one thing into another; a sense of right into a desire of happiness; self-denial into self-seeking; the love of God into the love of self. We pray to be delivered from all such metaphysics.

Lest our readers should think that we assume, on too slight grounds, that this doctrine is a part of the new scheme of religion of our days, we refer them to an article on moral obligation in the last number of the Christian Spectator. They will find it there taught that "the ultimate foundation of moral obligation is the tendency of an action to promote the highest happiness of an agent, by promoting the highest welfare of all," p. 531. The last clause of the sen-

* Christian Spectator, 1829. p. 21, 24.

tence has nothing to do with the doctrine. The ground of obligation is the tendency of the act to promote the happiness of the agent. The fact that his happiness is best secured by acts which tend to promote the highest welfare of all, is not, according to the theory, the reason of their being obligatory. And this the article teaches with abundant plainness. The nature of the doctrine taught is clear from the whole drift of the piece; and will be sufficiently indicated to the reader by such sentences as the following, "It will perhaps be said, that by making moral obligation to rest on the tendency to promote the highest happiness of the agent, we make it wholly a *selfish* thing," p. 541. "Perhaps it may here be said, if this is the evil of sin—the disregard of the agent's highest welfare—and if this often times results from a state of ignorance, then the only remedy necessary is to supply the requisite knowledge—to enlighten the mind," p. 550. It is taught no less explicitly that the primary reason why we are bound to obey God is, that he knows best what will make us happy. Nay, we are told that it has been said, by at least one advocate of the new divinity, that if the devil could make him happier than God can, he would serve the devil.* It is hard to conceive how he could serve the devil more effectually than by making such declarations, which, after all, are only an irreverent statement of the doctrine of the Christian Spectator. On p. 529, the question is started, Why ought we to obey the will of God? After a good deal of circumlocution, it comes out that this obligation rests on his wisdom and benevolence, that is, upon his knowing what will render us most happy, and upon the assurance which his benevolence affords, that he will not deceive us as to this point. "The rule," we are told, exists, "and what its foundation is we have seen. As a matter of fact, it exists, however it may be made known, and the tendency, or bearing, or relation to happiness, whence it arises would exist, even if the rule or law was unknown. It is the province of the moral governor to make this truth known and to sustain it. The fact that he is such a being, that he is competent to the task, forms a reason, why he should be obeyed. In this competency, his capacity to judge what is best, what is most productive of good or of happiness, and his disposition to do it, in other words his infinite wisdom and benevolence, is the prime element to be taken into

* We would not state this on slight grounds. We have received it from a source on which entire reliance may be placed.

the account," p. 537. On a previous page it was said, that if there was "no feeling of gratification in the act (of obedience to God) . . . . the force of obligation would be unfelt." And on 538, it is asked, "On what ground is obedience claimed? It is that the law is holy, just, and *good*. The very reason that God assigns is, that it is *good*, that it is the surest way of making us most happy. [The words *holy*, and *just*, it seems, have no meaning for this writer.] His declaration in the form of law, is the highest evidence which we have of the fact, for it is the testimony of one who sees in all things the end from the beginning, and who has no disposition to mislead us, but who with all the sincerity of infinite love, seeks to promote our highest happiness. . . . . Men do not distinguish between God's competency to discern and to make known to us the way of happiness, and his creating a particular line of conduct right or wrong." Again, "Does any one hold that the will of God is the foundation of moral obligation, we show, that this, when carefully examined, can mean nothing more than the objective ground, or the indication or proof to us, wherein our true welfare lies, so as to supply to us our defect of knowledge," p. 543. According to this doctrine there is in fact no such thing as moral obligation in the universe. A man is bound to promote his own happiness in the best way he can, and this is his whole duty. All his obligation is to himself. He owes nothing to God, or to his fellow men. It is expedient for him to observe the divine directions, but he is bound to do so, only so far as they promote his own welfare. We would fain hope that such a doctrine needs no refutation in a Christian country. Its naked statement is enough to secure its reprobation.

The third specification given above is, That God cannot control the acts of free agents, or that he could not prevent the introduction of sin into a moral system. "It is a groundless assumption," says Dr. Taylor, "that God could have prevented all sin, or at least the present degree of sin in a moral system. . . . . Would not a benevolent God, had it been possible to him in the nature of things, have secured the existence of universal holiness in his moral kingdom."* "Free moral agents," says the Christian Spectator, "can do wrong under every possible influence to prevent it."† "God not only prefers on the whole, that his creatures should forever perform their duties rather than neglect them, but pro-

* Concio. p. 28. † Vol. 1830, p. 563.

poses on his part to do all in his power to promote this very object."* God, it is said, determined on his present course of providence, "not for the sake of redemption in the universe, rather than have a universe without sin; but for introducing redemption into a universe from which sin could not, by any providence, be excluded."† "The nature of things, as they now exist, forbids, as far as God himself is concerned, the more frequent existence of holiness in the place of sin."‡ "The prevention of sin did not enter into his determination because he saw it to be impracticable," p. 15. "It is to him a subject of regret and grief, yet men transgress; they rebel in spite of his wishes; they persevere in sin in spite of all which he can do to reclaim them," p. 19.

Fourth, that the assumption that God cannot effectually control the acts of moral agents, is inconsistent with the doctrine of decrees, is too evident to need remark. The doctrine is therefore rejected, though the terms, for the sake of convenience, or for some other reason, are retained. That God decrees that an event should occur, and yet "proposes to do all in his power" to prevent its occurrence no one can believe. It may permit its occurrence, or submit to it rather than destroy the system, but to say that he decrees it, appears to be a contradiction. The statement of the doctrines of predestination and election given by the New Haven writers and others of the same school, is in accordance with this fundamental principle of their system, and is a virtual denial of those doctrines. "Whatever degree or kind of influence," says the Spectator, "is used with them (sinners) to favour their return to him, at any given time, is as strongly favourable to their conversion as it can be made amid the obstacles which a world of guilty and rebellious moral agents opposed to God's works of grace."§ In another place, the writer, speaking of the influence which operates on the sinner, says. "Election involves nothing more, as it respects his individual case, except one fact—the certainty to the divine mind, whether the sinner will yield to the means of grace, and voluntarily turn to God, or whether he will continue to harden his heart until the means of grace are withdrawn." That is, God exerts an influence on sinners as strongly favourable to their conversion "as it can be made," and he knows who will

* Ch. Spect. 1832, p. 660. † Ch. Spect. p. 635.
‡ Sermon by Edward R. Tyler, New Haven, 1829, p. 9.
§ See Review of Dr. Fiske's Sermon on Predestination and Election.

yield, and this is election! To the same effect Mr. Tyler teaches "God forsees whom he *can* make willing in the day of his power, and resolves that they shall be saved," p. 14. And Mr. Finney, "The elect were chosen to eternal life, because God foresaw that in the perfect exercise of their freedom they could be induced to repent and embrace the gospel."* It is really surprising that the New Haven divines should still assert that they hold the doctrines of predestination and election in the ordinary sense of the terms. President Fiske, in answer to the review of his sermon in the Christian Spectator, justly complains of this unfairness. "I cannot," he says, "but express my deepest regret that a gentleman of the reviewer's standing and learning should lend his aid, and give his sanction to such a perversion of language, to such a confusion of tongues. Do the words predestinate, foreordain, decree, mean in their radical and critical definition, nothing more than to permit, not absolutely to hinder, to submit to as an unavoidable and offensive evil? . . . . Why then should the reviewer, believing as he does, continue to use them in the symbols of his faith? . . His mode of explanation turns the doctrine into Arminianism."

Fifth, that all sin consists in the voluntary transgression of known law. This is so much a favourite topic with the writers of this class, that it is hardly necessary to bring examples. As they explain and apply the principle, it involves the denial both of original righteousness and original sin. "Neither a holy nor a depraved nature is possible," says Dr. Beecher, "without understanding, conscience and choice. To say of an accountable creature that he is depraved by nature, is only to say, that rendered capable by his Maker of obedience, he disobeys from the commencement of his accountability."† "It is obvious," says Mr. Duffield, "that in infancy and incipient childhood, when none of the actions are deliberate, or the result of motive, operating in connexion with the knowledge of law, and of the great end of human actions, no moral character can appropriately be predicated."‡ "Why then is it necessary," asks the Christian Spectator, "to suppose some distinct evil propensity, some fountain of iniquity in the breast of the child previous to moral action?"§ "Animals and infants previous to moral agency, do therefore stand on precisely the same ground in

* Sermons on Important Subjects, p. 25.
† Sermon on the Native Character of Man.
‡ Regeneration, p. 378. § Christian Spectator, 1829, p. 367.

reference to this subject." The doctrine of "a native propensity to evil," according to Dr. Taylor, makes "God the responsible author of sin," destroys responsibility, &c. &c. See his Review of Dr. Tyler in the Christian Spectator, 1832. It is useless to multiply quotations.

Sixth, that plenary ability and full power to the contrary are necessary to the morality of any act. There are three views of the doctrine of ability. The old one is, "That man by his fall into a state of sin hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that which is good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself, or to prepare him thereunto." Inasmuch as the inability here spoken of is very different from that under which a man lies to create a world, and inasmuch as it results from sin or the moral state of the agent, it may properly be called moral. On the other hand, as fallen man is a free moral agent, as the things to be done do not transcend his nature as a man, there is a sense in which he may be said to have a natural ability to obey all the commands of God. So long as the expression natural ability was used in this sense, there was no controversy as to the thing, but only as to the propriety of the terms. There are two prominent objections to this form of expression. The one is the perpetual and puzzling contradictions in which it involves the preachers of the gospel; who tell sinners in the same breath, they can and they cannot; as well as the incongruity of saying that a man is able to do what it is admitted that, in another and equally true and important sense, he is unable to do. It is always an evil to have the declarations of ministers come into conflict with the consciousness of their hearers. A man may, metaphysically speaking, be said to have a natural ability to love one person as well as another, yet to tell him, he *can* love all persons alike, he feels to be absurd. The other objection is, that this form of expression is unscriptural. It is not worth while for us to be more philosophical or accurate than the Bible. The word of God never tells the sinner he can do all that God requires of him, though it often presses on him his obligation. They know but little of the human heart, who so confidently maintain that a sense of obligation is incompatible with the deepest conviction of helplessness and inability.

The second view of this doctrine is the Arminian. It does not differ from the preceding except in one point. It admits that men have by the fall lost all ability of will to

that which is spiritually good, but it teaches that the common influences of the Spirit, given to all men who hear the gospel, imparts sufficient strength for the performance of all duty.

The third view is that which may, with propriety and therefore without offence, he called Pelagian. It is that which President Edwards attributes to Dr. Taylor of Norwich, viz. that there is "a sufficient power and ability in all mankind to do all their duty, and wholly avoid sin;" or, that "God has given powers equal to the duties which he expects." If this is so, says Edwards, "redemption is needless, and Christ is dead in vain."* This is the doctrine of the New Divinity. "What notion," asks the Christian Spectator, "can be formed of a subject of moral government, who is destitute of moral liberty? or, in other words, who, in every instance of obedience and disobedience, does not act with inherent power to the contrary choice."† "Choice, in its very nature," says Dr. Beecher, "implies the possibility of a different or contrary election to that which is made." Again, "The question is not whether man chooses, that is notorious, but whether his choice is free as opposed to a fatal necessity." (The reader will perceive that these two sentences contradict each other). "If a man does not possess the power of choice, with power to the contrary, he sees and feels he is not to blame."‡ The New Haven gentlemen constantly represent what has hitherto been represented as moral inability as inconsistent with free agency. Dr. Tyler had stated that there was in man "a native propensity to evil." His reviewer replies "With such a propensity, man has not a natural ability to avoid sin. And this is alike true, whether this propensity be supposed to be sinful or innocent." In like manner, because Dr. Tyler maintained that there was a moral change in the sinner anterior to right moral action, he is represented as teaching physical depravity, physical regeneration, natural inability, &c. &c.§ "Talk not," says the Spectator, "of the distinction of natural and moral ability, you have done it forever away. If the change in question consists in any thing prior to voluntary exercise, such a change I can in no sense produce."‖

* Edwards' Works, Vol. 2, 515. † Spectator 1835, p. 377.

‡ Views in Theology, p. 32. *et passim.*

§ Christian Spectator, 1832, Review of Dr. Tyler.

‖ Spectator, 1833, p. 661. See a full discussion of the theory of free agency on which all these representations are founded, in our Number for July 1837.

It is therefore abundantly manifest that the New Divinity is, in its essential features, identical with the 'New Scheme of Religion' with which the pious people of Connecticut had to contend a century ago. If it was right for them to oppose it, it is right it should be opposed now. It was the friends of evangelical religion who resisted the introduction of the New Scheme; and it is the friends of religion who now oppose the New Divinity. The history of the church may be challenged to produce a single case in which true religion, we do not say has flourished, but has survived under the operation of that system of doctrine. It has been called Arminianism. But this is a great mistake. There is fourfold more truth and aliment for piety in Arminianism than in these new doctrines. Far more truth in the Arminian doctrine of original sin, of divine influence, of regeneration, of the atonement, of justification. And what has Arminianism to do with the doctrine that all virtue is founded in utility? (So too we suppose all beauty is founded in utility, and the only reason that a cascade gives pleasure is that it is adapted to turn a grist mill). And more especially, what has Arminianism to do with the monstrous doctrine that self-love is the ultimate foundation of moral obligation? The churches ought not to be deceived upon this subject. The New Divinity is not Arminianism, but something far, very far worse. Those men are to be pitied who can see nothing but a *shade* of difference between this system and the common orthodoxy of evangelical churches; and still more are they to be commiserated who, for party purposes, or for any other reason, call that a shade, which they know to be a bottomless abyss. It remains yet to be seen whether the faith and spirit of the Puritans have still sufficient vigour in New England effectually to withstand the progress of this system. It has received, we trust, its death blow in the Presbyterian church.

We resume our extracts from President Clap's Defence.

"The reading of this new scheme of religion will doubtless differently affect the minds of different readers: some will be filled with indignation, to see the great and fundamental doctrines of the gospel thus subverted and denied: others will think it scarce possible, that any men of sense should run into such absurd notions: others who have been inconsiderately led into some of the principles, will start, when they come to see how naturally they lead to some other of these principles, which at present they abhor. For this funda-

mental principle, 'that the happiness of the creature is the sole end of the creation,' naturally leads to most, if not all of the rest: for this must be the sole rule and measure of all God's conduct towards us, and of ours towards him; and it is certain, that God's sole end and ultimate design never can be frustrated. Others will be grieved and provoked, to see their whole scheme exposed to open view; since they find it most politic to conceal some parts of it, till they can get the minds of men pretty well rivetted into the rest.

"In order therefore, to bring men to an indifferency, and prepare them by degrees for the reception of this new scheme, sundry artifices have been used.

"That there ought to be no creeds or confessions of faith but the Bible: that there are no fundamental principles in religion, or any certain set of doctrines necessary to be believed, in order to salvation: that those which have been commonly esteemed such, are but mere disputable speculative points, which have no influence upon practice: and that the greatest heresy is an immoral life: that public orthodoxy has been very various in different countries; and in the same country at different times; that councils and assemblies of divines not being infallible, have no right to make or impose upon others, any creeds or confessions of faith, or public tests, or standards of orthodoxy; or to fix any particular sense or meaning on the Scripture: that no man is bound to believe as our fathers believed; but every man has a right to judge for himself; and that is truth to every man which he believes to be the truth: that every man shall be saved in that way or religion which he thinks is right, let it be what it will; provided he lives according to it: that it is sufficient, if men say, that they consent to the substance of our catechism and confession, without rigourously insisting upon every article and doctrine in it: that great condescention ought to be used, and sundry doctrines ought to be given up, either in whole or in part, or different explications allowed for the sake of unity.

"That no man ought to be so uncharitable, as to exclude another from salvation, or any public office of instruction, because he does not think as he does: that men's way of thinking is as different as their faces; and to endeavour to make all men think alike, is to make them bigots, and hinder all free enquiry after truth."

That is, the 'artifices' employed in President Clap's time to favour the introduction of error, were, 1. Undervaluing creeds and confessions, and subscribing them, for substance

of doctrine. 2. Making light of the points of difference, as mere philosophy, or matters of speculation, or modes of explanation. 3. Declaiming on the sin of destroying the unity of the church for the sake of doctrine; on the duty of charity towards errorists; on the right of free enquiry; and 4. Concealing the truth, as he says, p. 42: "Men of this character are not always open and frank in declaring their sentiments." Such it seems were the devices employed by the advocates of the New Scheme of religion a hundred years ago. Cannot the reader, without our aid, furnish modern illustrations in abundance under each of these heads? Our limits do not admit of our doing it for him, and the facts are so notorious, it can hardly be necessary. It is a standing topic of declamation, the folly of expecting men, who think for themselves, to join in adopting an extended creed. If the substance be adopted, that is all that can be required. And the substance is often a very small part of what is really characteristic of the formula. Is it not also a common method in our days of introducing the New Divinity, to make much of the distinction between the doctrines and the philosophy of them? to claim to hold the doctrines and differ only in the explanation, as even John Taylor professed to hold to original sin, with a new explanation? How much too have we heard of the sin of heresy hunting, of producing disturbance in the church, and of the duty of living in peace let men teach what they may? Who, however, is chargeable with the sin of controversy? the innovators, or those who defend the faith once delivered to the saints? Is there no sin in attacking brethren, who hold the faith of the very standards which the aggressors have adopted, and great sin in asserting what both parties have professed to believe? How true it is what the famous Mr. Foxcroft of Boston, remarked of his generation, "that false moderation, which sacrifices divine revelations to human friendships, and under colour of peace and candour gives up important points of gospel doctrine to every opposer, is still consistent with discovering a malignity towards others that appear warm defenders and constant asserters of those evangelical truths."*

The grand device, however, of errorist in every age, has been concealment. They do not come out boldly and frankly with their true sentiments, but endeavour to introduce

* Preface to President Dickinson's Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Grace. Boston, 1748.

them gradually as the public mind will bear them. The reader will probably remember that when the doctrine was first, in these days, broached that God could not prevent sin in a moral system, how delicately it was insinuated; it was merely said that the contrary could not be proved, or ought not to be assumed; the idea was thrown out as a hypothesis for further consideration. It may also be within the knowledge of the reader how virtuously indignant the Spectator was with Dr. Woods because he "changed Dr. Taylor's question into an assertion—his hypothetical statement into a positive affirmation."* Since that time, however, the doctrine has been asserted interrogatively and affirmatively; categorically and inferentially. It has been assumed as the basis of argument; the denial of it has been made the fountain of all manner of heresy and blasphemies. Notwithstanding all this, the simple hypothesis is still resorted to in times of peculiar emergency.

Another favourite method of concealment adopted in past ages was the introduction of new opinions under the patronage of revered names. This may remind the reader of the numerous attempts to make Edwards, Bellamy, Dwight, and others, teach the very doctrines which they strenuously opposed, in order to gain the sanction of their names for the errors which they endeavoured to refute. And, finally, as we must stop somewhere, another method of concealment is the use of ambiguous terms, or the introduction of errors under the old formulas of expression, employed in a new sense. Can any thing be more seemingly orthodox than the phrase 'total depravity by nature?' How little it seems to differ from natural depravity, or depravity of nature. Yet they are, as to the sense intended, the poles apart. God is said to foreordain whatsoever comes to pass. What Calvinist could desire more? Yet to foreordain turns out to mean, as it regards sin at least, to submit to its occurrence as an unavoidable evil, and to propose to do all in the power of Him who foreordains it, to prevent that occurrence. Original sin used to mean, in the language of President Edwards, "an innate sinful depravity of heart." The term is still retained by those who teach with the New Haven Spectator, Mr. Duffield, and others, that infants have no moral character. Prof. Fitch says "Nothing can in truth be called original sin, but his first moral choice or preference being evil." Mr.

* Spectator, 1830, p. 541.

Duffield says, indeed, "original sin is a natural bias to evil."* Here to the unitiated it would appear that two things are asserted, first that this bias to evil is sin; and second, that it is natural. But no such thing. This same Mr. Duffield says, "Instinct, animal sensation, constitutional susceptibilities create an impulse, which, not being counteracted by moral considerations or gracious influence, lead the will in a wrong direction and to wrong objects. It was thus that sin was induced in our holy progenitors. No one can plead in Eve an efficient cause of sin resident in her nature (any *prava vis*) or operative power, sinful in itself, anterior to and apart from her own voluntary act. And if she was led into sin, though characteristically holy, and destitute of any innate propensity to sin, where is the necessity for supposing that the sins of her progeny are to be referred to such a cause?" . . . "Temptation alone is sufficient under present circumstances."† Thus after all it appears that this "natural bias to evil" is nothing more than the constitutional susceptibilities of our nature, such as it existed before the fall, yet this bias is said to be SIN. Rather than not be orthodox and hold to original sin, he makes it exist in our "holy progenitors" before the first transgression! Can this be exceeded in the whole history of theological diplomacy? Yet it is a fair interpretation of the language of the Protest, as explained by the writings of some of its authors.

We wish it were in our power to insert the whole of President Clap's pamphlet; but we have already much exceeded the limits assigned for this article. We must therefore conclude with a few citations given without remark.

"The doctrines contained in our Catechism and Confession of Faith, particularly the divinity and satisfaction of Christ, original sin, the necessity of special grace in regeneration, justification by faith, &c. have been universally received, established and taught in all ages of the Christian church: and upon all the search I have been able to make into antiquity, I can find no single instance of any public Confession of Faith, drawn up by any council, or generally received and establish-

* Minutes for the General Assembly for 1837. Protest by George Duffield, E. W. Gilbert and others against the adoption of the report on so much of the memorial of the Convention as relates to erroneous doctrines. The statement of doctrines contained in that Protest, as explained by the writings of its leading signers, is the most extraordinary example of the use of old terms in a sense directly opposite to their ordinary meaning, which we have ever seen.

† Duffield on Regeneration p. 379, 380

ed in any Christian country in the world, wherein any of these doctrines have been plainly and expressly denied.

"For though there have been some men scattered up and down in the world, and sometimes convened in assemblies, who have not believed these doctrines, and have sometimes endeavoured covertly to disguise them, and let them drop, and, by degrees, to root them out of the Christian church; yet they never dared openly and formally to deny them, by any public act; because they knew that these doctrines had been so universally received in the Christian church, that all antiquity would condemn them, and that such an open denial would bring upon them the resentment of all mankind."

On page thirty-seven we find the following passage, "Some will say, that they own the doctrine of original sin; but they mean nothing but a contracted disposition or inclination, arising from a vicious habit, or practice, and deny that any disposition or inclination to sin, is naturally derived from Adam: and assert, that every child comes into the world like a clean white piece of paper.

"Mr. Taylor calls the doctrince of original sin, a scripture doctrine; and yet when he comes to explain it, with regard to Adam's posterity, he makes it no sin at all; and allows nothing but that, upon the sin of Adam, God subjected him and his posterity to temporal sorrow, labour and death:* And these are not punishments for sin, but primarily designed for the benefit of mankind, considered as innocent creatures. For, he says that upon the occasion of Adam's sin, God appointed our life frail, laborious and sorrowful, and at length to be concluded by death, not to punish us for another man's sin, but to lessen temptation.†

"And therefore, I cannot think that public orthodoxy in teachers, can be sufficiently secured barely by men's saying, that they consent to the substance of our catechism and confession of faith, and differ only in some small circumstantials, leaving it to them to judge what those small circumstantials are: for a man may suppose or pretend, that the ten commandments are the most substantial part of the catechism, and that the doctrines of the divinity and satisfaction of Christ, original sin, &c. are but mere speculative circumstantial points, upon which no great weight ought to be laid. Such persons ought at least to declare, what particular articles

* "Page 63." † "Page 68."

they do except, that so others may judge whether they are mere circumstantials or not.

"But then it is difficult, if not dangerous, to give up any one proper doctrine or article of faith, contained in our confession: for all the articles of faith in a system or body of divinity, have a necessary relation to, and connection with each other; whoever therefore gives up any one article of faith, must, if he is consistent with himself, give up another which has a necessary connection with it, or dependence upon it; and so on, till he gives up the whole. Indeed, some men seem to be partly in one scheme of religion, and partly in another; but such men are always inconsistent with themselves; although for want of accurately tracing their own ideas, they are not always sensible of it.

"Some men will pretend to consent to an article of faith, and yet believe nothing of it, in the true grammatical construction of the words, and the meaning of the composers. e. g. Some who pretend to consent to the thirty-nine articles; by original sin, and the corruption of humane nature, mean nothing but bodily weakness and sickness; and by its deserving God's wrath and damnation, mean nothing but bodily sickness and pain, and the temporal miseries of this life.

"So the meaning of that article, according to them, is, that Adam's sin is the occasion of our undergoing bodily sickness and weakness, which deserves bodily sickness and pain.

"Condescention, charity and unity, are very excellent things, when applied to promote the ends of the gospel; and therefore, it is a pity they should upon any occasion be perverted to destroy it.

"But condescention has no more to do with articles of faith, than with propositions in the mathematics. And though a man ought in many cases to give up his own right or interest; yet he cannot in any case give up the truth of God, revealed in his word.

"Charity is but another name for love, and the consequent effects of it, in believing or hoping the best concerning any man, which the nature of the case will allow; and considering how apt corrupt nature is to intermix self-interest, passion and prejudice, with matters of religion, it is a virtue which, in that view, ought to be much insisted upon: but charity no more consists in inventing or believing new terms of salvation, unknown to the gospel, than it does in believing a sick man will recover, when the symptoms of death are evidently upon him. Such charity as that, is the greatest

uncharitableness, as it tends to lull men in security to their eternal destruction.

"Unity in a joint-declared consent to the great and fundamental principles of religion, and practice of the duties of it, is a matter of great importance; but without such a consent, unity is founded upon nothing; and can never answer any of the great ends proposed in the gospel. Men must be agreed at least in the object of their worship, whether it be the eternal self-existent God, or a mere creature: and in order to maintain this unity in the Christian church, there always have been public creeds and confessions of faith, (all agreeing in substance) to which all, especially the teachers, have given their joint consent.

"Neither can those who adhere to the ancient doctrines of the Christian church, be properly called a party: that odious name properly belongs to each of those particular sects, which, from time to time, oppose those doctrines and thereby make themselves a party.

"The Bible is indeed the only foundation of our Christian faith; and all the question is, in what sense we are to understand it: but so far as any regard is to be had to the judgment of great and good men, in expounding of it, (and I think it is an argument of great self-sufficiency, if not self-conceit, to have none at all,) yet the number and quality of those who have at any time opposed these doctrines, bear no comparison to the vast number of martyrs, and other eminently wise and good men, who have constantly maintained them. And the opinion of Arius, Pelagius, Socinus, Arminius, Foster, Chubb, Taylor, and all their followers, are but as the small dust of the balance, when put into the scale against the opinion of the whole Christian church in all ages.

"But I am free, that every man should examine for himself, and then openly declare what he finds.

"For my part, I have critically and carefully, and, I think, with the utmost impartiality, examined into the doctrines contained in our catechism and confession of faith, and believe they are fully and plainly contained in the sacred oracles of truth, perfectly agreeable to reason, and harmonious with each other; and that most of them are of the utmost consequence to the salvation of the souls of men. And therefore look upon myself in duty bound, to do all that lies in my power, to continue and propagate those doctrines; especially in the college committed to my care, since that is the fountain from whence our churches must be supplied.

"And I hope, that all the ministers of this colony, according to the recommendation of former synods, and later general associations, will be careful and zealous to maintain and propagate the same in all our churches: that they will clearly and plainly preach all the doctrines contained in the sacred oracles of truth, and especially the more important of them, summed up in our catechism and confession of faith; that they will not endeavour to conceal or disguise any of these doctrines, nor shun to declare the whole counsel of God. That they will be careful not to introduce into the sacred ministry, any but such as appear to be well-fixed in these principles upon which our churches are established. It is a pleasure to me, to observe, that no person who has lately been licensed to preach as a candidate, lies under any suspicion of that nature."

Samuel Miller

ART. IV.—*Sermons by the late Rev. Edward D. Griffin, D.D. To which is prefaced a Memoir of his life.* By William B. Sprague, D.D. Minister of the second Presbyterian Congregation in Albany. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 597, and 596. Albany: Packard & Van Benthuysen & Co. 1838.

THIS publication has been for some time looked for by the religious community with no small interest. It was known, early in the last year, that the Rev. Dr. Sprague had been selected by the family and friends of the late Dr. Griffin to prepare a memoir of his life, and to arrange and publish a portion of those Discourses which, from the lips of their venerable author, had so often made a solemn impression. The choice was a happy one. Dr. Sprague was well acquainted with the subject of his biographical sketch, and well qualified to do justice to his undertaking: and he has accomplished his task in a manner which we think will not disappoint the expectations of the public. The Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, was a native of the state of Connecticut. He was born at East Haddam, January 6, 1770. His father, George Griffin was a wealthy farmer, of vigorous talents, and of much enterprize. His mother was Eve Dorr of Lyme. He was named after his fraternal uncle, the Rev. Edward Dorr, of Hartford; and in the intention of his parents, was devoted to the minis-

try from his birth. As his health, in early youth, was very delicate, he was kept almost constantly at school up to the time of his entering College. His preparatory studies were chiefly conducted by the Rev. Joseph Vail, of Hadlyme. In September, 1786 he became a member of Yale College. In his course in that Institution he seems to have been very honourably distinguished, and was graduated in 1790.

The religious impressions of the subject of this memoir seem to have begun at an early age. They do not appear, however, to have ripened into genuine piety until more than a year after he left college, and while he was engaged as the principal of an Academy at Derby, a town about ten miles west of New Haven. His plan, anterior to this, had been to study law, with a view to rising at the bar. But after recovering from a severe fit of sickness in 1791, his mind was drawn more forcibly than ever to the great interests of eternity. Soon after this he commenced his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, then Pastor of a church in New Haven, and afterwards President of Union College. On the 31st of October, 1792, he was licensed to preach by the West Association of New Haven county, and on the tenth of the following month his first sermon was preached in the pulpit of his venerated friend, the Rev. Mr. Vail, under whose instruction he had been prepared for College.

In the course of the two following years he laboured in several vacant churches, with much acceptance, and, apparently, to the spiritual benefit of many individuals. On the 4th of June, 1795, he was ordained to the work of the ministry, and installed pastor of the Congregational church in New Hartford, Connecticut, after having preached to that church for several preceding months as a candidate for settlement. On the 17th of May, 1796, he was married to Miss Francis Huntington, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Huntington, of Coventry, and niece and adopted daughter of the Hon. Samuel Huntington, Governor of Connecticut, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. With this lady he lived in happy union until within a few weeks of his death.

Mr. Griffin's ministry at New Hartford was eminently successful. Almost immediately after he commenced his labours in this church, there was an increased attention to religion among the people of his charge, and a revival of considerable power succeeded, which resulted in the addition of

about fifty persons to the communion of the church. Again in 1798 another revival commenced, of much greater power and extent, which issued in a still larger addition to the professing people of God.

Mr. Griffin remained in New Hartford about five years. While his ministry continued to be richly blessed, and he was enjoying in a high degree the confidence and affection of his people, the health of Mrs. Griffin became delicate, and she was advised by her physicians to make choice of a milder climate. In consequence of this advice Mr. Griffin presented to his congregation the alternative of either withdrawing from his labours and relinquishing his salary till there should be time to make the necessary experiment on Mrs. Griffin's health; or of immediately resigning his pastoral charge. His congregation preferred the temporary suspension of his labours, rather than the relinquishment of his relation to them. Accordingly, in the month of October, 1800, he left New Hartford, and travelled into East Jersey:—and having received an invitation from a friend and brother in the ministry to spend some time with him, he complied with his friendly request and remained a number of weeks under his hospitable roof. During the autumn and winter which he spent in this part of New Jersey, he preached abundantly in a number of churches and always with a high degree of acceptance. The greater part of this time, however, was employed in preaching to the First Presbyterian Church of Orange, near Newark, which had recently become vacant. Here his ministry was blessed to the hopeful conversion of about fifty souls; and the congregation would probably have given him a unanimous call, had he not discouraged it, on the ground that if the health of Mrs. Griffin would permit him to remain at New Hartford, he could not consent, in present circumstances, to sever his connection with that church. Accordingly in the following June, he returned to his pastoral charge, with his wife, and an infant daughter, born during his sojourn in New Jersey.

In the meanwhile, the congregation of Newark, having had repeated opportunities of having Mr. Griffin preach during his temporary abode in their neighbourhood, gave him an affectionate call to be a colleague with their aged and venerable pastor, Dr. M'Whorter. This call he thought it his duty to accept. His pastoral relation to the church at New Hartford was dissolved in the month of August. He soon afterwards returned with his family to Newark, and

was installed as co-pastor in that church on the 20th of October, 1801.

Here was a field well adapted both for the usefulness and comfort of such a man as the subject of this memoir. He could scarcely have found a population more enlightened, liberal and affectionate than that of Newark; and his popular and commanding talents were eminently adapted, not only to gratify, but to adorn and build up such a people.

Mr. Griffin remained nearly eight years in Newark; and here again his ministry was crowned with rich and repeated blessings. Several remarkable seasons of refreshing were granted to him and his people; but two were of special extent and power. In the first of these seasons one hundred and thirteen persons were added to his church in the course of one year; and in the second, one hundred and seventy-four in six months. In fact the number of his church members was more than doubled during his residence with them.

In the month of August 1808, the last year of his first residence in Newark, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the Trustees of Union College. He was now in the thirty ninth year of his age.

In the course of the year 1808, Dr. Griffin was appointed Bartlett Professor of Pulpit Eloquence in the Theological Seminary at Andover. This appointment, after serious deliberation, he was induced to accept. Several months, however, elapsed before he could obtain the dissolution of his pastoral charge at Newark, from which he found it extremely difficult to tear himself away. His dismission was not obtained until the month of April, in the following year. On the 28th of May he preached his farewell sermon to the beloved flock, to which he had borne a relation so tender, and so productive of precious results;—and on the next day set out with his family for Andover. His induction into the office of Professor in the Theological Seminary, to which he had been called, took place on the 21st of June following.

About the same time that the Seminary at Andover was established, the friends of Gospel truth in Boston engaged in the enterprize of founding an Orthodox church in that city, which might prove the commencement of a plan for resisting the Unitarianism, and restoring the doctrinal and Christian correctness of that ancient seat of the puritan fathers. Soon after Dr. Griffin was established in his Professorship at Andover, this enterprize was carried into effect and the well known church in Park street was erected. And as his pop-

ularity as a preacher in Boston and its vicinity was very great, the leaders of the undertaking considered it as a matter of great importance to their success to enjoy his countenance and aid. They even thought in the outset, of detaching him from the Seminary, and calling him to be their pastor. This, however, he resisted promptly, and with so much firmness that the idea was for a time abandoned. Feeling that their success depended, humanly speaking, on their being able to obtain a preacher of great popularity and weight of character, —they called two gentlemen in succession of acknowledged eminence. Both these calls, however, were rejected. At length, after having been kept more than a year and a half, from the date of their organization, in a state of alternate suspense and disappointment, they recurred again to the thought of calling Dr. Griffin; and presented the importance and exigency of their cause in so strong a point of light, and with so much importunity, that he was, at length, prevailed upon to resign his Professorship at Andover, and accept the pastoral charge of the Park Street Church. Accordingly he removed to Boston in May, 1811, and the solemnity of his installation took place on the 31st day of the following June.

Dr. Griffin continued to be the Pastor of the Park Street Church between three and four years. During this time, he was diligent, eloquent, and popular, both as a Preacher and Pastor. During this period, too, he delivered and published his "Park Street Lectures," which have generally been considered as the ablest of all his publications. And no one acquainted with the consistency and uniformity of his character can doubt that he preached now with an ardour and a power as great as ever before. And yet, if we mistake not, Dr. Griffin's ministry in Boston was not attended with any thing like the success with which it pleased God to connect it in every preceding and subsequent stage of his pastoral life. We know not whether we are justifiable in attempting to account for this fact—supposing it to be a fact;—but we will venture to make one suggestion which our readers may regard as little or as much as they think proper.

We are constrained, then, seriously to doubt, whether the enterprize of those public-spirited and excellent men who undertook the creation of the "Park Street Church," was not undertaken and conducted in a spirit of a very questionable character. We have no doubt that they were pious and sincere men, who really believed as they professed to believe, who were filled with a laudable zeal, and who honestly aimed

to oppose error, and to promote the reign of truth and righteousness. But what we doubt is, whether they did not calculate too much on carrying their point by means of outward splendor and human eloquence. They felt that there were great learning, and wealth, and taste, and eloquence firmly intrenched in Boston, and to be met and opposed by the friends of truth. And the calculation seems to have been to meet and vanquish the adversary by corresponding weapons. Hence they concluded that it was necessary for them, in order to insure success, to erect a splendid house of worship—in a public, prominent and commanding situation;—and to call a minister whose pulpit talents would enable him to cope with the most admired of their opponents. They acted upon this plan. They erected a church among the most spacious and splendid in Massachusetts, if not in the United States; and they called a pastor among the most eloquent and admired pulpit orators in the country. The question which arises in our minds in contemplating these facts, is, Did the leaders in this undertaking go to work in the best way? Did they not count too much on human instrumentality? Were they not chargeable, in too great a degree, with "making flesh their arm?"

We do not profess to be intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of that enterprize, which was, doubtless, in its general character, noble and worthy of praise. But we make the above suggestion with diffidence, yet with frankness. Would not the undertaking have been more likely to succeed had it been entered upon and pursued with less of a spirit of worldly calculation; had outward splendor been less consulted; had, of course, a less profuse expenditure of funds been indulged, and a heavy and oppressive debt been more carefully avoided;—in a word, had there been less reliance on carnal weapons, and more on those of a purely spiritual kind? We know nothing, we decide nothing concerning this matter. But the longer we live, the more considerations of this kind impress us as deeply important. The more we look above and beyond human instrumentality the better. The King of Zion will not give his glory to another. None, we believe, are so likely to succeed in spiritual enterprises as those who place least reliance on human resources, or "the enticing words of man's wisdom;" and most on the Spirit of the living God, who can make the humblest and feeblest instruments to triumph over the proudest and most mighty. We think if the apostle Paul had gone to Boston twenty

years ago, to stem the tide of Unitarianism, and to restore "the truth as it is in Jesus," he would hardly have adopted just the course that the excellent men did who planned and executed the establishment in "Park Street." He would have gone to work on a less ambitious plan, and on a smaller scale. He would not have "despised the day of small things;" but would have calculated by the divine blessing on much prayer and patience to form a body of spiritual worshippers, and as their number increased, to increase the means of their outward accommodation.

Dr. Griffin continued to be the pastor of this church about four years, when, as Dr. Sprague remarks, "in consequence of the congregation having become embarrassed by means of the war, and withal somewhat divided among themselves, he accepted an invitation to return to Newark, as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, then lately rendered vacant by the dismission of Mr. Cumming. Here he was installed on the 30th day of June 1815. Not long afterwards he had the pleasure of witnessing a general attention to religion among his people, and of gathering, as the result, a precious harvest into his spiritual garner.

In the spring of 1821, Dr. Griffin received an invitation to the presidentship of Centre College, at Danville, Kentucky; and not long afterwards was invited to fill the same office in a college at Cincinnati, Ohio. But, after making a journey to the west, and taking a survey of the situation and prospects of both institutions, he thought it his duty to decline accepting either. Very soon afterwards, however, he was chosen to the presidentship of Williams College, Massachusetts; and "owing chiefly to some unpropitious circumstances which had prevented the growth of his congregation, and rendered them unable to continue to him a competent support, he determined to accept the appointment. He, accordingly, left Newark with his family toward the latter end of October, 1821, and on the 14th of the following November was inaugurated as President of the College.

We cannot enter into details concerning his administration of the College during the fifteen years in which he filled the presidential chair. But it is due to his memory to state, that the College, which had been much reduced by various adverse occurrences, began to revive soon after he became its head; that repeated instances of religious attention took place under his ministry; and that, as long as he retained his health and strength, the institution went on to rise and flourish.

In the course of the year 1831, Dr. Griffin became deeply interested in reference to what has been called the "New Divinity,"—in other words, the theology closely allied to Pelagianism, which, for a few years past, has been taught by the divines of the New Haven school. He was strongly impressed with the belief, that the opinions entertained by the divines of that school were essentially at variance with the word of God, and tended to the subversion of fundamental gospel truth. Under this impression he published, in the course of the year just mentioned, three pamphlets, intended to expose and refute the opinions in question. These have been generally regarded as able and adapted to be useful. The next year (1832) he addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr. Taylor, of New Haven, begging him to explain more fully the peculiarities of the system commonly called by his name; at the same time apprising him that the information was sought for the purpose of making a public use of it, if such use should be called for or desirable.

Dr. Sprague has given us, at large, Dr. Taylor's reply; which, though the publication of it was interdicted at the time of its date, has now been committed to the press by the writer's permission. It is just such a reply as we should expect to find from the pen of a man who was conscious of holding opinions which he was unwilling explicitly to avow, and who was constantly endeavouring to hoodwink or amuse, by suggesting that he was not understood; or that he could not *then* take the time, or enter into sufficient detail, to explain. This was not the manner in which the venerable men who compiled our public standards, or the excellent divines who, since their time, adorned and blessed the church in our own country, treated similar interrogatories. They were always able and ready to make themselves understood. Concealment or equivocation made no part of *their* policy. We have been more and more convinced, by every attempt which the divines of the school in question have made to defend their system, that, in its leading features it is essentially Pelagian; that it is incapable of scriptural defence; and that the more carefully its practical influence is examined and marked, the more clearly it will be seen to subvert the gospel, and to destroy the interests of vital piety. The contest with this system is so far from being a mere verbal one, that we consider it as entering essentially into the fundamental principles of our holy religion; and are persuaded that, so far as it bears sway, the great doctrine of

regeneration, in its genuine Bible character, must be abandoned. For ourselves, we cannot see how men who profess the truth of God's word, as exhibited in Calvinistic formularies;—truth as taught by the venerable Edwards and Brainerd, and the devoted men of their day: and who profess also to believe that men are sanctified by the truth; can consent to hold communion with those who, under the guise of conformity with great and good men who have long enjoyed the confidence of the pious, are insinuating errors adapted to corrupt the church of God, and to destroy the hopes of the soul. But to return to the subject of this memoir.

Dr. Griffin continued to preside over Williams College until the month of August, 1836, when, his declining health. and extreme feebleness induced him to tender his resignation to the board of Trustees. It was, with much regret, accepted; and he soon afterwards, removed to Newark, in New Jersey, where his eldest daughter resided, and where he spent the short remainder of his days, in the society of his pious and amiable children, and of the people of his former charge; and in the happy enjoyment of Christian consolation and hope.

In a few months after Dr. Griffin's return to Newark for the last time, his pious and excellent wife was removed by death. Her departure was peaceful and happy. This event took place in July, 1837. The doctor himself was now gradually, but very sensibly declining, in bodily strength, but evidently growing in faith and hope, and meetness for heaven. His last sermon was delivered at New Brunswick, in the pulpit of the Rev. Mr. Joseph H. Jones, September 10th, and his last appearance in public was three days afterwards, toward the close of the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, when he made a short speech and prayer, exceedingly appropriate and touching in their character. He was now overtaken by strongly marked symptoms of dropsy, which rapidly increased, and hastened his decline. From this time he was never able to lie down. But though the "outward man was perishing," the "inward man was renewed day by day." All who approached his sick bed were deeply impressed with the cheerfulness of his submission, the elevation of his hope, and the triumph of his joy in Christ. Indeed a joy unspeakable and full of glory seemed almost constantly, and with increasing strength to fill his soul. In this heavenly frame

of mind, he left the world on the 8th day of November, 1837, in the 68th year of his age.

We wish we had room to insert at length the account of the last days of this eminent minister of Christ, as given by his eldest daughter, Mrs. Frances Louisa Smith, wife of Doctor Lyndon A. Smith, of Newark, under whose roof he closed his earthly course. It is drawn with so much intelligence united with simplicity, piety and tenderness, that it cannot be perused by a mind of sensibility without deep feeling.

We feel indebted to Dr. Sprague for this Memoir. He has executed, in our opinion, the task committed to him with much judgment and taste. We do not, indeed, in all cases, entirely agree with him in the estimate which he has expressed either of the peculiar talents of Doctor Griffin himself, or of the relative merit of his several publications. Still the subject of this memorial was no doubt, a highly gifted, and fervently pious man; who filled, and deserved to fill, a large space in his day; whose labours were eminently blessed of God; and whose memory thousands have reason to cherish with gratitude and love.

Dr. Griffin made a number of publications during his life, all of which did him honour, as a man of vigorous intellect, and of genuine eloquence. On the whole we concur with Dr. Sprague in the opinion that his "Park Street Lectures" stand at the head of all his publications, as a monument of his various talents. We do not, indeed, agree with every sentiment found in that volume; but no one, we think, can read it without profound respect for the intellectual compass and vigour, the deep feeling, and the fervent zeal for truth, and for the salvation of souls, which appear in every page.

His work on the Atonement, though it undoubtedly cost him much more time and thought than the "Lectures" just mentioned, was not an effort of equal success in regard to its popular impression. It was intended to meet and settle a controversy then going on respecting the *extent* of the atonement. And it cannot be denied that this work manifests much profound thinking, and evinces a large share of intellectual vigour. Few men are capable of the close thought, the accurate discrimination, and the pursuit of a train of reasoning through its intricate and extensive relations, which appear in this treatise. But it has been thought by some of the soundest judges that there is, at the same time, a boldness of speculation; a positiveness in laying down

questionable principles; a subtlety in making distinctions; and a metaphysical refinement in discussing scriptural truth, which have not the happiest tendency to elucidate "the simplicity that is in Christ." He has made a subject comparatively simple in itself, complex and unduly philosophical. His distinction between the "*lower* and *higher* ransom," is adapted to "darken counsel;" and while it is *intended* by the author to obviate the popular objections to a limited atonement, it concedes to the advocates of that doctrine every thing which they contend for, without removing a single difficulty. What he calls "the higher ransom," and which he acknowledges to be limited in its extent, the orthodox call "the atonement—Christ's death, including all its merit." So far as we recollect, Dr. Griffin must be considered as the inventor of this distinction between the higher and lower ransom: and as it had its origin with him, so we are inclined to think, it will find no advocates after him. In this work, too, he denies that the sufferings of Christ were penal; or that any act of substitution could make these sufferings the execution of divine justice. On these accounts the work in question may, long hence and often, be read as an exhibition of metaphysical ingenuity; but can never, we think, be a popular and edifying book with plain, simple-minded Christians, who are seeking to "know more of Christ, of the power of his resurrection, and of the fellowship of his sufferings, and to be conformed unto his death." And, accordingly, if we mistake not, its circulation has been smaller, and its acceptance with the religious public less than that of any other published production of the author's pen.

After the Memoir, in the first of the volumes before us, there are twenty, and in the second, forty of Dr. Griffin hitherto unpublished Sermons. The Doctor appears in these volumes, as he was in the pulpit, a very unequal preacher. This, indeed, could hardly fail to be the case with a mind so impulsive, and marked with such strong feeling as his was. Hence that equal and uniform excellence which appears in the pulpit discourses of some preachers, can by no means be considered as characterizing the discourses before us, in a mass. Many of them possess very high excellence. Rich in matter, and happy in manner, they are adapted entirely to sustain the reputation of the venerable author. Others occupy a lower grade of merit. But it may truly be said that they all manifest vigour and originality of mind, as well as a spirit of fervent piety.

In the midst of much admirable matter in these Sermons, we now and then meet with suggestions and speculations at which the cautions and well trained theologian will be constrained to hesitate. Of the examples which justify this remark we cannot enter into particulars. A single instance shall suffice. Of this character are some of the statements in the third Sermon, on the "federal headship of Adam." The author seems to speak of the celebrated *Stapfer* as if he were the accredited representative of strict Calvinism. This, however, is known to be by no means the case. In expressing, therefore, his concurrence with Stapfer in his views of the imputation of Adam's sin, real Calvinists will not fail to object. But, if we mistake not, Dr. Griffin does not really agree with Stapfer in his doctrine of "mediate imputation." We are constrained to think that a part of what he has taught on this subject is peculiar to himself. If our recollection does not fail us, we have not met with a theory in all respects like his before.

If we could have had access to Dr. Sprague we should have suggested to him the propriety of introducing into these volumes several, at least, of the sermons which Dr. Griffin preached on public occasions, and which were committed to the press many years ago. Some of these were uncommonly excellent, and well worthy of being preserved; and as a collection of them may not be soon, if at all attempted, we should have been glad to see a portion of the number preserved in this permanent form. We would especially single out in this remark, "The kingdom of Christ," a Missionary Sermon, preached before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, in 1805; the "Plea for Africa;" delivered before the Synod of New York and New Jersey, in 1817; "the Art of Preaching," delivered before the Pastoral Association of Massachusetts, in 1811; and the Sermon preached at the dedication of the Park Street Church, in Boston, 1810. These we should be glad to see preserved; and probably two or three others ought to be added to the list, if we could recollect at the moment all that he has published. We do not, however, speak of the exclusion of these sermons from the volumes before us, in the way of complaint. We have so much reason to thank Dr. Sprague for the able and satisfactory manner in which he has discharged the trust reposed in him, that we are only sorry that it did not fall in with his plan to give us a little more of the venerable man, whose memory he has so happily embalmed.

Charles Hodge

ART. V.—*General Assembly of* 1839.

OUR history of the General Assembly for the present year must be comparatively brief. The struggle which was so long carried on upon the floor of that body has ceased. We have, therefore, little to narrate beyond the ordinary routine of business. Hitherto also we have been furnished, by the several religious papers, with extended reports of the debates. Now we have little more than the minutes.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, met agreeably to appointment in the Seventh Presbyterian Church in the city of Philadelphia, on Thursday the 16th of May 1839, at 11 o'clock, and was opened by a sermon by the Rev. Wm. S. Plumer, D.D. moderator of the last Assembly, from Isaiah 41: 16. After the sermon, the moderator proceeded to the organization of the Assembly, and opened the meeting with prayer. The permanent clerk from the standing committee of commissions called the roll of the house; the whole number of delegates in attendance was one hundred and seventy, though all did not take their seats on the first day of the session.

The Rev. Joshua L. Wilson was elected moderator, and the Rev. Jacob Green temporary clerk.

Letter from the Synod of Canada.

Letters were received and read from the Rev. John Cook, moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of the two Canadas, and from the commission of the Synod of the Presbyterian church of Canada, in connexion with the Church of Scotland. These letters were listened to with greatest respect and interest. From the latter it appears that there are fifty-five settled ministers in connexion with that Synod, which, however, are very inadequate to the wants of the country, as there are "nearly a hundred congregations and settlements, some of them very numerous, that are wholly destitute of pastors." To supply this lamentable deficiency of preachers of the gospel, strenuous efforts are now making for establishing a Theological Seminary for the education of pious young men for the ministry. The whole tone of this letter is elevated and inspiriting. It bespeaks at once the zeal for truth and the love for evangelical religion of its authors. The sympathy which it manifests in the trials of our church; the approbation which it expresses of the conduct of the Assembly;

and the cordial interest in our welfare which it exhibits, rendered it peculiarly gratifying to those to whom it was addressed. It derived additional value from the fact, that it was written after the decision of the church case at *Nisi Prius* against the Assembly, and before the reversal of that decision was known. "We cannot, brethren," say the writers, "contemplate the decision that has recently been given against you in the civil court, without sorrow and astonishment. That the case should ever have been carried to a civil tribunal, must be matter of surprise to all who hold, that the church ought, and does, possess sufficient power in her own judicatories for deciding all questions of doctrine, discipline, and government. But, let the issue before civil courts be what it may, your triumph depends not on it. A victory has already been gained, worth every sacrifice which you may be required to make. A church, that holds fast the truth, may lose her property, and suffer much temporary embarrassment; yet, in His eyes, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, she is rich—all glorious within, and eminently powerful for good. A church becomes poor, and weak, and despicable, only when she breaks covenant with God, and permits truth to perish from among her people."

Semi-centenary Celebration.

On the second day of the sessions of the Assembly, the Rev. Dr. Breckinridge made the following motion, viz: *Resolved*, That this Assembly will celebrate with appropriate religious solemnities, the 21st of May instant, as the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, with particular reference to the many signal blessings and deliverances which God has vouchsafed to our beloved church, in its whole history, and especially to that recent deliverance over which we now rejoice. This motion, after some discussion, was adopted. In accordance with this resolution the Assembly observed the 21st of May in the manner prescribed, when addresses were made by the Rev. Drs. Green and Alexander, and by Pres. Young. Dr. Green, bending under the weight of years, standing "like a solitary tree, where once a forest stood," gave a historical sketch of the church from the organization of the General Assembly in 1789. In this address the venerable father, who is one of the two or three survivors of the framers of our present con-

stitution, adverted to the remarkable increase and prosperity of our church since the formation of the General Assembly; to the signal deliverances which during the last fifty years we have experienced; and to the spiritual blessings which God has granted us within the same period. It appears that when the Assembly was formed there were in connexion with that body about one hundred and seventy ministers, the number at present in connexion with it is one thousand two hundred and seventy. And before the late schism the number was twenty-two or three hundred. The increase in the number of communicants and churches has been no less remarkable. We forbear, however, to cite further from this address, as it has already been published, and will no doubt be very extensively read.

State of the Church.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Nott, it was resolved that a committee on the State of the Church be appointed, consisting of a member from each of the Synods represented in the Assembly. This committee subsequently made a report to the following effect, viz.

"Whereas the churches connected with this Assembly previous to the year 1837, have been divided, and now exist in two distinct organizations; and, whereas, a committee of the Assembly, previous to any action on the question of such division, did settle the terms then deemed to be fair and equitable; and, whereas, this Assembly, notwithstanding the issue of the legal proceedings already had, are sincerely desirous, not only of preventing all further litigation, especially among the members of individual churches, but of doing ample justice to the churches once in connexion with them, but now in connexion with another body: therefore

"Resolved, That this Assembly hereby assent to the terms, substantially, then proposed, viz: That the corporate funds and property of the church, so far as they appertain to the Theological Seminaries at Princeton and Alleghanytown, or to the support of professors, or the education of beneficiaries, shall remain the property of this Assembly; and that its faith be pledged for raising a sum, equal in amount to a moiety of all the remaining permanent funds, which may be divided without a manifest violation of the will of the respective donors thereof, or of the trust upon which the same are holden; to be paid over by the trustees of the person or persons appointed by the other Assembly to receive the same.

"And if any legislative action shall be deemed by the other Assembly necessary for securing to it all the property or funds of congregations or theological seminaries that may belong in equity to the portion of the church within its jurisdiction,

"Resolved, that this Assembly will acquiesce in the procuring of such legislative action so far as this can, in the judgment of their legal counsel, be done consistently with the preservation of their own rights and privileges.

"And that the trustees of the General Assembly be authorized to negotiate, on the part of this Assembly, on the principles herein set forth, an amicable and final settlement of all matters in controversy, so far as church property is concerned, to take effect as soon as the same shall have been mutually agreed to

between the parties concerned—and not otherwise to be hereafter considered binding upon this Assembly: and if the parties shall not agree as to the equities concerned, that one referee shall be appointed by each, and a third by the two, and the decision of the whole or a majority of such referees shall be final in the premises.

"Where congregations have divided or shall divide in consequence of the division of the General Assembly, and attach themselves to the one body or the other,

"Resolved, That in all cases where equity requires a division of the church property, that the same ought, in the judgment of this Assembly, to be equitably divided.

"And when the parties cannot agree as to the equities in question, that each one select one referee, and the two a third, and that the three, or a majority thereof, have full power to settle the whole terms of such division.

"And that where majorities refuse to make such division, that minorities ought not, in ordinary cases, to resort to legal process, for establishing what may be deemed to be their equitable rights, until every effort for obtaining an amicable arrangement shall have failed, and not (when practicable, without great inconvenience) until the Presbytery or Synod to which they belong shall have been consulted."

After considerable discussion, the Rev. William L. Breckinridge proposed a series of resolutions as a substitute for this report, which was referred to the committee on the state of the church, and having been slightly modified, was adopted, and is as follows, viz.

"Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,

"1. That this body considers itself and the church at large bound, as both have been not only willing but desirous, to adjust all claims against the corporate property of the church, whether legal or equitable, in the most prompt, and fair, and liberal manner.

"2. That this is especially the case touching any claims which may exist on the part of the four Synods of Utica, Geneva, Genesee, and the Western Reserve, declared in 1837 to be no part of the Presbyterian Church, or on the part of those who seceded from the church in 1838, or on the part of any body constituted out of the whole or any part of these elements. And that in regard to all and each of these bodies and persons, the Assembly will faithfully adhere to any pledge or promise, expressed or implied, which it can justly be construed ever to have made, and will fulfil every expectation which it ever knowingly allowed to be cherished.

"3. The trustees of the Assembly are hereby authorised and requested to on the part of this Assembly, should occasion offer, whatever is lawful, competent, and equitable in the premises, conformably to the principles and in the manner heretofore laid down in the minutes of the Assembly for 1837 and 1838, so far as relates to the corporate property of the church, or any equities springing out of the same.

"4. With reference to all institutions, corporations, congregations, and other public persons or bodies in connexion with us, but holding property for ecclesiastical purposes or for religious and benevolent uses, which property is not subject to the control of the Assembly, although the said persons, institutions, or congregations may be; in all such cases, where difficulties relating to property have arisen or shall arise in consequence of the long and painful disorders and divisions in our church, we advise all our members and friends to act on the general principles heretofore laid down, and with the spirit of candour, forbearance and equity, which has dictated this act.

"5. The Assembly reiterates the declaration, that its chief desire on all this part of our church troubles, is to do even and ready justice to and between all persons and interests over which it has any control, or in regard to which it has any duty to perform."

It is believed that a considerable proportion of the Assembly, would have preferred the original report, with some slight verbal alterations, but as the substitute was accepted by Dr. Nott, and made the report of the committee, it was adopted with great unanimity. It is evident that in neither form could it meet the expectations of our New School brethren. Their demands, however, we are persuaded, will be regarded by unprejudiced men as very unreasonable. It should be remembered that a proposition for an amicable separation of the church was made to them in 1836, when they were in the majority, at least apparently, in the General Assembly. This proposition was formally renewed, on terms which some of their own organs pronounced more liberal than they had any reason to expect, during the sessions of the Assembly of 1837. It was repeated in the fall of that year. Every effort, therefore, was made on our side to have the separation effected amicably. Had these propositions been acceded to, neither party would have been a secession. Instead, however, of acceding to these terms, the New School made a violent separation in 1838, and appealed to the civil courts. The necessary consequence of this mode of proceeding was, that one party or the other must be pronounced seceders. The law could recognise but one General Assembly. If theirs was recognised as the true one, ours must be pronounced a schismatical body. And on the other hand, if we were recognised, they must be pronounced seceders. They brought the matter to this issue, most unreasonably and improperly as we think, to the great injury of religion and of their own reputation. But having done it, they have no right to complain of the result. They now consider it an insult to be called seceders. Yet they, not merely in the newspapers, but in official documents, continue so to denominate us, in the face of the very tribunal to which they appealed to decide which was the seceding body. Surely such complaints must excite very little sympathy. The conditions on which they insist in order to an amicable adjustment of the difficulty are in the highest degree unreasonable and unjust. They require that we should give up our charter; which, our lawyers tell us, would be to invalidate the title to all the property. But suppose this was not the case. What possible object can be accomplished by giv-

ing up our present charter, in order to receive another in precisely the same terms, and for precisely the same objects? If they wish a charter for trustees of the General Assembly of the American Presbyterian Church let them apply for it. We are ready to do every thing in our power to facilitate the success of such an application. But why should we be obliged to apply for a charter for trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States, when this is the very style and title of the existing charter, and when there is not a word in that charter which even the opposite party, so far as we know, would wish to have altered? Such an application would be ridiculous. Did any one ever hear of a body of men, going to a legislature, and saying, re-enact that charter word for word, and we will give it up? There is no sense or reason in any such proposition, unless we are required to give up the legal succession. This cannot be given up without forfeiting our property; and if we were to relinquish it, it would do the opposite party no manner of good. They would not be the succession. The title to their property would not be made more secure. It is therefore a demand to do ourselves a great injury, without doing them the least good. All this is said, on the assumption, that the parties stand on equal ground; that they are equally entitled to the name and character of the Presbyterian church in the United States. But this is very far from being a just assumption. One moiety of their body has openly and officially resolved that they will not conform to the fundamental principles of presbyterianism; and the other, of their own accord, withdrew from our connexion. And still they claim to be the representatives of the Presbyterian church. This whole subject has been greatly mystified. Yet it is very plain. Judge Rogers, the court in Bank, the counsel for the New School party, as we understand the matter, all admit, that the General Assembly had a perfect right to abolish the Plan of Union of 1801. That Plan, as understood by both parties in the church, allowed congregationalists to sit and vote on all occasions in our presbyteries, as ruling elders. This has not only been the general understanding of the plan, but the uniform practice under it, from 1801 to the present day. But Judge Rogers says in his charge, that for a member of another denomination to sit and vote in any of our judicatories, is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of Presbyterianism, and that any act allowing such a proceeding, even if sanctioned by the presbyteries, would be

null and void, because inconsistent with the act of the legislature of Pennsylvania granting the charter.* Notwithstanding this legal abrogation of the plan, and this flagrant unconstitutional practice under it, the several exscinded presbyteries declared they would disregard that abrogation, and continue that practice. That is, they deliberately resolved that they would not conform to what their own Judge pronounces to be the fundamental principles of Presbyterianism, while they insist upon being recognised as good Presbyterians and allowed to sit in our highest judicatory. Because the General Assembly would not submit to this, a small minority of the delegates organized by themselves, received these recusants, and claim to be the true General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. Mankind are rational beings. It is impossible that these plain facts should fail, in spite of all misrepresentations, to work their way into the public mind. And we firmly believe that the just and good men among the New School party itself, will soon come to regard the disorderly organization of 1838 as a most unreasonable proceeding, and the claims founded on that organization as in the highest degree unrighteous. It cannot be that good men can continue to believe, that those who will not submit to the fundamental rules of a church, have a right to be in that church and to control its action. And no man who does not so believe can justify the course of the New School, or sympathize with their present feelings.

* This opinion of the flagrant unconstitutionality of the Plan of Union the old school party have uniformly asserted. Judge Rogers pronounced that plan constitutional, and reconciled that decision with the above cited declaration, by giving the plan a new interpretation. The plan declares, that "provided the said standing committee of any church, shall depute one of themselves to attend presbytery, he may have the same right to sit and act in the presbytery, as a ruling elder of the Presbyterian church." This provision, it seems, the judge interpreted to mean that in case a Congregational church member was to be tried before the presbytery, a committeeman might be deputed to sit and act in the adjudication of that particular cause, but further than that he had no right to a seat. This interpretation is at variance with the uniform understanding and practice of the church. It is a great unfairness, on the part of the organs of the new school party, to cite Judge Rogers as sanctioning the Plan of Union, when they know that he pronounced the practice, which his opinion is cited to sustain, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of presbyterianism. It may be said, that Chief Justice Gibson decided that the Plan of Union was constitutionally enacted. This is true. While we fully believe that the opinion of Judge Gibson is, in the main, obviously correct and just, there are positions in it which we consider very incorrect. So, too, while the new school concur in the conclusion to which Judge Rogers endeavoured to bring the jury, it is impossible they should approve of all the principles which he lays down. This only shows the impropriety of bringing such cases before civil tribunals.

Anniversary of the Assembly's Boards.

The Assembly resolved to celebrate these anniversaries during it own sessions, in hopes that the facts presented in the several reports would have a tendency to awaken the interest, and increase the zeal of its members in the prosecution of the objects to which these Boards are devoted. The experiment proved eminently successful. The anniversary of the Board of Education was celebrated on Wednesday, May 22. The report of the Board was read by the Rev. Francis M'Farland, the corresponding secretary. In consequence of the lamented illness of the Rev. Mr. Peabody, the financial and assistant secretary, full reports from the auxiliaries had not been secured. From this and other causes, the number of candidates reported this year is much less than usual. The number, as far as ascertained, is three hundred and thirty-eight. The whole amount of money received, including a small balance at the commencement of last year, is $33,930. 77. The expenditures were $32,793. 26, leaving a balance in the treasury of $1,137. 51. After the reading of the report, several members addressed the Assembly on the subjects brought to view in that document. The object of the speakers was to suggest improvements in the constitution of the Board, and in the mode of conducting its operations. This was happily done by Dr. Plumer, Pres. Young, Dr. Alexander, Dr. Breckinridge, and others. The report of the Board was referred to Messrs. Young, A. Alexander, and M'Kenzie. This committee made a report which was adopted as follows, viz.

"Resolved, That the report of the Board of Education be approved.

"As misapprehension has sometimes arisen in the minds of the beneficiaries of the Board, as well as in the minds of others, in regard to the light in which the Board and the Church view the assistance furnished to candidates for the gospel ministry under their care, your committee deem it expedient so to alter the second article of the constitution, as to assert more clearly the donative character of the assistance; they therefore recommend the adoption of the following, in lieu of the second article of the constitution, viz. In all other cases the aid contributed to any candidate for the ministry shall be considered as a donation, which he is under no other obligation to return, than that moral obligation which must necessarily arise out of the nature of the case.

"And, whereas, there is a very great and increasing demand for preachers of the gospel, as well to supply our moral destitutions at home as to evangelize the hundreds of millions of heathen who are perishing without instruction—and, whereas, our Church, if we compare its efforts with its ability, will be found doing very little in this great work, neither being engaged extensively and earnestly in prayer to God for the multiplication of Gospel labourers, nor presenting sufficiently to the minds of its youth the wants of a dying world, and the claims of their Redeemer to the unreserved consecration of their powers to

his service as preachers of the gospel—and, whereas, we feel that we can rely confidently on the blessing of God to enlarge our operations, and increase our success, if we endeavour, in dependence on him, to use all active and vigorous measures, both for multiplying the numbers and securing the intellectual and moral advancement of our candidates for the gospel ministry, as well as all suitable means for guarding against the intrusion into the sacred office of those who would desecrate its functions. Therefore,

"Resolved, 1. That it be earnestly recommended to the pastors and members of our churches that prayer be made to God continually, that he would pour out his Spirit on the hearts of our young men, and prepare multitudes of them to serve him in the ministry of reconciliation.

"2. That it be recommended to our pastors and elders to look out, in all our churches, for young men of suitable piety and talents, who may be educated under the care and by the assistance of the church, for the work of the gospel ministry; to converse and pray with such young men on the subject of their dedicating themselves to the service of God, in preaching the gospel; and to endeavour by every proper means to induce them to qualify themselves for becoming the embassadors of Christ to their perishing fellow men.

"3. That while the Assembly would recommend to the Board of Education the exercise of all due caution in the reception of its candidates, and a strict supervision of them during their whole course of instruction, to prevent the sacred funds entrusted to their management by the Church, from being perverted to the support of those who are unworthy of the patronage of the Church, the Assembly would also recommend to the Board to aim at a great enlargement of their operations and usefulness—and to effect this desirable object they would recommend to the Board to use increased exertions to augment, not merely the contributions of our churches to this cause, but the number of candidates under their care.

"4. That it is the deliberate conviction of this Assembly, formed as the result of much experience, that an efficient system of agencies by which all the churches of our connexion may be visited from year to year, is, in the present condition of Christian feeling and knowledge on the subject of benevolent operations, absolutely indispensable—that the Assembly therefore earnestly recommend to the Board of Education the employment of a suitable number of zealous and discreet agents, by whose instrumentality or the instrumentality of voluntary agents engaged to co-operate with them, all the churches may have this important cause annually presented before them—and the Assembly would recommend to its churches that they receive with kindness and hearty co-operation the labours of the agents of all our ecclesiastical Boards remembering that the service in which these brethren are engaged is an arduous self-denying service, undertaken not for filthy lucre, but for the glory of God, that our people may have an opportunity of understanding their duty, and discharging it in reference to the advancement of Christ's kingdom in its various branches.

"5. That it be recommended to the Presbyteries to adopt the plan of the Board, heretofore published, so far as to examine and recommend all candidates for pecuniary aid, who may reside within their bounds; and that they continue to exercise over such candidates, while in the course of education, such care and supervision as may be necessary—and when the conduct of any beneficiary shall be such as to require his dismission from a place on the funds of the Board, that the Presbytery to which he belongs be informed of the same."

Board of Domestic Missions.

The report of this Board was read by the secretary, Dr. William M'Dowell, on Thursday, May 23; on which occasion several addresses were made. It appears from this re-

port that the number of missionaries and agents in the service of the Board during the year was two hundred and sixty; the receipts $41,759. 77. The missionaries report the accession of fourteen hundred members to the churches under their care upon examination, and thirteen hundred and fifty upon certificate; the whole number of communicants being about twenty thousand. They report further the organization of sixty new churches, and the erection of a hundred houses of worship; also four hundred Sunday schools, with about twenty thousand scholars; three hundred catechetical and bible classes, with six thousand learners; three hundred temperance societies; one hundred bible and ninety missionary societies. The report was referred to Messrs. Smyth, Platt and Holmes, who recommended the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz.

"I. Resolved that this Assembly having heard from the report of the Board of Missions of the continued and increasing prosperity of the cause of Domestic Missions, as manifested in the increase of funds, of missionaries, and of the churches under their care, would record their grateful acknowledgements to the Head of the Church, who, in the midst of all her trials, has thus graciously smiled upon her.

"II. Resolved, That whereas the present position of the Board, and the nature of their present engagements, require on their part, a great enlargement of their plans and efforts in accordance with the suggestions of the report—particularly in the vast regions of the West, the South, and the South-west, including also Texas, which is calling loudly for their immediate assistance—this Assembly do most earnestly urge upon all its ministers and churches the claims of this Board.

"While the churches generally approve of this Board, and give their hearty approval to the great duty of missions, this Assembly learns, with the most painful disappointment and surprise, that not more probably than two-thirds of our pastors or churches, do at present render any assistance to the Church in prosecuting this great work. They would therefore affectionately commend this duty to every minister and church session, and express their confident hope that this appeal will meet with an universal and cheerful response.

"III. Resolved, That to secure this desirable object—inasmuch as the report, when published, though sent to every minister, cannot be generally circulated among the members of our churches, it be recommended to the pastors of churches to spread before their people the substance of this report, by reading it from the pulpit, at such time as may be most convenient for taking up an annual collection in behalf of this Board.

"IV. Resolved, That while the necessity for agents is at present felt and recognised by the Assembly, in order ultimately to remove this necessity, and thus to reduce the expenditures of the Board, the individual agency and co-operation of every minister and church session, in forwarding the interests of this Board, would, in the opinion of this Assembly, if faithfully employed, with the least expense and the greatest certainty, advance the cause, and multiply the resources of the Board."

Board of Foreign Missions.

The report of this Board was presented on Friday, and read by the corresponding secretary. After several addresses

had been made, the report was referred to Messrs. H. R. Wilson, R. B. Campbell, and M'Caleb. It appears from this report, that the Board received during the past year (including a balance from the preceding year of $4,200.44) $62,977.62. This sum is exclusive of $2,500 received from the American Tract Society, and $1,000 from the American Bible Society, to be appropriated for the use of those societies. The expenditures during the same period have been $53,590.06, leaving a balance, which is already appropriated, of $9,409.56. During the year five additional missionaries have been sent into the field. The stations now occupied in Northern India, are, first, Lodiana, Subathu, and Saharunpur, forming one mission. In this mission there are six ordained missionaries, one printer, one teacher, and two native assistants. Twenty-four works, in five different languages, have issued from the press at this station, comprising in all 1,355,030 pages. There appears to be about three hundred scholars taught at the various schools of this mission. Second mission, Allahabad and Futteghur, with six ordained missionaries and two native assistants. This mission is of more recent date than the preceding. There are about one hundred and sixty scholars in its several schools. Three additional ordained missionaries, it is expected, will be sent to these missions the coming fall.

Among the American Indians the Board have two missions; one among the Ioways and Sacs, where there are three male and four female labourers; and one among the Chippewas and Ottowas, where there are two ordained missionaries.

In Western Africa they have at present but one missionary. Two other brethren have been accepted for this field, who are expected to sail the ensuing autumn.

In China the present station is Singapore. The success which has already attended the exertions of this Board, which is yet in its infancy, is highly encouraging; and it is believed that the church, having, after many struggles and embarrassments, fairly entered on the work of foreign missions, will exert herself, in some measure, in a manner worthy of the greatness of the enterprise. We perceive that the Board have it in contemplation, in addition to the stations already occupied, to establish missions at Calcutta, Assam, among the Malays, at Marseilles in France, and Barcelona in Spain. The church would doubtless rejoice to see these and many other positions advantageously occupied. But we believe the true wisdom of the Board will consist in the selec-

tion of some few important stations, and concentrating their efforts upon them. What can two or three, or even half a dozen men do in the midst of a population of twenty or thirty millions? Experience teaches us that, under the ordinary blessings of God's providence and grace, it is a slow and difficult work to change the religion of a nation. In our age this result is not brought about by miracle, but by the divine blessing on the persevering use of those means which are adapted to form the minds and hearts of the people. This being the case, it is evident that it is time and effort thrown away, to conduct the missionary work on a small scale; to scatter the resources of its friends over the whole field, without effectually cultivating any one spot. We do not make these remarks under the impression that the Board are likely to act upon a different plan. On the contrary, as we understand their purpose, it is to concentrate their strength on a few important fields, while at the same time they occupy certain "centres of influence" with men of talents and experience, who may facilitate their general operations.

The Assembly adopted, at the recommendation of the committee to whom this report was referred, the following resolutions, viz.

"1. Resolved, That it becomes the Assembly to entertain gratitude in no ordinary degree, to the Great Head of the Church, for his smiles upon the operations of our infant missionary institution.

"2. Resolved, That the Assembly approves the views of the Executive Committee, to which the Board have responded, with the deepest sensibility, in regard to the ancient people of God.

"The Jews are a people in whose salvation we ought to take a lively interest, and in relation to whom we ought most carefully to observe the developments of Divine Providence, and vigorously seize every opportunity, as it offers, of doing them good.

"3. Resolved, That the Assembly sympathises very deeply with the Board, in the expression of its sense of the immense obligations resting on the Presbyterian Church, to increase its efforts for the conversion of the world to God. And as, in the providence of God, our beloved Zion is now in a condition to act with unity and concert on this subject, it is the duty of all to devote themselves, with increased zeal and energy, to extend the knowledge of the truth at home and abroad.

"4. Resolved, As the foreign missionary field is ripe for the harvest, that it is to be regretted that the labourers are so few, and that of the many young men in our midst, from year to year entering the sacred office, so few have engaged personally in the work of foreign missions.

"5. Resolved, That, as there are many important openings for missionary effort and influence in the Papal, Pagan, and Mahomedan world, requiring not only pious and devoted men, but also men of more than common talents, acquirements, experience and influence, the Assembly most earnestly recommend the urgent claims of missions to such men, as well as to our ministers and candidates for the ministry generally; and that they be entreated to examine prayer-

fully, whether they should not hold themselves in readiness to enter the foreign field, and go far hence to the Gentiles.

"6. Resolved, That in view of these great and important principles and interests, the Assembly is of opinion that it is the duty of our Foreign Board to call to the occupation of these important centres of influence, any of the servants of God whom they shall judge to be properly qualified.

"7. Resolved, That 6000 copies of the report be printed and extensively circulated."

Board of Publication.

This is the new designation of the Assembly's Board of publication of Tract and Sunday School Books. The name was changed as its field of operation has been enlarged. Instead of being confined to the publication of Tracts and Sunday School Books, to it is now "committed the publication, on behalf of the Assembly, of such works, permanent and periodical, as are adapted to promote sound learning and true religion." This is one of the most important enterprises in which our church has ever engaged. The influence of the press is the paramount influence in the civilized world. The pulpit can hardly rival it. That it is the duty of the friends of religion to avail themselves of this engine cannot be disputed. And as our church has determined, as a church, to exert her energies in the various enterprises of benevolence, there can, we presume, be little diversity of opinion, as to the propriety of the organization of the above mentioned Board. There has been such an organization in intimate, though not, perhaps, ecclesiastical connexion with the church of England for more than a century, and its influence has been very extensive and powerful. Our Methodist brethren, who are exceedingly wise in their generation, have long had a similar establishment. And we can see no reason why the Presbyterian church should not avail herself of the same means of doing good. It must however be admitted that it is an enterprise of great difficulty and delicacy. The character of the church is committed in a great degree to this Board. If their selection of works for publication be not judicious, the evil will be immense. The past operations of the Board promise well for the future. They have published 104,000 copies of eighteen different tracts and volumes. Among the works ordered for publication, are Stevenson on the offices of Christ, as abridged by Dr. Plumer; Guthrie's Christian's Great Interest; Gouge's Christian Directions; Charnock on Christ Crucified; and Brooke's Mute Christian. It will be a great blessing to the church, if, by means of this Board, the spirituality and deep experience of the writers of

the 16th century can be infused into our ministers and members.

Complaint of A. D. Metcalf and others.

This was a complaint against the Synod of Virginia, for deciding that appeals may lie in cases not judicial. The decision complained of, the reasons of complaint assigned by the complainants, and the whole record of the Synod in the case were read. The two parties, the complainants and the Synod, having been heard, the roll was called that each member of the Assembly might have an opportunity of expressing his opinion. After which the vote was taken and the complaint was sustained. That is, the General Assembly decided that appeals cannot lie except in judicial cases.

We regret that it is not in our power to present such a view of this case, as we have been accustomed to give on similar occasions. We have no statement, in the minutes, of the nature of the question decided by the Synod of Virginia; nor any report of the arguments for and against sustaining the complaint. We are obliged, therefore, to content ourselves with the following remarks on the principle involved in the above decision of the Assembly. As this subject has already been discussed at some length on our pages,* it may seem unnecessary to say any more on the subject. As, however, the recent decision has again brought it before the churches, it may not be improper to devote a few pages to its consideration. It is really a matter of importance. It would be a hard case if a party, suffering under a grievous wrong, should be turned away from the bar of our highest judicatory, merely on the ground that he had mistaken the nature of his remedy. The history of this question is a little curious. We have had a superior judicatory in our church for more than a hundred and twenty years. During about seventy years of this period, our discipline was conducted according to the Westminster Directory. In 1789 our present constitution went into operation; which was submitted to an extensive revision and alteration, as to matters of detail, in 1821. Under these several systems, appeals and complaints were allowed without hindrance or contradiction, from any kind of decision in an inferior judicatory, by a person who felt himself aggrieved, until 1834. Then, for the first time in our history, as far as we know, the idea was

* See Biblical Repertory, 1835, January and April Numbers.

started that appeals and complaints could be made only in cases strictly judicial. The occasion on which this doctrine was advanced was the following. The Synod of Philadelphia had passed an act by which they first received the second presbytery as organized by the Assembly; secondly, united that presbytery with the presbytery of Philadelphia; and, thirdly, divided this united presbytery by a geographical line. From this act the Assembly's presbytery appealed and complained. When the case came before the Assembly the Rev. Samuel G. Winchester, in an ingenious and eloquent speech, which was afterwards published in various forms, took the ground that "it is only from the decisions of a judicatory sitting as a court, for judicial business, that appeals and complaints can be entertained." That this novel doctrine was not at that time the doctrine of the Synod, which the Rev. Gentleman defended, is plain, from the fact, that they had referred for adjudication to that very Assembly "An appeal and complaint of the fifth church, Philadelphia, relative to the call of Dr. Beman."* That venerable body therefore, could hardly be surprised that the Assembly overruled Mr. Winchester's plea, and proceeded to exercise a jurisdiction which had been thus explicitly recognised by the very body in whose behalf the plea was urged. Though the Synod was thus free from this new doctrine in May 1834, it grew into such sudden favour, that when that body met the following autumn, they decided not merely that appeals and complaints could not lie except in judicial cases, but even that protests were in the same predicament. This is an instructive illustration of the fact that the wisest and best men sometimes allow themselves to be run away with by a plausible idea, though contrary to all their own previous professions and practice. This, however, was a mere temporary delusion. The members of that Synod who had signed or allowed protests in all kinds of cases before, still continued to sign or allow them, with equal freedom, their own decition to the contrary notwithstanding. We had fondly hoped that the whole doctrine was quietly forgotten. We had good reason for this hope. We found its very authors and advocates disregarding it the very next year; acting as though no such doctrine had ever been broached. If they practically abandoned it as untenable, we may be excused for feeling some surprise at its resurrection in a new and

* Minutes of the Assembly of 1834, p. 8.

distant quarter. It is, however, shorn of its just proportions. The Synod of Philadelphia extended the doctrine to appeals, complaints and protests. Thus putting minorities completely under the feet of majorities, not allowing them even the right of recording their dissent with the reasons for it. Mr. Winchester confined the doctrine to appeals and complaints; these Virginia gentlemen to appeals alone. In this last form it is certainly less objectionable than in either of the others.

In order to understand this matter, we must know precisely what is meant by judicial decisions, to which it is said, appeals and complaints, or appeals alone, are confined. There is a good deal of confusion and error often occasioned by the mere designation of our ecclesiastical bodies as courts or judicatories. They are so called when not sitting in a judicial capacity. We find lawyers much troubled to know what we mean by courts; and disposed to run analogies between the different civil tribunals and those found in our church. This has been a fruitful source of mistake as to the nature of our form of government. It is to this source the "Member of the New York Bar" seems indebted for his strange misconceptions on this subject, which have cost those who confided in his wisdom so dearly. If our system and nomenclature trouble the lawyers, it is no less true that the lawyers trouble us. They often bring with them into ecclesiastical bodies modes of thinking and reasoning borrowed from their previous pursuits, which are entirely inappropriate to our system. Our good brother Winchester will excuse our saying this is precisely his difficulty. His whole printed speech on the subject before us, is distinguished by this lawyer-like kind of reasoning; a strenuous insisting on the precise legal sense of terms, and thence deriving a rule of construction which makes the constitution speak a language which it was never intended to speak. Our courts are hodies *sui generis;* they include within themselves legislative, executive and judicial powers. Yet this division is in a great measure arbitrary. These several powers are but different modes of exercising the general governing authority in the church; and it is often very difficult to say whether a particular act should be placed under the one or the other of these heads. Still the classification, though not so definite as might be desired, is useful. To the exercise of legislative powers are referred the numerous rules which constitute our form of government, which were enacted in a certain prescribed way. To the same head belongs the various standing rules, which,

though they form no part of the constitution, are of force until properly repealed; such, for example, as the rules which regulate the reception of foreign ministers, &c. The head of executive powers is the most comprehensive of all, as to it belongs almost every act, except such as concern the exercise of discipline, which is designed to carry into effect the various provisions of our complicated system. Hence the examination, the licensing, ordaining, installing, dismissing ministers; the erection, division, and dissolution of churches, presbyteries and synods, are all executive acts. On the other hand, "the judicial power of the church," says Principal Hill of Scotland, "appears in the infliction or removal of those censures which belong to a spiritual society." This passage has been quoted as defining the nature of those acts from which alone complaints and appeals can properly be taken. The class of acts contemplated, therefore, is that which concerns the infliction or removal of ecclesiastical censures. That this is a correct statement of the case, further appears from the nature of the arguments by which this doctrine is sustained. These arguments are derived from the words *cause*, *trial*, *sentence*, *parties*, &c., which occur in the chapter which treats of appeals and complaints, and which, it is said, determine the nature of the cases from which an appeal may lie, or against which a complaint may be made. The definition given above of judicial acts, viz. that they are such as relate to the infliction or removal of ecclesiastical censures, is however far from being complete. A church court often sits in a judicial capacity, without any reference either to the infliction or removal of censure. Take the case before the last Assembly. The synod of Virginia decided that an appeal could lie in cases not judicial. Mr. A. D. Metcalf and others complain of this decision. The matter comes before the Assembly. That body being duly warned by the moderator that it is about to sit in its judicial capacity, hears what the synod has to say in defence of its decision, and what the complainants had to say against it, and then gave their judgment. The Assembly acted judicially; it sat in judgment on the decision of a lower court. Yet it neither inflicted nor removed any ecclesiastical censure. The synod of Virginia was no more censured by having its decision reversed, than a district court of the United States is censured when the supreme court reverses its opinion on a point of law. There are therefore a multitude of cases in which our courts act judicially, which are not judicial cases, in the sense of the above cited

definition; cases in which there is no offence, no offender, no testimony, and no trial in the ordinary sense of the terms. Besides, a case which is properly executive in one stage, may become judicial in another stage of its progress. Or to speak more correctly, any executive act of a lower court may be made the subject of judicial examination in a higher one. Thus, for example, when the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, as organized by the Assembly, divided the Fifth Presbyterian church in that city, contrary to the wishes of a majority of the people, Thomas Bradford and others of the aggrieved party, brought the matter before the Assembly of 1835. There the case was regularly adjudicated; both parties were heard, and the decision was reversed. This new doctrine therefore rests upon a very unstable basis. It is founded on an imperfect classification of the acts of our judicatories; and assumes that the judicial function has reference to the mere infliction or removal of censures.

Let us examine the nature of the arguments which have been adduced in support of this new doctrine. Our constitution says, "That every kind of decision which is formed in any church judicatory, except the highest, is subject to the review of a superior judicatory, and may be carried up in one or the other of the four following ways: 1. General review and control; 2. Reference; 3. Appeal; and 4. Complaint." The question is, what is the meaning of this plain declaration? It does not mean, because it does not say, that every individual decision, but *every kind* of decision may be carried up in either of these four ways. These different forms of redress contemplate different circumstances, and are not all available in every particular case. A reference, for example, must be made by the body itself, and not by an individual member; but the body may refer any kind of case. An appeal supposes an aggrieved party, but he may appeal from any kind of decision which directly affects himself. A complaint supposes some kind of impropriety in the act complained of, but it may be entered against any kind of act alleged to be improper. So that any kind of decision may be regularly brought up in each of the several ways specified above. That this is the true meaning of this article, might be inferred with certainty from the fact that it has always been so understood and acted upon; and that it is almost a literal transcript of the Scottish rule on the same subject, which has always been interpreted and applied in the same way. We are now told, however, that this is not its mean-

ing; that we must lay particular stress on the word *or*. 'Every kind of decision may be carried up in one *or* the other of the four following ways:' one kind in one way, and another kind in another way. In the Scotch rule, however, whence ours was taken, there is no *or*. Principal Hill gives it thus: "Every ecclesiastical business that is transacted in any church judicatory is subject to the review of its ecclesiastical superiors, and may be brought before the court immediately above in four different ways, by review, by reference, by appeal, and by complaint." If, therefore, the emendators of our book had left out that little word, and said: Every kind of decision may be carried up in four different ways, review, reference, appeal, and complaint; there would have been an end of the matter; or rather, there never could have been a beginning to the new doctrine. Yet who can doubt that this is precisely what they meant to say, who compares the two rules, and remembers, that our practice, both before and since the emendation, was precisely, as far as the point now in debate is concerned, the same as that of the Scotch church?

The main dependance of the advocate of the new doctrine, is upon the language employed in directing how an appeal is to be prosecuted. It is argued that where there has been no trial, strictly speaking, in the court below, there can be no appeal, because an appeal is the removal of a cause already decided, from the inferior to the superior judicatory; secondly, because it is said that all persons who have submitted to a trial have a right to appeal; thirdly, because the grounds of appeal are stated to be such as partiality, the refusal of testimony, haste or injustice in the decision; fourthly, because the book directs that, in hearing an appeal, the following steps are to be taken, viz. to read the sentence, then the reasons, then the records including the testimony, then to hear first the original parties, and afterwards the members of the inferior judicatory. If this argument is valid in relation to appeals, it is no less so in its application to complaints. For if an appeal is the removal of a cause already decided, so a complaint is "another method by which a cause decided in an inferior judicatory may be carried before a superior." The grounds of complaint contemplate "parties at the bar," injustice of the judgment, &c. The steps also in the prosecution of a complaint are substantially the same as in case of appeal; the sentence is to be read, then the reasons, then the records including the testimony, then the parties are to be

heard, &c. &c. The only difference between these modes of redress are the following. First, a complaint does not arrest the operation of the decision against which it is entered; and, secondly, an appeal can be made only by an aggrieved party; whereas a complaint can be made by any member of the court who disapproves of the decision. They do not differ at all as to the kind of decisions against which they are available. The same mode of arguing is equally applicable to the case of references. For a reference is defined to be a *judicial* representation of a case not yet decided. The superior judicatory, it is said, may remit the *cause* referred; and the inferior court is directed, in cases of reference, to send up all the testimony, in order that the higher court may consider and decide the case. It is evident, therefore, that we cannot, without the greatest inconsistency, stop half way in this matter. If the use of the words cause, parties, testimony, sentence, &c., under the head of appeals, shows that they must be confined to judicial cases; it proves the same with regard to complaints and references; and our whole system of government is overturned.

The fallacy of the above method of reasoning will appear from the following remarks. In the first place, these technical terms are to be understood, not according to their use in civil courts, but according to our own ecclesiastical usage. Our bodies are called courts; their decisions are called judgments; the matters brought before them are called cases. Are we to infer from this, as has been done by the new school lawyers and brethren, that they have nothing but judicial powers; that they are mere bodies for the administration of justice? The constitution says, indeed, that they are charged with the government of the churches; yet as civil courts have nothing to do with governing, it is insisted upon that ours can have nothing to do with it. This arguing from technical terms, and giving them a sense foreign to the peculiar nature of our ecclesiastical system, can produce nothing but confusion and embarrassment.

In the second place, our rules were drawn up with special reference to that class of cases which is of most frequent occurrence, and hence the language employed is adapted to such cases. Are we to infer, however, from the fact that the book directs the inferior judicatory, in cases of reference, to send up the testimony, that no case can be referred but one in which there is testimony to be presented? Yet this is the argument on which so much stress is laid. It is, that because

the rules, which relate to appeals, direct that the sentence should be read, and the testimony produced, there can be no appeal where there has not been a judicial sentence, and where there is no testimony. This is exactly the argument made on the floor of the Assembly in 1837 by Dr. Beman, in opposition to the motion to cite certain Synods to answer for their irregularities. He insisted that the Assembly should look at the book and abide by it to the letter. But to what part of the constitution did he refer the house? Not to that which contains the radical principles of our system, which enjoins on the higher courts to take effectual care that the constitution is observed, but to the rules of detail. And sure enough, as might have been expected, these rules do contemplate some specific erroneous decision, and consequently direct that the delinquent judicatory should be cited to show what it had done "in the case in question," after which the whole case was to be remitted to the said judicatory to be disposed of in a constitutional manner. It was hence argued that although the power of calling inferior courts to the bar, and seeing that they conformed to the constitution, was clearly recognised, yet the church had, by these rules of detail, effectually tied her own hands. A specific irregular act might be called up, and sent back for correction; but the Synods themselves were beyond the reach of the Assembly. They might cherish what disorders they pleased; recognise what churches or presbyteries they pleased, trample on the constitution as they pleased, the Assembly could do nothing but correct specific acts in detail. This argument is just as good as that which is now urged about appeals or complaints. The argument is, that the rules of process limit the exercise of the right to those particular cases, in which every one of the rules can be applied.

In the third place, it is a fallacy running through this argument that there can be no judicial investigation of any thing but a judicial act. An appeal or complaint is indeed a a judicial process. Hence it is referred to the judicial committee; and the members of the court are warned, when it comes on for decision, that they are about to sit in their judicial capacity. This, however, proves nothing as to the nature of the act appealed from. The higher court is called to sit in judgment on the constitutionality, wisdom, or justice of a particular act of the court below; it matters not whether that act itself were judicial or executive. If any body was injured by it, he has a right to appeal from it, and have his brethren judge of its propriety. That our constitution con-

templated such appeals is evident from the fact that it provides that an appeal shall suspend the operation of the decision appealed from, except it be a sentence of suspension, excommunication, or deposition. This is just as much as to say, except in judicial cases; for suspension, excommunication, and deposition are the only sentences, worth naming, which our courts are competent to pass. If then these are excepted from arrest in their operation by an appeal, all are excepted, unless an appeal may lie from other than strictly judicial decisions. It is evident, therefore, that such decisions form but one class of those acts from which an appeal can be taken.

Finally, if it can be shown that all the requisitions of the book may be fully complied with in cases of appeals from executive acts, then there is an end of the argument; as the whole argument rests on the supposed incompatibility of those rules with such appeals. Let us take for illustration either of the appeals presented in 1835 by Thomas Bradford and others. The presbytery had divided the 5th church of Philadelphia against its will, erecting two new churches, and giving a name to neither. The church felt itself aggrieved; it believed that not only the spiritual interests of the congregation, but the title to the property was injuriously affected by the decision. They had therefore the right not only to have it reviewed, but arrested. They accordingly appealed. The papers were referred to the judicial committee, and found to be in order. When the case was to be tried, the Assembly was duly warned that it was about to sit in a judicial capacity, to decide on the constitutionality and justice of that act of the presbytery. The first step was to read the sentence, or decision appealed from; the second to read the reasons of the appeal. The third to read the record in the case, including the testimony. The testimony in this case was all the evidence presented to the presbytery to prove the opposition of the church to the division. Fourth step was to hear the original parties. The only parties in the case were the presbytery who had done the wrong and the church that suffered it. They were accordingly heard. The fifth step, according to the book, would be to hear the members of the inferior judicatory. This direction was complied with in taking the fourth step, the presbytery being one of the parties. Thus every direction of the book was complied with, in this, as in a hundred similar cases of appeal from executive acts. It would be mere trifling to say that the

directions were not all followed, because there were not two original parties distinct from the presbytery. There never are such parties, even in judicial cases, when the ground of prosecution is common fame. Besides, had this appeal been carried in the first instance to the Synod, and there decided against the appellants, then the original parties in this case would have been the church and the presbytery, and the members of the Synod, the members of the inferior judicatory whom the book directs to be heard in the fifth step of the trial. Thus the whole rule would have been complied with to the letter.* There is, therefore, no foundation in our constitution for this new doctrine. Every letter of the rules may be, and has been fully complied with in a multitude of cases, where the decision appealed from was merely an executive act.

It may be said, however, that it is very desirable to have appeals confined if possible to strictly judicial cases; that it is unreasonable that the executive acts of a body should be arrested by any dissatisfied member. This objection, however, overlooks the fact that no merely dissatisfied member has a right to appeal. That remedy is expressly confined to a person or persons directly affected by a decision. If a minister is tried before his presbytery for an offence and condemned, if he does not choose to appeal, no dissatisfied member can do it. And if he is acquited, no member of the court, however he may disapprove of the decision, can appeal; his remedy is to complain. But if a presbytery dismiss a pastor, against his will, from his charge, as he is directly affected by the act, he may appeal from it; or if they divide a church, the church may appeal. The right of appeal is limited, therefore, not to a particular class of decisions, but to a particular class of persons, viz. to those who are injuriously affected by the decision.

* It is perhaps to be regretted that the inferior judicatory should ever be regarded, in cases of complaint or appeal, as a party. This however is a designation which the judicatory bears as much when the sentence appealed from is a judicial, as when it is an executive act. If a minister is accused by any particular person of an offence before his presbytery and is condemned, should he appeal, the accuser and the accused are properly the parties, when the case come before the Synod; and the presbytery is not properly a party. But if the prosecution is on the ground of common fame, then as far as there are original parties at all, they are the accused and the presbytery from whose sentence he appeals. Whatever impropriety there may be in calling the inferior court a party, it has nothing to do with the present question. The court is no more a party in cases of appeal, when its decision was executive, than when it was judicial.

We have, however, acted long enough upon the defensive. We shall proceed to show that this new doctrine, especially if applied to complaints as well as appeals, (and we have seen that the two cannot in this matter be consistently separated,) is subversive of the fundamental principles of presbyterianism, and inconsistent with the uniform practice of the church. It is a radical principle of our system "that a larger part of the church, or a representation of it, should govern a smaller, or determine matters of controversy which arise therein." It is in virtue of this principle that every man who is aggrieved or injured by a decision of a lower court has the right to seek redress in a higher. He has the right to bring the matter up himself, and is not dependent on the majority of the body, whether it shall come up or not. It is further a fundamental principle of our system that any thing which has been unconstitutionally or injuriously done in a lower court, whether it affect an individual or not, may be corrected by a higher court. This is of the essence of presbyterianism. It is involved in the declaration that the church is to be governed not only by congregational and presbyterial, but also by synodical assemblies; and more expressly in the declaration that Synods have authority "to redress whatever has been done by presbyteries contrary to order." It is evident that any interpretation of words and phrases occurring in rules regulating details in the administration of discipline, which comes into conflict with these radical principles of our system, must be rejected as false and unwarranted. The new doctrine is liable to this fatal objection. It effectually prevents the exercise of control on the part of the higher courts, and renders the lower judicatories independent as to all their executive acts, which included the larger and perhaps most important part of their proceedings. A presbytery may trample on the constitution with impunity; it may admit congregationalists to sit as ruling elders; it may receive ministers without requiring them to adopt our standards; it may dismiss a pastor against his own will and that of his people; it may, for party purposes, divide a congregation contrary to its wishes, or instal a pastor over them in spite of their remonstrances; and for these and a multitude of similar cases there is no redress, if the right to complain and appeal is to be confined to judicial cases. The review of records affords no remedy at all in nine out of ten of such instances. The records contain a bare statement of the facts, that such a man was received, such a pastor dismissed, such

an one installed, or such a congregation divided, but whether these acts were constitutionally performed, they give no means of judging. They afford, therefore, nothing on which the higher court can lay hold. Besides, by withholding their records, it would be in the power of the inferior judicatory to prevent all knowledge of their irregularities, even in those few cases in which the minutes might disclose them.

It may be said that *fama clamosa* affords ground for calling the offending judicatory to an account. But, in the first place, this is a remedy which applies only in extreme cases. And, in the second, this would be doing by indirection what ought to be done decently and in order. A minority grieved by the unconstitutional or injurious acts of the majority, not having the right to make an orderly representation of the case to the higher court, is driven to make a clamour about it, in order to attract their attention. This surely is not presbyterianism. And besides, the citation and trial of judicatories, on the ground of common fame, is the most invidious, the most cumbrous, and the least effectual of all methods for the correction of abuses. If therefore the right of appeal and complaint be taken away, except in judicial cases, there is no remedy for the largest and most important class of unconstitutional or unjust acts of ecclesiastical bodies. Our new school brethren have never brought forward a principle more completely subversive of presbyterian government than the new doctrine, in its full extent, would certainly be. It would effectually prevent the legitimate operation of our system; it would place the constitution, order and purity of the church at the mercy of any one Presbytery, and leave minorities completely in the hands of majorities.

It may be said that these remarks apply only to that form of the new doctrine which excludes complaints, no less than appeals, in all except judicial cases. We have already admitted that the evil is far less sweeping, if the right of complaining against unconstitutional or injurious executive acts be allowed to remain. But the right of appeal is no less sacred than that of complaint. The constitution places them on the same ground, as far as the present subject of debate is concerned. The Assembly has no more authortiy to take away the one, than it has to take away the other. The argument which has been applied to justify the denial of the right to appeal, except in judicial cases, applies in all its force to complaints. It is proper, therefore, to show what would be the effect of the full assertion of the new doctrine. Besides, the

evil arising from denying the right of appeal where the constitution allows it, is no less real and grievous, though less extensive than when the denial is extended to complaints. A man dismissed from his charge, a congregation divided, or over whom a pastor has been installed against its consent, have a right not merely to have these acts reviewed, but their operation arrested. And it is often of the last importance that the effect of the decision should be suspended until a final determination can be had. The reversal of a presbyterial decision to divide a congregation, after it had actually been organized for nearly a year into two parts, would often aggravate, instead of healing the difficulty. And so, in a multitude of other cases, of which abundant examples might be cited from the minutes. This new doctrine, therefore, is inconsistent with the radical principles of presbyterianism, and its full operation effectually subverts our whole form of government; and even in its restricted application to appeals, it is in direct conflict with the constitutional rights of aggrieved parties, and productive of much injustice and hardship.

This doctrine is at variance also with the undeviating practice of our own and all other presbyterian churches. This of itself is a fatal objection to any new doctrine. The fact that we have been going on in accordance with the usage of all other presbyterian bodies, for an hundred and twenty years, interpreting and administering our constitution in a certain way, is answer enough to any man, who comes forward with a new doctrine, extracted by legal subtlety from the technicalities of the constitution. The words of our book have the sense which they were intended to bear; and they were intended to bear the sense in which its authors and administrators have ever understood and applied them. If we depart from this rule of construction we might as well have no constitution at all. Stability is one of the primary requisites of good government. And hence it is a great evil that any long established principle should be unsettled by some novel interpretation of our fundamental laws. That the practice of our church has been uniform on this subject, is admitted. It is maintained, however, that this usage, as far as concerns the period anterior to the revision of the constitution in 1821, is of no authority, and that the time which has since elapsed is too short to give to usage any force in opposition to what is supposed to be the sense of the constitution. This principle is no doubt correct. Usage is not of authority in opposition to a written constitution. But it is of the

greatest authority in a question of interpretation. It cannot be rightfully disregarded, unless the constitution be clearly in opposition to the usage. We have already seen that there is no such opposition in the present case; that the uniform practice of the church is in harmony with our constitutional rules. This being the case, the argument from usage is of course conclusive.

The assumption that the amendments adopted in 1821 were designed to abrogate the old common law of the church is a very extraordinary one. This common law had grown up, in this country and in Scotland, under the brief and aphoristic statement of presbyterian principles contained in the Westminster Directory. These statements were incorporated in the constitution of 1788, and are retained in the amended constitution of 1821. If from that time they were to be differently understood, it is strange that they were not so modified as to give some intimation of the fact. But how is it known that these amendments were *intended* to abrogate the old common law of the church? The authors of the amendments declare, some in one way and some in another, that they had no such intention. The church certainly intended no such change, because it went on acting under the amended constitution precisely as it had acted before. It was not until fifteen years after the amendments were made, that any one discovered what they were intended to accomplish. It is evident that such a discovery cannot be entitled to much consideration.

To show how uniform has been the usage of our church on this subject, even since 1821, we shall proceed to cite some of the examples to be found on our minutes; and for reasons already stated, we shall not confine these examples to cases of appeals. In 1822, the Assembly entertained and decided an appeal from the synod of Ohio, relating to the validity of the election of certain elders. *Minutes*, p. 18 and 21. In 1827, Dr. Green and others presented a complaint against a decision of the synod of Philadelphia, which turned on the question, Whether the same person could properly hold the office of ruling elder in two churches at the same time? The decision of the synod was affirmed, p. 117. Two other complaints of a similar character were decided the same year, p. 125, 130, and 132. In 1828, an appeal was received from some of the pew-holders of the first church in Troy against a decision of the synod of Albany, p. 228; and a complaint from the presbytery of Philadelphia against the

presbytery of Columbia, relating to the licensure of Mr. Shaffer, p. 234. In 1829, two complaints were received against decisions which were not judicial. In 1830, an appeal was presented from the church in Bergen from a decision of the synod of Genesee, which, however, was dismissed for want of a date and other irregularities in the mode of its prosecution, p. 9 and 17. In 1831, the complaint of the minority of the presbytery of Philadelphia, in the case of Mr. Barnes, was presented; and in 1832, a complaint against a decision of the synod of Virginia relating to called meetings of synod, p. 315. In 1832, there appear to have been five, if not six, complaints of the same character presented to the Assembly, p. 476. In 1834, the Assembly received and decided the appeal of the second presbytery of Philadelphia against the decision of the Synod, before referred to. The same year the synod of Philadelphia referred for adjudication the appeal and complaint of the fifth church of Philadelphia relative to the call of Dr. Beman, p. 8. In 1835, the Assembly received and decided the appeal of Thomas Bradford and others from a decision of the second presbytery dividing their church, p. 20; and also an appeal and complaint of Thomas Bradford and others relating to the installation of Mr. Duffield, when the acts of the presbytery in relation thereto were reversed, p. 33. Immediately under the record of this latter decision we find the following minute, viz. "The Assembly took up the report of the committee on the records of the synod of Philadelphia, and the records were approved with the following exception, viz. In regard to the doctrine of the said synod concerning appeals, complaints and protests, and the application of this doctrine, about which the Assembly express no opinion." There was the less necessity for expressing an opinion in words, as they had just expressed one so intelligibly, by acting in direct opposition to that doctrine. In 1836, we find several examples of the same kind, as, for instance, the appeal and complaint of the second presbytery against the synod of Philadelphia for dissolving them as a presbytery, p. 273. In 1837, their was an appeal presented by Rev. A. G. Morss and others, of the congregation of Frankford, which does not appear to have related to a judicial decision, p. 417 and 480. In 1838, there was an unusual number of such complaints and appeals: for example, a complaint by the presbytery of Wilmington; a protest and complaint by R. J. Breckinridge and others against the synod of Phildelphia for their decision relating to the third presby-

tery of Philadelphia; an appeal and complaint of J. Campbell and others against a decision of the synod of New Jersey; an appeal and complaint of certain persons claiming to be the church of St. Charles, against a decision of the synod of Missouri, that they were not the said church; which appeal was sustained, and the proceedings of the synod in the case were set aside. See pages 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, and 39 of the Minutes.

There is not then, upon our minutes, a single case of an appeal or complaint, which was rejected on the ground that it did not refer to a judicial sentence. We have been going on for a hundred and twenty years entertaining such appeals without any one dreaming of their being irregular. This has been done as freely since, as before, the revision of the constitution, by those who proposed and by those who adopted the amendments. If after all this a new and opposite doctrine is to be introduced, there never can be any stability or security with regard to any principle of presbyterian church government. If precedents so long continued, so numerous, so highly sanctioned, are to be set aside, the church will demand something more than verbal criticism, or ingenious inferences from collated passages. Nothing short of a plain and intelligible denial of the right to complaint of oppressive and unconstitutional acts; or to appeal from unrighteous decisions, though they may not be judicial, will induce presbyterians to forego a privilege which they have enjoyed from the very foundation of their church. No one pretends that there is any such denial to be found in our amended constitution. The prohibition is a mere inference from the technicalities of the rules of process. We think, however, that we have shown that there is no such opposition between our rules of process and the radical principles of our system; that every one of those rules may be observed to the very letter, in cases of appeal or complaint against executive acts, and consequently that there is no foundation in the constitution for this new doctrine. If it is to be applied to appeals, we see not how any one can fail to apply it to complaints and references, and if so applied, all must acknowledge that our system of government would be completely overturned. The right of appeal is already restricted within very narrow limits. It is not the privilege of any member of the court. It belongs exclusively to an aggrieved party; to those whose character or interests are immediately concerned in the deci-

sion. And to all such it is a right guarantied by the constitution and by the undeviating practice of the church.

Day of Thanksgiving.

Dr. J. Breckinridge offered a series of resolutions in relation to the appointment of a day of thanksgiving; which were amended and adopted as follows, viz.

"Whereas, by the great grace of God, our beloved church has now completed the fiftieth year since the organization of the General Assembly; and whereas, during that eventful and most interesting period she has experienced, notwithstanding all her unworthiness, extraordinary mercies of manifold kinds; and whereas, this great cycle in her history has been characterized by a series of remarkable deliverances from imminent dangers which threatened her purity, her peace, her Christian order, and sacred liberty; therefore,

"1st. Resolved, That the second Lord's day of December next be, and it is hereby appointed a day to be observed with religious solemnity by all our people, in celebrating the praises of God, and in rendering thanks to his great name for all his mercies.

"2d. Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to all the pastors and other preachers of the gospel under the care of this General Assembly, to convene all the people on that day, to instruct them more fully in the history of those great events in which we rejoice, and to invite them to acts of personal, public, and united praise to God.

3d. Resolved, That the name of the Board for the publication of Tracts and Sabbath-school Books be changed to the name of the Presbyterian Board of Publication; and that its constitution be so altered as to require said Board to publish not only Tracts and Sabbath school books, but also approved works in support of the great principles of the Reformation, as exhibited in the doctrines and order of the Presbyterian Church, and whatever else the Assembly may direct.

4th. Resolved, That as a timely and open expression of the Church's gratitude, it be recommended that either by public collections, or in some other way approved and in use among the people, every member of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, be called to "offer gifts," for the glory of God, and the good of man, and that the same be remitted to the Treasurer of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, and that the thank-offering of the people of God made at said semi-centenary celebration, be appropriated to the object contemplated in the above resolutions under the direction of the said Board.

5th. Resolved, That a committee of one from each Synod represented in this General Assembly, be appointed to address a circular letter to the Churches, explaining the objects of the above resolutions, inviting their universal and cordial co-operation—and also calling on all the Presbyteries and Synods in our connexion, to take action on this important subject at their next stated meeting.

6th. Resolved, That nothing in the foregoing resolutions shall be so construed as to prevent any individuals that may prefer it, from directing their thank-offering to the erection of buildings for the use of the General Assembly and its Boards in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Louisville.

This subject elicited a diversity of opinion, not as to the object itself, for on this great unanimity prevailed, but as to the time and manner of observing the anniversary in question, and more especially as to the objects to which the funds which might be collected on this occasion should be applied.

Some were in favour of placing the funds at the disposal of the next General Assembly; others wished that an equal division should be made among the several Boards under the direction of the Assembly; others, that a publishing fund should be created; and others, that the monies should be appropriated for the erection of commodious buildings in Philadelphia and New York for accommodations for the different Boards and for the Assembly itself; while one venerable father from the West thought it would be more wise to expend the money in the erection of churches in destitute parts of the country. Notwithstanding this diversity of opinion, we believe there was a general acquiescence in the resolutions as finally adopted.

It may be that as the idea of this semi-centenary celebration is new to most of our churches, they may not appreciate the subject, nor take sufficient interest in the success of the enterprise. The result, therefore, must depend very much on the zeal which the clergy manifest on the occasion. It will be necessary that the attention of the people should be early called to the subject; that they should have clearly presented to them the great mercies of God towards our church during the last fifty years; the reasonableness of publicly acknowledging those mercies, and the warrant we have from scriptural usage for such celebrations; and the importance of the objects to be aided or accomplished by their thank-offerings. Should there be any who doubt of the wisdom of these recommendations, they must notwithstanding, out of respect to the General Assembly, to the honour of the church, and the undeniable importance of the objects to be attained, take a lively interest in the success of the plan. All must be prepared to say, as it is to be done, let it be done well.

Ministers without charge.

The committee on the overture respecting ministers without charge, made a report, which was indefinitely postponed, and the Assembly resolved, That the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1802, in relation to ministers without charge, be republished in the printed minutes. It is as follows, viz.

"Resolved, That it is a principle of this Church, that no minister of the gospel can be regularly divested of his office, except by a course of discipline terminating in his deposition; that if any minister, by providential circumstances, become incapable of exercising his ministerial functions, or is called to suspend them, or to exercise them only occasionally, he is still to be considered as fully possessing the ministerial character and privileges; and his brethren of the

Presbytery are to inspect his conduct; and while they treat him with due tenderness and sympathy, they are to be careful that he do not neglect ministerial duty, beyond what his circumstances render unavoidable:—That if any minister of the Gospel, through a worldly spirit, a disrelish for the duties of his office, or any other criminal motive, become negligent or careless, he is by no means to be suffered to pursue this course, so as at length to be permitted to lay aside the ministry without censure; because this would be to encourage a disregard of the most solemn obligations, by opening a way to escape from them with impunity. But in all such cases, Presbyteries are seasonably to use the means, and pursue the methods pointed out in the word of God and the rules of this Church, to recall their offending brother to a sense of duty; and if all their endeavours be ineffectual, they are at length regularly to exclude or depose him from his office.

"If any cases or questions relative to this subject shall arise in Presbyteries, which are not contemplated by the provisions of this rule, such cases or questions should be referred to the General Assembly for a special decision.—1802."

Our readers may remember that this subject was brought before the Assembly of 1835, and referred to a committee, who reported in favour of denying to ministers without a pastoral charge the right of sitting in any judicatory as members. After some discussion the matter was referred to a committee to report to the next Assembly; that committee reported in 1836 that its members had not been able to agree. And there, we believe, the matter rested. This certainly is a subject of growing importance. The increase of such ministers in our church is so great as to call for serious attention; whether the resolution above quoted will be sufficient to arrest or correct the evil, time must show.

Presbytery of Hudson.

Dr. Plumer introduced the following motion; Whereas it has come to the knowledge of the General Assembly that difficulties have arisen in the Presbytery of Hudson, which have led some of its members to depart from the Presbyterian church, therefore, *Resolved*, That the Presbytery of Hudson be directed at its first meeting to purge its roll.

It appears that a small minority of this presbytery seceded last fall, and formed themselves into a new presbytery, retaining however their old name. Before this secession the presbytery was entitled to send four commissioners to the General Assembly; after it, they were entitled to send but two. Still as the names of these seceding members were yet on the roll, and the Assembly giving the presbytery credit for sincerity in deeming it wise and prudent to delay striking off the names of those members; and as one of the commissioners had already withdrawn; and the facts in the case were not brought to the

knowledge of the house until near the close of its sessions, the Assembly considered it sufficient to adopt the above cited resolution. Against the decision Messrs. W. L. Breckinridge, Steele, Junkin and Lyle protested, on the ground that as the secession had been public and notorious, the presbytery was bound at once to erase the names of the seceders, and had no right to estimate them as members in making out their delegates to the Assembly; and consequently that the Assembly ought, as soon as it had satisfactory knowledge of the facts, to have taken more efficient measures for correcting the impropriety with which the presbytery was chargeable.

The course adopted by the presbytery of Hudson is certainly to be regretted, as it has at least the appearance of unfairness, which we are bound to avoid as well as the reality. It is no sufficient apology that the opposite party acted on the same principle; that the little seceding minority sent four members to the New School Assembly; that the secession of the presbytery of Troy sent four; or that of Cincinnati sent a double representation. It is better to suffer such things than to do them. The reader will be surprised also in looking over the roll of the New Assembly at the number of presbyteries of which he never heard before, as for example, Marshall, Washtenaw, Kalamazoo, Ripley, Knox, Hiwassee, New River. We believe these are all new presbyteries formed since the schism.

The Assembly having finished its business, it was resolved, that this General Assembly be dissolved: and that another General Assembly, chosen in like manner, be required to meet in the seventh or Assembly church, in the city of Philadelphia, on the third Thursday of May, 1840, at 11 o'clock A.M. The moderator dissolved the Assembly accordingly with prayer, singing, and the apostolic benediction. Thus ended one of the most harmonious and pleasant sessions of the General Assembly, which the church has seen for many years. We trust it is the beginning of better days.

QUARTERLY LIST

OF

NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Missionary Fanaticism opposed to Christian Zeal: A Discourse, delivered in St. John's Church, Brooklyn, Feb. 24, 1839, the Festival of St. Matthias. With explanatory notes. By Evan M. Johnson, Rector. Published at the request of the Missionary Committee of said church. The profits to be given to Bishop Chave's College, in Illinois. New York: Protestant Episcopal Press, 8vo. pp. 32. 1839.

We have before had occasion, more than once, to speak of the Rector of St. John's, Brooklyn, and of his opinions in terms of no very profound respect; but in this discourse he "plays such pranks" before the public, as we had not been prepared to expect even from *him*. In his estimation, missionary zeal, as now exercised by the leading religious denominations in the United States, not excepting his own, is mere "fanaticism;" the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has effected "almost nothing;" the American Bible Society is a "signal failure;" and an immediate "reconciliation" between the Roman Catholic and Greek churches, and the Protestant Episcopal in England and this country is not only practicable but desirable! Such ignorance, or forgetfulness of the apostolic example in spreading the gospel; such shameful misrepresentations of various public bodies; and such blind and silly prejudices against every thing out of the pale of Episcopacy—as are to be found in this discourse, can be accounted for only on the principle that the author has laid an embargo on his understanding. We notice such an unworthy ephemeral, only for the purpose of letting our readers see what a man who calls himself a Protestant Episcopalian is capable of.

It is not *true* that the American Bible Society "made a pledge, that every family *in the world* should have a bible within a given time." It is not *true* that that noble institution has done nothing to *reduce the price* of bibles. It has done much, as every intelligent observer knows. It is not *true* that that Society "distributes few, very few bibles *gratuitously*." It has thus distributed many thousand every year since it was founded. It is not *true* that—but we forbear to pursue further the raving of sectarian fanaticism.

Address delivered before the Philomathean Society of the University of Pennsylvania, Thursday, November 1st, 1838. By William B. Reed. Philadelphia: T. K. and P. G. Collins, 8vo. pp. 62. 1838.

This is an interesting and instructive address. The author is a highly respectable member of the Philadelphia bar, and was, under the late administration in Pennsylvania, attorney general of the state. He is a son of the patriotic Governor Reed, of revolutionary memory, whose zeal and services in the great contest which severed us from the mother country, secured him a high place among contemporary heroes; and whose noble answer, in 1778, to an artful suggestion, conveyed through a lady, while he was a member of congress, of gaining his influence in favour of a reconciliation with the parent government by bribery, is so extensively and honourably remembered—"Madam, I am not worth purchasing; but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

The interesting topic chosen by Mr. Reed as the subject of this address, is peculiarly in keeping with his ancestry and his early training. It is "the origin of our Revolutionary Union—the recorded and traditionary history of acts and influences that led to the convocation of the first continental congress, which met in Philadelphia, in the month of September, 1774." It will be at once perceived that it was impossible to do full justice to this theme in the compass of a single address. But the author has taken a clear, comprehensive, and striking view of it; has given the general outline with a strong hand; and exhibited the events and the noble-minded men of the period in question in a manner adapted to thrill the bosoms of those who have any portion of the patriotism and the valour which so highly distinguished that period. He has selected his materials with much judgment, and presented them in a style characterised by elegance and vigour.

When we took up this truly valuable pamphlet, we felt some curiosity as to the manner in which Mr. Reed would dispose of the *religious denominations and sentiments* which are well known to have exerted much influence in the commencement and prosecution of our revolutionary contest. Here again we were gratified to find him well informed, impartial and faithful. He does full justice to the Presbyterians, and to the descendants of the Puritans in New England, and fairly draws the line between that part of the Episcopal church which adhered to the British government, and that important portion which, with decision and zeal, took the patriotic side. We wish we had room for an extract of three or four pages which treat of this subject.

We are pleased with the example of Mr. Reed in his choice of a subject. Too many of the gentlemen who are called upon to address the literary societies in our colleges and universities, construct their addresses rather on the principle of rhetorical display, than of solid and permanent instruction. Had Mr. Reed proceeded upon this plan, who would have read his "address" a second time, or thought it worth binding with his precious documents? But as it is, we venture to say, that it will be read by many more than once, and a number of years hence. We would respectfully suggest to those who may be called upon to

address the undergraduates and alumni of our colleges in time to come, the great advantage of each one selecting in his turn, some great event, or some distinguished literary, scientific or professional character, and making the history of that event, or the portrait of his hero, the main subject of his address, drawing from either such lessons of instruction or warning, as the character or occasion may dictate. Who that was called to such a service might not present the history of some particular college, or other literary institution; or make such a use of the character of Cicero, of Demosthenes, of Justinian, of Erasmus, of Grotius, of Bacon, of Chatham, or of some American hero, whose name is connected with a thousand patriotic associations—as should be adapted to secure permanent utility? Such a plan would shut out the method of stringing together the mere common places of sentiment and verbiage. It would be to make every such address a valuable document, embodying and recording that which would turn to important account hereafter, for the historian, the scholar, or the moralist.

Abolition a Sedition. By a Northern Man. Philadelphia, 1839.

Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Munson and the Rev. Henry Lyman, late Missionaries to the Indian Archipelago; with the Journal of their Exploring Tour. By the Rev. William Thompson. New York, 1839.

Outline of the Work of Grace in the Presbyterian Congregation at New Brunswick, N. J. during the year 1837. By Joseph H. Jones, Pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 12mo. pp. 148. 1839.

Mr. Jones has discharged a duty which he owed to the Christian community by this account of a remarkable visitation of divine grace with which the people of his charge were favoured. It is a simple and unpretending work, presenting many interesting facts, and conveying much valuable instruction, in a style at once finished and forcible.

A Winter in the West Indies; containing general observations upon modes of Travelling, Manners and Customs, Climate and Productions; with a particular description of St. Croix, Trinidad de Cuba, Havana, Key West, and St. Augustine, as places of resort for northern invalids. By an Invalid, in 1 Vol. 12mo.

Narrative of a journey to Gautemala in Central America, in 1838; by G. W. Montgomery, Esq. 1 Vol. 8vo.

Christian Consistency, or the Connexion between Experimental and Practical Religion Designed for Young Christians. By the Rev. E. Mannering, of Holywell Mount Chapel. Philadelphia. 1839.

We have already expressed a favourable opinion of this work. We are glad that the "Presbyterian Board of Publication" have been induced to re-publish it.

A Residence in the Sandwich Islands. By C. S. Stewart, U. S. N. Late Missionary at the Sandwich Islands, Fifth Edition, enlarged. Including an Introduction and Notes. By Rev. William Ellis. Boston. 1839.

Mr. Stewart is one of our best descriptive writers. There are few who excel

him in the liveliness and ease with which he presents to the reader the scenes through which he has passed. This new and enlarged edition of his residence in the Sandwich Islands is peculiarly welcome at the present moment, when the lively interest, so long and so justly cherished by the Christian community for those Islands is receiving, in the providence of God, a new and heightened impulse, by tidings of unprecedented displays of His mercy and grace, in the hopeful conversion of multitudes of sinners on those distant shores. This volume, the author informs us, is the first of a series, of which an enlarged edition of his visit to the South Seas, will constitute the second and third volumes, and a new work, the fourth; the whole intended to illustrate the origin, progress, and present state of the mission to the Sandwich Islands.

The Signs of the Times: a Series of Discourses Delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. By Cornelius C. Cuyler, D.D. Pastor of the Church. Philadelphia, 1839.

These discources give evidence of the care and judiciousness which would be expected from their author. The instruction which they contain is sound and seasonable.

The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America, by Charles Hodge, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. Part I. 1705 to 1741. Philadelphia, 1839. pp. 256. 8vo.