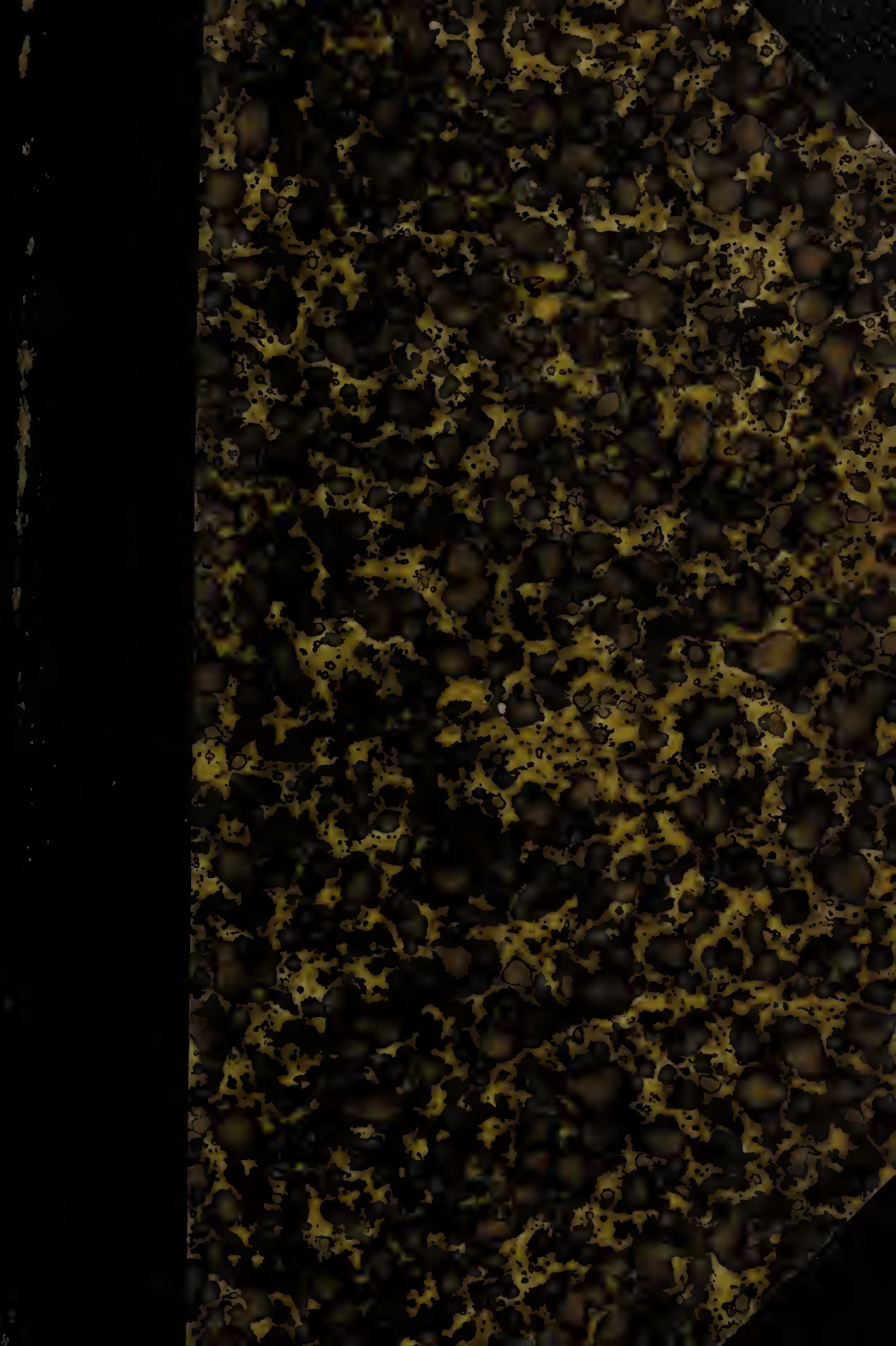

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ART. I.—*Sectarianism is Heresy, in three parts, in which are shown its Nature, Evils and Remedy.* By A. Wylie. Bloomington, Ia. 1840. 8vo. pp. 132.

OUR church has occasion to rejoice whenever those who go out from her undertake to give their reasons. Who will venture to predict how many heedless lapses into high-churchism, on the one hand, and no-churchism on the other, have been already, or may yet be, prevented by the printed arguments of Mr. Calvin Colton and of Dr. Andrew Wylie? In this respect, if in no other, these distinguished writers may assure themselves, they have not lived in vain.

The work before us is a series of dialogues betwen one Gardezfoi, one Democop, and Timothy, an alias for Andrew Wylie. As he gives the outlandish names to his opponents, so he does his best to give them all the nonsense, but without success. The book is not so violent as we expected from the author's temper. He is a man of talents, and of reading, but inaccurate, and sadly wanting both in taste and judgment. He makes sectarianism to consist in bigotry and carnality. By bigotry he understands a disposition to lay stress on doctrines; and by carnality all zeal for particular denominations. His great point is, that faith is trust in God, not

confidence in the truth of certain doctrines, or opinions, as he calls them. Hence any man who trusts in God, whatever his opinions may be, is a Christian. His grand mistake, or misrepresentation, lies in confounding ministerial tests with the terms of Christian communion. Can he believe, after holding office in our church for more than twenty years, that she requires of every member an assent to all that is contained in the Confession of Faith? But what especially offends him is, that men's opinions on *mysterious* subjects should be made a test or term of communion. Hinc illæ lacrymæ! The history of his conversion may be stated thus. He began to preach in 1812, "entertaining," as he says himself, "what I suppose some would call a belief in the great doctrines of Calvinism." This is a very significant disclosure. We have known men to allege, that subscription to a creed should not be considered as implying an assent to all its minute statements. But they have always admitted that, without belief in its essential principles, its "great doctrines," subscription is dishonest. Dr. Wylie, on the other hand, regarded, not the minor points, but the "great doctrines," of the creed which he professed, with something which might possibly be called belief. He does not call it so himself, but others might—that is to say, *some* others—at least, he *supposes* so. "Entertaining what I suppose some would call a belief in the great doctrines of Calvinism." Is there any algebra by which belief can be reduced to lower terms? It seems there is; for Dr. W's. attachment to the creed which he had solemnly adopted as his own, appears to have grown weaker, till at last he did not entertain what even he can suppose that any one would call belief in Calvinism. Now supposing Dr. Wylie to be out of the question, and a similar case to have been stated hypothetically, who could have failed to guess at the result? Suppose a man, of some mind and some conscience, to avouch as God's truth what he does not thoroughly believe, and to continue to hold office as a preacher of the same for more than twenty years; and in that time to be involved in angry controversies, both with individuals and with church courts: what will the issue be, when some great crisis affords him an occasion for decisive action? In the first place, he will leave the church, whose doctrines he adopted, but without believing them. In the next place, he will think that church a very bigoted and carnal body. In the third place, he will rail at men for really believing, and professing to believe, the very doctrines, which he himself

professed for twenty years without believing them. In the fourth place, he will try to throw the blame of his apparent insincerity, not on himself, but on the creed, which he was so deluded as to think that he believed. So when men grow weary of the restraints of civilized society, the fault is always in society itself, and not in those who leave it. When children meddle with edged tools and cut their fingers, the fault is always in the naughty knife. In the fifth place, when he has renounced and denounced his old connexions, uneasiness of conscience, with or without a love of notoriety, will generally lead him to announce and vindicate the change in print, although, in his simplicity, he may believe that, in so doing, he is yielding to necessity, and silencing the clamours of an inquisitive and agitated public. In the sixth and last place, his abhorrence of all judgments upon men's opinions will be apt to make him think that all who differ from himself are sanguinary persecutors, and that his position, as the solitary member of his own true church, is equal in pathos and sublimity to that of an ancient martyr at the stake. If this is Dr. Wylie's case, we would not disturb him in his dream of suffering for conscience sake. As to his doctrines—we beg pardon, his opinions—the perusal of a large part of the pamphlet left us painfully convinced that he was virtually an infidel. This impression was removed by the explicit statement of his creed (p. 124,) which however did not alter our belief, that he rejects the doctrines of the Trinity, Atonement, and Regeneration. The pamphlet, notwithstanding its tone of defiance, is by no means indicative of moral courage, for it betrays opinions which the author evidently shrinks from avowing. To those whose faith in the great doctrines of the Bible is already wavering, the sophistry and misrepresentations of the book will be highly dangerous, as tending to cut them off from the restraints and other salutary influences of the church with which they are connected. But to those who are enlightened and well grounded in their doctrinal belief, the mere sectarianism of the pamphlet will be very harmless. The best preservative against infection is a thorough training in the system of true doctrine; and we trust that every outbreak of this nature will result in good, by inspiring all our pastors with new zeal and diligence in this good work. Having now said all of Dr. Wylie's book that we believe it to deserve, we beg leave to indulge a few reflections of our own upon the general subject, without any

reference to his polemics, or any dread of being justly stigmatized as bigoted or carnal.

The Bible represents the church of Christ as one, and inculcates unity among its members, as a most important duty. Without referring to particular texts, in proof of this assertion, we appeal to the reader's recollection of the tenor, tone and spirit of the Scriptures. Is it not the prevailing usage of the New Testament to speak of true believers as a community, one and indivisible, and to describe all schism in it as a laceration of the body of Christ? And, apart from these direct descriptions, is not the same thing necessarily implied in other doctrines? Are not all the prerequisites of unity provided for? Is not identity of doctrine much insisted on? And are not harmony of affection and uniformity of conduct urged with equal authority and equal zeal? Do not the scriptures evidently go upon the supposition, that the revelation of God's will is clear, and that there is no excuse for dissonance of sentiment, at least on points sufficiently important to affect the union and communion of believers? This being presupposed, conformity of conduct to a common standard would seem to follow as a thing of course. But to preclude all doubt, it is enjoined, in the command to walk in the same footsteps and to follow the same rule. In short, the language of our Lord and his apostles seems to leave no room for the hypothesis of separation, much less that of alienation, among those who own one faith, one Lord, one baptism. There can be no doubt, that one entirely unacquainted with the Christian world, and reading for the first time the books of the New Testament, would come to the conclusion, that the professors of the faith there taught must form one body, one in faith, affection, principle, and form. Such, too, is very commonly the feeling of new converts, or of those who have been recently awakened to a lively sense of spiritual things. To them the Bible seems precisely in accordance with their own impressions; that is to say, it seems to set forth the essentials of religion with such prominence as to ensure the unity of all such as agree in those essentials. They see faith and holiness to be exhibited in such relief, that difference of sentiment and practice, upon minor points, appears to them frivolous, if not impossible. To a soul filled with the fresh experience of forgiving grace, and warmed with the ardour of a first love for the Saviour, the whole family of his disciples is a unit, an inviolable league of kindred souls; and no consideration seems suf-

ficient to excuse, much less to justify, a voluntary separation from this "general assembly and church of the first born which are written in heaven." But when the convert looks away from the Bible, to the world around him, what does he see? Endless division, subdivision, separation, alienation, animosity. Instead of a church, he sees conflicting sects; the seamless robe of Christ rent and parcelled out among armed men; nay, the body of the Saviour, torn, as it were, limb from limb, and scattered in its bleeding fragments over Christendom. The first clear view of this has often shocked the young believer. If it does not shake his faith in Christ, it shakes his faith in Christians. When our Lord said that he came, not to send peace, but a sword, did he mean that he came to kindle strife among his own people, and to make his flock act the part of wolves to one another?

In the course of time, and after due reflection, this is seen to be an exaggerated view of the divisions of the church. Mere circumstantial, formal variations are, at first sight, apt to be mistaken for essential discrepancies; and separate action, although perfectly pacific, often strikes the eye of an inaccurate observer, as aggressive and inimical; and this in proportion to the perfect regularity of organization in the several parts. Suppose a body of a thousand men, all armed alike, to be marching to a given point, but on the way to be divided into two; one half being mounted, while the rest remain on foot, with a corresponding difference of weapons and equipments. As neither is to lag behind the other, they must move in two distinct lines, but converging towards the same point in the end. To a casual and careless looker on, the idea of hostility, or at least of rivalry, would be at once suggested. The advance of one party would be felt by the spectator as a triumph over the other, while the martial step, the flags, the music, and the constant supervision, though in fact relating merely to the internal discipline and progress of each party, would naturally have the look of something like defiance, and as if the regulated movements of each corps had reference, not merely to itself, but to the other. It is even conceivable that some well-wisher to the common cause, might honestly lament the alienation or hostility inferred from these delusive appearances. And granting, for the present, that the subdivision of the host, though necessary, was, at best, a necessary evil, it is still very clear, that in estimating the amount of the evil, such a person would be liable to gross misapprehension, in mistaking for the signs of a

reciprocal hostility, the mere effects of separate organization and progression, however peaceful.

Now we see no reason why the same mistake may not, in some degree, have tended to exaggerate, in many minds, the positive evils of religious variations and diversity of sects. Admitting that the main fact of diversity is much to be lamented, and regarded as the offspring, not only of error in judgment, but of corruption in heart, still the speculative Christian may exceed the bounds of charity, by passing those of truth, when he interprets every circumstance of separate arrangement, in a given body of professing Christians, as an act or indication of hostility towards every other. However plain the voice of drums and trumpets may appear to tell of jealousy and alienation on the march; however stern the aspect of the soldier, as with firm and measured step he presses to his point of destination; wait till the sweeping lines of their respective courses bring the supposed antagonists together at some spot appointed for refreshment and repose; and you shall see the stern air and the measured step exchanged for more familiar looks and motions. You shall see the deadly weapons thrown aside and the hands which held them joined in the grasp of recognition. You shall see the veterans, whom you regarded as suspicious rivals, drinking at the same spring, and stretched beneath the limbs of the same overshadowing trees; and you shall hear them talk of the common cares and dangers heretofore experienced, and of common triumphs yet to be achieved. Are these men enemies because their coats are of a different colour, or their arms of different calibre? And when the bugle calls the horseman to his saddle, and the drum collects the infantry once more into their ranks, and the two bands again take up their march apart, beneath their several banners and their several chiefs, are they again converted into enemies? If not, why should analogous appearances be suffered to exaggerate separation into enmity, when different bodies of professing Christians choose to differ in their outward forms of polity and worship, and to aim at the promotion of a common object by dissimilar or even inconsistent means? The illustration which has now been given cannot indeed aid in the decision of the questions, whether diversity of sects is lawful, or whether its effect is on the whole pernicious, or for what cause it has been permitted to exist? But it may teach us caution in inferring too much from the mere appearances of opposition, which are incidental to the very existence of a plurality of sects,

and which may co-exist with the most perfect harmony of feeling, than can be supposed compatible with difference of judgment upon subjects deemed important.

That real, sinful, animosity may lurk beneath this mere appearance of hostility, is lamentably true, but perfectly consistent with the fact, that these appearances are often, nay are generally, mere results of separate and strict organization, independent of all hostile or unkind affections. In the march of two such armies, as have been described, it is a very possible event, that individual soldiers, nay, that officers, on either side, may so far forget, or misconceive, or disregard their mutual relations, as to indulge a spirit, first of selfish emulation, then of jealous anger, and at last of envious malignant spite; and if chances of collision are afforded by the circumstances of the march, these vicious tempers may find vent in words, in blows, perhaps in bloodshed. But this, so far from being an inevitable consequence of separate organization and strict discipline in either party, is in fact the result of a departure from the principle of that organization, and the rigor of that discipline. The separation of the forces being once effected, while the final destination of the two remains the same, it naturally follows, that the greater and the more defined the interval between the two, the clearer the distinction made by dress and armour and equipments, and the more severe the scrutiny and vigilance exerted in retaining each man in his rank or at his post, the less the possibility, not only of confusion, but of angry altercation. And it may be made a question, whether much of the real animosity existing between different religious sects, and commonly ascribed to the bigotry and narrowness of those who steadily maintain their own opinions, does not really arise from the irregular movements of the stragglers hanging on the skirt of either camp, useful to neither and injurious to both, and having a sort of intermediate character between spies on one hand and deserters on the other. That such men should cause variance among others, and contend among themselves, is nothing strange; nor is it any proof that separate, distinct, organization is the necessary cause of enmity among the friends of Christ.

Nor can any such inference be drawn from the fact, that the attention of the parties must be necessarily confined in a great measure to the interests and business of their own communion. Because the soldier on his march looks neither to the right hand nor the left, is he, on that account, more

likely to come into collision with his fellows? Whether the same cause does not tend to generate a narrowness of mind, is quite another question; but surely it cannot be supposed to multiply the chances of unfriendly altercation and collision. This, we allow, is only true, when all the spiritual armies, or divisions of the one grand army, are deliberately aiming at the same result; and not when all, or any of them, wilfully employ their strength in mutual annoyance. For let it be remembered, that our thoughts are now employed about the separations which unhappily exist among sincere believers in the same essential doctrines, and devoted followers of the same Divine master. Whatever derelictions and transgressions may be chargeable on individuals, it cannot be supposed that any society of Christians, as a whole, can ever be engaged in systematic opposition to another, as its principal concern. The chief objects of attention to all organized communists must always lie within themselves. Foreign relations, whether hostile or pacific, are but incidental interests, dependent, for their being and their character, on outward fluctuating circumstances. Especially is this the case with Christian churches, which, if worthy of the name, are aiming, by variety of means, but with unanimous design, at the glory of God in the salvation of his people. And the closer the adherence of each body to its own adopted method of promoting the great common cause, the less, as we have seen, will be the chances of unfriendly interference with their fellow-workers of another name, or, to resume our military illustration, with their fellow-soldiers wearing other armour and employing other watch-words. It is not even necessary that a strict adherence to one's own peculiarities should weaken his attachment to dissenting brethren. For although the soldier may look straight before him, he may still remember that his fellow soldiers are pursuing the same course upon his right hand and his left. And in those seasons of relaxation and repose which we have spoken of before, the salutations of the friends may be more cordial, and their intercourse more cheering, for the very reason, that at other times they have not crossed each other's line of march, or left their own, but travelled onward in undeviating rectitude, in expectation of a future meeting, when the toils and dangers of the day are at an end.

We trust that it will not be found without some good effect, that we have dwelt so long upon a very prevalent

misapprehension, as to the degree of animosity inevitably incident to separate communions; and we also trust, that these considerations will serve to justify the statement, that the youthful Christian often finds his first painful impressions of this matter overcharged. But after all allowable deduction from the estimate, on this ground, it is still found to be true, that the great body of professing Christians is divided into many parties, which, although possessing one great interest in common, have subordinate interests distinct from one another, and, arising from those interests, strong party feelings. Now in reference to this admitted state of things, there must arise, in every liberal and pious mind, certain interesting questions, as to the origin and lawfulness of these divisions, the possibility of doing them away, and the personal duty of the private Christian in relation to them. Are these variations at all presupposed and provided for in Scripture? Did they exist at all in the apostolic age? Or are they the mere growth of subsequent corruptions? And now that the division does exist, is it, or is it not, the duty of the several communions, and of individual Christians, to regard reunion as a primary object of attention and effort? And if not, or if such efforts should be unavailing, how should the Christian regulate his feelings and his conduct towards those, whom he has reason to regard as fellow Christians, but whose ecclesiastical opinions and connexions are unlike his own? These are important questions, and should be determined in a cautious spirit. They are not to be solved by sweeping declamations about charity on one hand, or by an appeal to prejudice on the other. In weighing those which have relation to the origin of these divisions, the inquirer should be careful not to rest on mere gratuitous assumptions, as to the degree of outward uniformity in apostolic times. He should read the New Testament, not to fill up the outline there delineated, with the conventional details to which he is himself accustomed; but for the purpose of discovering how much is there prescribed as essential, and how far mere conventional arrangements may be carried, without vitiating these essential principles. He should seriously ponder the habitual tone of the inspired writers, as to mere organization and external powers; the comparative frequency and emphasis with which they speak of these things, and of those great objects which all outward forms are intended to promote. He should duly appreciate the indications, which the word of God affords, of a regard to local and temporary circumstan-

ces in the organic institutions even of the apostolic church. With this preparation he might safely, though perhaps unsuccessfully, attempt to solve the general question, whether all diversity of church organization is the growth of error and departure from the scriptures. But supposing this question to be settled affirmatively, it would still remain to be determined, whether the removal of this evil is the grand desideratum of the Christian church; whether a general amalgamation of religious sects, if practicable, would not, in the present state of human nature and society, engender worse contentions than the present separation; and even if it would not, whether direct and systematic efforts to effect it are not less likely to secure their end, than the indirect influence in favour of pacification, which would be exerted by the strenuous attempts of each denomination to promote the cause of truth and holiness, by means of its own chosen and accustomed methods. Whatever might be the conclusion reached in this inquiry also, there would still remain a more important practical question, viz. what, as things now stand, is the incumbent duty of the private Christian, and the Christian minister, in reference to those who are without the pale of his particular communion? Here, as elsewhere, in the field of Christian morals, there are dangerous and opposite extremes, to avoid which should be held up as an object and a landmark in attempting to resolve the question which has been proposed. In what shall now be further said, on this point, it will be assumed, that no society or sect existing, be its name, its forms, or its pretensions, what they may, has any claim to exclusive privilege as the Christian church; but that the sheep of Christ's flock are unequally dispersed in many folds. It will also be proper to restrict the question to the case of those who mutually look upon each other as true Christians, though of different communions. To those who arrogate the name to their own party, and exclude all others from the covenant of mercy, the inquiries now before us must be destitute of interest.

Let him then who would satisfy his own mind and conscience, in this matter, learn to distinguish between great and small. If he has not the capacity to do so, let him labour to acquire it. That all men have it not, is too abundantly apparent from the misplaced assiduity, with which some valuable lives have been expended in the refutation or defence of trifles, while momentous interests have gone to ruin; from the scrupulous precision with which mint, anise, and cummin, have

been tithed, and the weightier matters of the law forgotten; from the vigilant neglect with which the gnats of mere observance have been strained out of the cup from which the people drink, while camels of essential error have been left behind to choke them. Whatever some may think, this is a serious defect. It is a melancholy sight to see the man of understanding and of knowledge labouring to clear his path from straws, while rocks and mountains lie athwart it at a distance. This is no doubt one of the infirmities attendant on a fallen state. The eye of the understanding has been vitiated, as to the relative magnitude of objects, and in nothing is this visual obliquity more manifest than in the comparative estimate which men form of eternity and time, of flesh and spirit. How many millions have been lost forever, by confounding what is great and what is small together! It is not till God's grace touches the diseased eye, that it sees things, for the first time, in their true proportions. But although the grace which brings salvation does undoubtedly correct the grand mistake of looking upon spiritual objects as inferior to those of sense, it does not, in every case, and once for all, render the man incapable of similar mistakes in reference to minor points. He who no longer places time above eternity, or the body above the soul, may commit the same fault on a smaller scale, by overrating matters of external form, in comparison with those which are essential. And into this extreme he may be led by his anxiety to shun the opposite. A truly good man, in his honest opposition to the weak fanatacism which attempts to soar above all forms and ordinances, may be brought unwittingly to give to dresses, buildings, titles, ranks and modes of doing business, an importance which can properly attach to nothing of a mere external kind. And in the same way he may come to lose sight of the distinction between that which is conventional and that which is prescribed; between God's ordinance and man's contrivance. Not to mention any other ill effects of such an error, it is sufficient for our present purpose, to direct attention to its influence on charity and mutual forbearance between those of different denominations. It matters not with what sincerity the Christian may intend to love his neighbour as himself. He cannot do it, if he thus obliterates the difference between his own requirements and his God's. The ground of his charity towards one who differs from himself, is the belief, that they have common ground to stand upon, that both receive and practice what is laid down as

essential in the word of God. If either party is persuaded that the other has left their common ground, he can no longer recognize him as a brother; and of course, if either party learns to put mere conventional arrangements on a level with the ordinance of God, the least departure from the former will remove his neighbour from the circle of his charity. In order therefore to avoid a narrow and sectarian spirit, he must cultivate an intimate acquaintance with the truth of God, and thus prepare himself to recognize its features, even through a mask, or under a thick veil. He must learn to discriminate, in case of need, between the excellent but fallible instructions of his parent, or his tutor, or his pastor, and the infallible instructions of his God. This will teach him the distinction between great and small, and save him from the error of condemning his neighbour for no other crime than that of not agreeing with himself.

But here, as I have warned you, one extreme of error is attended by its opposite. The fear of magnifying little things has tempted many to belittle great ones; and in their unwillingness to unchurch others, some have gone so far as to unchurch themselves. The dread of being sectaries has led them to decline all participation in sectarian efforts, as they think them, and to confine themselves to some great catholic and universal modes of doing good, which they imagine to exist, independent of all separate organizations. It is plain, however, that so long as these divisions in the church exist, the attempt to stand aloof from them is, in effect, merely adding to their number, and escaping from all old sects by establishing a new one. Such a course is, moreover, in a high degree uncharitable, inasmuch as it implicitly denies, that the various divisions of the Christian world are really aiming at one common end, the glory of their Master in the salvation of their fellow-men. In furtherance of this design each has accumulated and is using a certain amount of power, acting with more or less advantage and success in different directions. Is it then the part of wisdom to abandon this array of means, and these commanding points of influence which have been obtained by some denominations, merely because others are attempting the same thing, in other ways and under other forms? Knowing, as experience in this free land has taught us, what facilities for doing good in certain situations, are enjoyed by certain churches, as compared with others, we may apply to the divisions of the great Christian body, what the Apostle says of the diversity of gifts among individual Christians,

"As the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ. For the body is not one member but many. If the foot shall say, because I am not the hand, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, because I am not the eye, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing where were the smelling? And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body." May not the same reply be made to those, who are loth to belong to any portion of the church, until that portion shall become the whole? By which refusal, if reduced to practice, they would but amputate themselves, as lifeless members, from the one great living body of believers. No, the course of true wisdom, and of true benevolence, is first to attach ourselves to that division of the Christian body which we deem most scriptural, and then, with all fidelity and diligence, to use the means which its internal polity affords us for promoting the great ends of all church-government. The truer we are to ourselves, the better will it be for others. They are not the most agreeable or useful neighbours who neglect or damage their domestic interests, in order to maintain an ostensible intimacy with adjacent families. In this sense it is true, and an important truth, that charity begins at home. The course pursued by those who would promote a kindly feeling between different communions by relinquishing all separate, sectarian action, and maintaining constant intercourse between the bodies, is like that of neighbours who should testify their friendship by surveying and saluting one another, all day, from their doors and windows, while their kitchens, gardens, and domestic business were neglected or forgotten. There is no cause to fear a loss of kindly feeling between any two bodies of professing Christians, merely because each is zealously devoted to its own peculiar work, so long as both maintain the same essential doctrines, and are really aiming at the same great end. It is only when this common aim is superseded, upon either side or both, by lower, narrower, and more selfish purposes, that charity begins to be exchanged for mutual suspicion and dislike. When either party, not contented with believing that its own forms and methods are the best adapted to promote the end for which they were devised, begins to look upon the maintenance of those forms

and methods as itself the great end to be aimed at, and contended for, mutual charity and catholic communion can exist no longer. But this result is not to be charged upon mere attachment to a certain mode of executing a design. It really arises from a dereliction of the design itself, a virtual sacrifice of an important end to a blind love of the means by which it should have been accomplished. Two artisans employed upon a common task, may differ widely in the tools which they employ, and in their mode of using them. They may discuss the relative efficiency and value of their methods, and be zealous, each in favour of his own; and yet they may work on in harmony, and every stroke of their respective implements may bring the task materially nearer to completion. But if one becomes so foolishly enamoured of his own apparatus, as to spend his time in cleaning and repairing and displaying it, while the important work, on which it should have been employed, is utterly neglected, there is no longer any bond of unity between the two; no longer any thing in which they can agree, and they must part, or stay together only for contention. And if both should unhappily be seized with the same folly, to the evil of contention must be added that of utter failure in the end at which they originally aimed. But on the other hand, if each had patiently and quietly continued in the use of his own instruments, although there might have been dispute, and must have been a difference of sentiment, the wholesome emulation springing from a common object would have forwarded that object, while it kept the peace between them. And in like manner emulous devotion to a common cause, so far from destroying the mutual charity of Christian churches, would maintain it and promote it, however different their form and constitution, and however zealous each in favour of its own. We conclude, then, that the man who would avoid sectarian narrowness, must, in the first place, form the habit of distinguishing between great and small, so as not to contend earnestly for human trifles, as he would for the faith once delivered to the saints. And, in the next place, he must labour, with fidelity and zeal, to advance the interests of that community to which he has attached himself, and that too in the use of the very forms by which it is distinguished from all others.

But this is not by any means the largest and the most commanding view which can be taken of the subject. There is still another aspect of the Christian world which we must

learn to look at, and by viewing which, the painful sense of alienation and division, which suggested this whole train of thought, may be most effectually done away. We have thus far proceeded on the supposition, that the church is rent into a multitude of churches, or of sects which bear the name. But we must now advert to the consolatory fact, that, after all, the church is one; that no diversity of outward form can possibly sever its essential unity; that men who hold the same faith, and acknowledge the same scriptures as their only rule of faith, who trust in the Saviour, and are led by the same spirit, in the hope of the same heaven, are so really alike, that their identity as one church is entirely independent of external regulations. When two natives of the same country meet in foreign parts, and enjoy the satisfaction of exchanging views and feelings, which the strangers around them cannot even comprehend, will a diversity of dress, or of personal habits, or of judgment upon minor points, affect that consciousness of unity which binds them to each other? Will they even think of such diversities, or know that they exist, for the time being? No; and Christians, who are sojourners and pilgrims on the earth, when they clearly discern in one another the indubitable marks of union with their common head, will feel themselves to be but one in Christ, without requiring one another to put on the same habiliments, or use the same expressions. One will not wait till the other is precisely like himself. It is enough that he is like his Master. If he resemble him within, it matters little whom he differs from without. This strong conviction that the church is one, is a necessary and infallible corrective of sectarian narrowness on one hand, and a sentimental charity upon the other. He, who sees this great truth in its clearness and its glory, will not weep over every little breach of uniformity in outward things, as though the oneness of Christ's body were dependent on the colour of the rags which here disfigure it. And thus we are brought back to the point from which we started, the scriptural representation of the Christian church as one and indivisible. It is so in theory. It is so in fact. There is a church on earth, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail, even so far as to destroy its unity. There is a flock, which, though it feed in many pastures, beside many waters, led by shepherds unlike in their looks and voices, is still one flock; and when the voice of the Chief Shepherd, the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, is heard inviting them to follow, they

shall no longer be a scattered flock, but one, one flock forever. There is a family, which, though its head is personally absent, and its members are dispersed in many local habitations until his return, is still one household, and shall soon be one forever in the mansions of its Father. There is a host, "the sacramental host of God's elect," which, though divided into armies, under various chiefs and banners, is but one at last, is one at present, notwithstanding all appearances of discord, and shall be distinctly recognized as one hereafter. This unity, existing here, and perfected hereafter, is not only the duty, but the glory of the church. Our Saviour, in that solemn sacerdotal prayer, recorded in the seventeenth of John, having prayed for his disciples, and thanked God in their behalf, adds, "The glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one."* The most learned interpreters are much divided on the question, what the glory was which Christ had thus bestowed. It could not be his own essential glory; for of that they had surely not been made partakers. The glory of the heavenly state was still in prospect. And although the gospel, which had been bestowed upon them, was a glorious gift, and is elsewhere expressly called "the glorious gospel," it would hardly be described absolutely as "the glory" which the Saviour had received from God and given to his people. But what forbids the natural and obvious construction of the whole verse in connexion, and the supposition, that the glory which the Saviour had bestowed upon believers, was the glory of indissoluble union with himself, through him with God, and in him with each other? The unity of Christians, as a church, is, in idea and in fact, inseparable from their unity with Christ, as the members are united to their head. The one cannot be realized without the other. Hence the perfect unity, to which all members of the church may now look forward, is a glorious one. The Son himself was glorified by the uniting of his manhood to his deity; and he will glorify his people by uniting them to himself, and in himself to one another. Let us learn then to look forward to the great reunion of believers, and the fusion of all sects into the church of the first-born, as a glorious consummation. And amidst all real and apparent alienations, let us still remember and rejoice to know, that even here the church is one. This will correct that tendency to selfish and sectarian feeling, (which too often becomes

* John xvii. 22.

visible,) without destroying the attachment which we ought to cherish towards our own communion. And at last, it may be soon, the Christian, weary of contention, shall no more have occasion to exclaim, "How long shall I see the standard, and hear the sound of the trumpet?"* For human standards shall then cease to wave, and the only trumpet shall be that of the archangel, calling God's army, not to battle, but to triumph. And then, as they lay down the weapons of their warfare at the feet of the Captain of Salvation, names and forms shall be forgotten; they shall all see eye to eye; emulation and suspicion shall be lost forever in a perfect unity of spirit and affection; and the Saviour shall at length receive a plenary answer to the prayer which he offered, not only in behalf of his immediate followers, but of those who should believe upon him through their name—ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσι—THAT THEY ALL MAY BE ONE.†

ART. II.—*The Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, giving a History of the Second Reformation of the Church of Scotland, and of the Covenanters, during the reign of Charles I.* By John Aiton, D. D., *Minister of Dolphinton.* Edinburgh: 1836. 8vo. pp. xx. 674.

THE name of Alexander Henderson is not so familiar to the ears of American Presbyterians as it ought to be, and as it was with our Scottish ancestors, and still is, we trust, among the old-school men of the modern Kirk. After Calvin, Knox, and Melville, place must be given to Henderson, as it regards the reform of our church polity. For it was he who proposed and partly framed "the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Directory or Platform of Church Government and Worship," besides forwarding the venerable translation of the Psalms still used in the Scotch churches. The period in which he lived—from 1583 to 1646—is crowded with great events of our church-history, and of the fortunes of civil and religious liberty. To the whigs of Scotland, Hume has traced the

* Jer. iv. 21. † John xvii. 21.

liberal principles of English politics, and he has admitted only what it would be effrontery to deny. We do not canonize the Covenanters; but we would not willingly let the moss grow over the inscriptions on their grave-stones.

Henderson was chief actor in a great drama, and he has left others to record his acts. Burnet complains that his writings are flat and heavy. They are so, compared with the light and effervescent gossip of the excellent prelate; but then who would compare the acts of the one with those of the other? Laud very naturally stigmatized him as a most violent and passionate man, and a moderator without moderation. Maxwell called him the Scottish pope. Clarendon described him as one who meddled more in civil matters than all the bishops. Hume and Laing allude to him as the Apostle of the North; and while they record his blind assurance, bigotted prejudices, ridiculous cant, provincial accent, barbarism and ignorance, they leave us to guess how he contrived to move the whole nation. Pemberton uses a term, in describing him, which will be understood by Americans: he was the Franklin of the Scottish commotions. In the General Assembly of 1647, by which the Confession was adopted, Baillie expressed the wish that Henderson's memory might be fragrant among them "as long as free and pure Assemblies remain in this land; which," says he, "I hope will be till the coming of our Lord. You know," adds Baillie, "he spent his strength, wore out his days, and that he did breathe out his life, in the service of God and of this Church. This binds it on us and our posterity to account him the fairest ornament, after Mr. John Knox, of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy." He was equally respected, as we learn from the same great authority, "by his most serene Majesty and the Parliaments of both kingdoms." "A more modest, humble spirit, and of so great parts and deserved authority with all the greatest of the Isles, lives not this day in the reformed churches." Again, he says, Henderson was for some years, THE MOST EYED MAN OF THE THREE KINGDOMS. Here is enough, surely, to make us unwilling to be wholly ignorant of his personal history.

The volume before us, is graced with an engraving from an original portrait by Vandyck, belonging to the Hendersons of Fordel. The existence of no less than six admirable original portraits of Henderson shows the esteem in which he was held by the noble families and universities in

whose collections these pictures are extant. According to the best accounts, Henderson was rather below the ordinary size, of a slender frame, and of a gentle carriage of body. In the portraits by Vandyck and Jamieson, the sedate and softening features predominate. His countenance bespeaks mild determination, indicative, in the earlier stage of public life, of anxiety, but in after years of melancholy and even disease. His forehead does not seem to have been remarkably high or prominent, but it is deeply furrowed with the wrinkles of care, even in those paintings which represent him in perfect health. All the artists have given him an eye expressive of benignity and passive courage. His jet black hair, his short beard on the chin and upper lip, his black gown over a dark coloured cassock, and the sombre hue of his complexion, give the whole canvass the cast of a saint in deep mourning. In the very furnace of controversy, in which he was so much occupied, the serene and amiable qualities of the Christian, and the native courtesy of the gentleman, never gave way. Baillie, indeed, admits that "the man had by nature a little choler not yet quite extinguished." Knox, Melville and Henderson, says Dr. Aiton, were all conspicuous for the *fortiter in re*, but Henderson alone combined with it the *suaviter in modo*. His ruling passion was the love of Presbytery. To this he devoted his wisdom and his eloquence, if indeed he did not sacrifice his life in the cause.*

The personal biography of Henderson is meager, and we must look for his history in that of the Church and the State, during the earlier years of the great Civil War. He was born, as we said, in 1583, so that he was nearly coeval with the erection of presbyteries in Scotland. The parish of Creich in Fife was his birth-place. The Hendersons of Fordel claim him as a cadet of their family. Sir John Henderson of Fordel, of that day, was a leading Covenanter, and one of the three Fife lairds who brought the strength of that country to fight Montrose at Kilsyth.

We hear of him first at the University of St. Andrews, whither he went during the same year in which Cromwell, his great rival in after life, was born. He was matriculated in the college of St. Salvator, on the 19th of December, 1599; being about sixteen years old. He passed the first

* We often make free use of Dr. Aiton's language, without the marks of quotation.

course of four years' study in the languages, rhetoric, and parts of the Aristotelian logic and physics, under the superintendence of James Martin, a noted teacher. The name was at that time written *Henryson*, which is that of one of the earliest and best of the Scottish poets, who came of the same family. He took his master's degree in 1603—"*Alexander Henrisonus.*" It is unknown at what time he became a student in divinity, but before he was twenty-seven years old he had acquired a name for learning and philosophy. In 1600, he was a Professor, and also a Questor of the Faculty of Arts. In the year 1611, he subscribed the accounts of the said faculty, "*Mr. Alexander Henrysone.*"

Being then an Episcopalian, he was in favour with men in power, and, at the laureation of his class, made choice of Archbishop Gladstanes for his patron, and wrote him a flattering dedication. The primate soon after presented Henderson to the church of Leuchars, in the Presbytery of St. Andrews: the induction must have taken place at some time between the end of the year 1611, and the 26th of January 1614. Whatever celebrity Henderson had acquired with the members of the university, says Dr. Aiton, was lost on his parishioners. As Fife was truly said by Gladstanes to be the most seditious province in the kingdom, Leuchars was situated in the very hotbed of opposition to Prelacy. The presentee of an archbishop, whoever he might be, could not look for a cordial reception on the part of the stanch Presbyterians of that county. Gladstanes was odious in the estimation of the whole peasantry of the district. Part of the odium directed against the patron fell deservedly on his protegee. Henderson's own sentiments on matters of religion had often heen expressed, so that the Presbyterians already looked on him as the rising Goliath of the Philistines. On the day of his induction the parishioners rose in a body to arrest the strong arm of power in the execution of the law. Awed by the terrors of the High Court of Commission, they durst make no actual assault on the clergymen present, but means had been previously taken to secure the church doors inside, so that no entrance could be effected by them. In spite of public opinion thus strongly manifested, Henderson and his friends got into the church by a window, and went quietly through the solemnities of the occasion.

For a time he was regarded as a stranger, and he seems to have had very little sense of his ministerial responsibility;

but before he had resided more than two or three years in his parish, his mind began to undergo a change. He became acquainted with his neighbour, Mr. William Scott, minister at Cupar, an aged but zealous Presbyterian. The death of his patron, Gladstanes, in 1615, relieved him from any embarrassments in that quarter. And especially a desire to be useful to his people, and to know the truth himself gained strength in his mind. But Providence threw him about this time under more special influences. Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, well known as one of the greatest of the Scottish divines, was at this period in the zenith of his powers and celebrity. He attended a communion in some parish near Leuchars, and Henderson was naturally desirous to hear so heroic a servant of Christ preach. Intending to be incognito he went, and seated himself in an obscure corner. Bruce is described, says our biographer, as having been one of the most authoritative speakers of his age, and also as having at times manifested singular evidences of the spirit. Above all men, even since the apostles, he is said to have had the faculty of dealing with the consciences of his hearers, delivering the word of God with a weight which made the stout-hearted tremble. Henderson, from his lurking-place, saw the veteran ascend the pulpit with his usual easy carriage and majestic countenance. In prayer Bruce was short, but every sentence like a strong bolt shot up to heaven. When he rose to preach, he, as his custom was, stood silent for a time. This surprised Henderson a little, but he was much more moved by the first words the preacher uttered, *He that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber.* The text and the sermon were employed as the means of his conversion. Of many thousands gained by the labours of Bruce, Henderson was justly esteemed "the best fish caught in the net."

It is not known at what precise time Henderson ceased to be a prelatist. Wodrow says vaguely that it was shortly after his settlement, and before the pretended Assembly at Perth: but he had been four or five years a minister when this Assembly met. Dr. Aiton conjectures that this conversion took place between June, 1615, when Gladstanes died, and July, 1616, when the first batch of Doctors of Divinity were inaugurated by the university of St. Andrews. Hen-

derson was not included in the list of the new primate, probably in consequence of his change of opinion.*

At all events, it is certain that Henderson had taken his new ground before August, 1616, when Spotswood first attempted to make the worship and rites of the church of Scotland resemble those of the English hierarchy. In these attempts the primate used great craft. A General Assembly was appointed to be held at Aberdeen, ostensibly for the purpose of suppressing popery in the north, but really to give full powers to the bishops. Henderson was present not only at the sittings of the Assembly, but also at many private conferences. The Primate of St. Andrews acted as moderator, without any election. After some laws had been passed favouring the reformed faith, and after many of the Presbyterian ministers had left the city, under the impression that their business was over, a new Confession of Faith and Catechism were proposed by Mr. A. Hay. These were sound in doctrine, but corrupt as to discipline. The bishops, together with certain ministers, were empowered to revise the Book of Common Prayer, contained in the Psalm Book, and to provide a uniform liturgy. And in order to enforce this uniformity it was ordered that a Book of Canons should be compiled from former acts of Councils and Assemblies. When these were afterwards offered for the king's approbation he added several canons. The acts of this Assembly and these additions of his majesty were afterwards condensed into the famous Five Articles of Perth, of which more hereafter.

Henderson does not appear very actively in the altercations between the Presbyterian clergy and the king, when the latter visited Scotland in 1617. On that occasion, James proposed that whatever conclusion was taken by him, with

* "The Academical title of Doctor in Divinity (says Dr. Aiton) had never been given in Scotland till this time since the Reformation. It was now introduced, that the ministers might in all things be conformed, as much as possible, to the English usages. But it had been laid down in the Second Book of Discipline, that Doctors were officers ordinary in the Church by Divine institution, and that, by virtue of their office, they were admitted to act in church judicatories. Carmichael, and those of his party who were so complimented, did not think that universities had the power to constitute church officers, and they opposed this creation of Doctors as introducing confusion among the ecclesiastical officers of Christ's appointment. The first hint given about making bachelors Doctors of Law and Divinity is to be found in Archbishop Gladstanes' letter to the King, dated September, 1607. He requests the order and form of making them 'to encourage our ignorant clergy to learning.'"

the advice of the bishops, should have the power of law. This was opposed as subversive of the ecclesiastical constitution, and the king consented that the advice of a competent number of ministers should also be taken. But as it was still left with the bishops to decide what clergymen should be joined with them, and how many should be a competent number, the Presbyterian ministers, from all parts of the country, protested against the proposed measure in language so strong as to bring down the royal vengeance on their chief abettors. Simpson, minister of Dalkeith, who subscribed the protestation in the name of the brethren, was imprisoned, and afterwards warded at Aberdeen. Hewit, one of the ministers in Edinburgh, who had undertaken to present the supplication, was deprived; and Calderwood, then minister of Crailing, was condemned to be banished. It is conjectured that Henderson was one of the subscribers of this protest, and that he was one of the thirty-six ministers who met the King and bishops at St. Andrews, respecting the same oppressive acts. These attempts, as well as those of the Assembly at St. Andrews, 1617, failed, and James, by way of intimidation, ordered the stipends of the refractory ministers to be withheld, and sent down a warrant to discharge both Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions. In compliance with a general wish of the dissatisfied people, an Assembly was cited to meet at Perth, in August, 1618.

The Perth Assembly is as memorable as any in our annals. Henderson was one of the clerical commissioners. Spotswood acted at it, in the whole matter, under the assurance that not a mere majority but a unanimity would be obtained in favour of the notorious Five Articles. He took the chair, and derided all attempts to elect even himself. In a long harangue, he enforced the very points to be afterwards discussed. The King's mandates were read several times *in terrorem*. It was stated that, in case of refusal, the whole order and estate of the Church would be overthrown, that some ministers would be banished, others deprived of their stipends, and all brought under the wrath of the King. To prevent even the appearance of opposition, business was transacted in privy conferences; and here the court majorities were overwhelming. Henderson and a few of his associates were admitted, only on the conviction that their struggles would be unavailing. Liberty of speech in the Assembly was avowedly granted, but was in effect prevented. The question was put, Whether will ye consent to the Article, or disobey the

King? and it was declared that to vote against any article was to oppose every one of them. The primate threatened to report at Court the name of every opposer, and, for this purpose, he ostentatiously marked the votes with his own hands. But, notwithstanding this, "Mr. Alexander Henrysone, Mr. William Scott, Mr. John Carmichael, and Mr. John Weems," voted in the negative. These and especially Henderson, are mentioned by Calderwood and Wodrow as having been the chief reasoners in support of Presbytery, both in the private conferences, and in the General Assemblies.

About this time an attempt was made to translate Henderson to Edinburgh, but without success; probably in consequence of the primate's opposition. Such opposition was natural, for Henderson attacked the Perth Articles in public and private, especially in a pamphlet which he, with two other ministers, published under the title of "Perth Assembly." This showed that the Articles were inconsistent with the Scripture, and opposed to the principles of the first Reformers, and argued that the Assembly was unlawfully constituted. The zeal of Henderson and other clergymen, forty-five in number, affected the people, and called into action the well-known hierarchical engine, the High Court of Commission. The archbishop of St. Andrews announced to his clergy that the church-polity was about to be overthrown: the threat had the usual effect of such comminations. Several ministers were deprived, and others were confined. Henderson was marked out for vengeance, and cited, some have said, before the High Commission.

Until about the year 1630, Henderson does not appear to have taken the lead in church matters. This was the year of the great awakening at the Kirk of Shotts.* And while the work of grace was advancing among the people, Henderson was silently fitting by prayer and patience for the public services in which he was to engage. From the synodal records of this period, it appears that he was a person of some consideration. Scott and Carmichael were as yet the champions of the party, but the death of Carmichael and the increasing years of Scott gradually gave Henderson the ascendency, till finally, to use the words of Dr. Aiton, he became almost the dictator in bringing about the second Reformation.

General Assemblies ceased after that held at Perth, but

* See an article on the *Life and Times of John Livingston*, Biblical Repertory for 1832, p. 428.

there were private conferences from time to time, and often with the permission, if not in the presence of the prelates. At these Henderson made a point of being present. His conduct at this critical period evinced great courage. Instead of being terrified by the fate of Melville, Calderwood, and others, who had suffered exile for the like boldness, he had no reserve in his defence of civil and religious liberty. When he was settled at Leuchars nothing had been required which could alarm his scruples But archbishop Spotswood "broke the mainspring, and changed the internal wheels of the whole machine in such a way as at once to upset the established habits of the people." The reformers had avoided the practice of kneeling at the communion, but Spotswood enjoined it. In the beginning of his primacy, also, it was commanded that no one should be prevented, after divine service on the Lord's day, from public dancing, May-games, and Whitsun-ales, and the feasts were restored from which they had been so happily released at the Reformation. When therefore (says his biographer) Henderson found that the successor to his patron required the people to relinquish forms of worship which Knox had taught their fathers to venerate—when he found the holy communion connected with what his whole flock esteemed to be idolatry, and that they were to be compelled against their consciences to keep festival days more sacred than the Sabbath of the Lord—when he found that the King's rage for uniformity in the religion of the two nations would turn many of the most loyal Scotsmen into rebels, and, if countenanced on his part, direct the attention of his whole parishioners against himself, then, as a faithful subject and a pious minister, he could not but see the matter in a different light from that in which it had been formerly presented to him; and perceiving the danger, he could not but do what was in his power to avert it.

The first twelve years of the reign of Charles I. form, as Dr. Aiton justly observes, the darkest and most silent period of ecclesiastical history since the Reformation from Popery. During it, there was but one meeting of Parliament, and not a single Assembly of the clergy. Most of the clergy who had followed Melville, and fought the battles of the preceding age, were removed by imprisonment, exile, or death. The bishops remained masters of the field, but allowed Presbyteries, of which they were the constant moderators. Yet it was false doctrine more than unscriptural rites which distressed the hearts of the people. "When they troubled us

but with ceremonies" (said Baillie) "the world knows we went on with them (whereof we have no cause to repent) so far as our duty to God or man could require; but while they will have us, against standing laws, to devour Arminianism and Popery, and all they please, shall we not bear them witness of their opposition, though we should die for it, and preach the truth of God, wherein we have been brought up, against all who will gainsay?"

The circumstances of the King's visit and coronation in 1633 were so arranged as to throw the pomps of the ritual into a bright light; and the disgust of the people was extraordinary. Charles did not leave Scotland without an open rupture with the parliament, and the establishment of the High Commission Court in every diocese. These were gross assaults upon a church which had enjoyed independence from the earliest times, and the Book of Canons and Liturgy, like the Trojan horse, brought treachery and bloodshed into a whole nation. The notion of entire conformity was introduced as early as 1624, when Spotswood sent up a memorial to Court recommending a ritual constitution almost identical with that of England. Then came the attempts to establish the English Liturgy in Scotland, in 1630, and 1631. Soon after this period, during the King's visit, strong remonstrances against the infraction of their liberties were offered. But Charles, as Clarendon admits, had come to Scotland, in June, 1633, not merely to be crowned, but to settle the Liturgy at the same time. Accordingly he and Laud went on with their scheme, and the books sent northward were of such a nature as to gladden the hearts of all who prayed for war. Even Clarendon says that it was a fatal inadvertence that the Canons had never been seen by the Assembly, nor so much as communicated to the ears of the Privy Council; and he also candidly admits, that it was strange that the Book of Canons should have been published a whole year before the Liturgy, when several of these were principally for the punctual compliance with a service not yet known. "The Liturgy sent down," says Kirkton, "was indeed a great deal nearer the Roman Missal than the English Service Book was. I have seen the principal book corrected with Bishop Laud's own hands, where in every place which he corrected, he brings the word as near the Missal as English can be to Latin." It ordained, that the water for baptism should be consecrated. It contained, in the first prayer after the offering, a benediction for departed saints; several pas-

sages in the consecration prayer were the very words of the mass in favour of the real bodily presence; and instead of a table there was to be an altar.

Dr. Aiton has given more at length than we have anywhere seen it the account of the proceedings at Edinburgh on the 23d of July, 1637, when the Liturgy was introduced. This is the critical event of the history. The attempt had been expected, and Presbyterians gathered in Edinburgh from every side. Henderson, it is affirmed by Episcopalians, came to the city on the part of his brethren in Fife. He there met Mr. David Dickson, who had been sent on the same errand by the clergy of the west country, and also Mr. Andrew Cant. These three waited on Lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, who approved of their plans. A meeting was afterwards held in the house of Nicholas Balfour, in the Cowgate, and the prominent persons were the three men just named. There were present among others the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Glencairn, and Traquair, Lords Lindsay, Loudon, and Balmerino. How far the subsequent riots were planned or favoured by these noblemen and ministers, it is perhaps impossible now to determine. Bishop Burnet says in his memoirs, that "after all inquiry was made it did not appear that any above the meaner sort were accessory to the tumult." Other accounts involve Henderson more deeply. Every Presbyterian is acquainted with the general occurrences of that Easter Sunday. The great church of St. Giles was not only filled, but surrounded. To give solemnity to the service, the two archbishops, several other bishops, the chancellor, the members of the Privy Council, the lords of Session, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, resorted, in great pomp, to the church. A mob of women occupied moveable seats at the lower end of the church. The cry was "They are going to say mass!" "Sorrow, sorrow for this doleful day!" Some of the gentlemen cried that "Baal was in the Church." For a time the fury was directed against the Dean, whose courage was failing him so far that he needed the bishop's encouragement, when an old herb-woman named Janet Geddes, with violent exclamations, threw at his head the stool on which she had been sitting. This was the signal for a volley of missiles which were hurled at the Dean. Some tried to pull him down, and many rushed out with doleful lamentations. Bishop Lindsay mounted the pulpit, in order to preach, but narrowly escaped a dangerous stroke. The authorities succeeded in turning out the chief rioters,

but they remained without, assaulting the doors and windows, and crying "A Pape! a Pape! pull him down!" The bishop and other clergymen were exposed to great personal danger in going home.

It is not known that Henderson had any favour towards this violent proceeding. The two-edged sword of the mob, Dr. Aiton well remarks, when once unsheathed, hews down not only foes and friends, but destroys the very arm that wields it. In justice to Scotland, it must be added, that although sixty thousand Covenanters were several times collected by their leaders, they seem in no instance to have gone beyond the bounds prescribed to them, and, after having quietly effected their purpose, they uniformly dispersed quietly. This outrage of the rabble was disowned by all parties. The Council went into an investigation, of which the result was that they silenced Ramsay and Rollock for not using the Service Book: and for a month there was no ringing of bells or public worship or sacred meeting in Edinburgh.

When an order came from the archbishops, enjoining on every minister to buy two copies of the Book, it was formally announced in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, upon which Henderson, Hamilton of Newburn, and Bruce of Kingsbarns, refused to comply. They declared that they would buy and read, but not publicly use the service. The gauntlet was thus thrown down, and the Bishops singled out Henderson as their victim. A messenger-at-arms accordingly charged him to buy and use the Service Book within fifteen days, under pain of being imprisoned as a rebel. Hitherto Episcopacy had been opposed chiefly by tumult, but now an able man stood forth, and in the course of a few days the cause was espoused by some of every class in the community.

Henderson and his two brethren protested against the charge in due form, and repaired to Edinburgh for further advice. Henderson and Dickson were the two leaders, and they were joined by four ministers of the greatest note—Cant, Rollock, Ramsay, and Murray. On the 23d of August, Henderson, and others, petitioned the Lords of the Privy Council to suspend the charge against them. They were unwilling to give a promise until they should have read the book. They declared the Church of Scotland to be as independent as the kingdom itself, and under the direction of her own pastors and Parliament, which, by the act

of 1567 and 1633, were esteemed the necessary guardians of its liberties; that the obtruded Service Book was warranted neither by the authority of the General Assembly, nor by that of any act of Parliament; that the ceremonies enjoined in it were far different from the form of worship and reformation of Presbyterianism, and similar, in many particulars, to the mummeries of the Church of Rome. In other supplications it was stated, that the reformed churches in Austria and Spain had been formerly shaken to their centre by similar divisions, and that the King's coronation-oath bound him not to introduce religious alterations into Scotland, unless with the consent of all concerned.

The supplication was answered by the bishop of Ross; but before the suspension came to be discussed in court, several noblemen, by letters, and many gentlemen personally, solicited the Lords of the Privy Council, "to hold the yoke of the black book from off the necks of the ministers," and declared that if this course were not adopted the people would raise a general outcry against his majesty's government. At the council board, the Earl of Southesk recommended the supplication, but was answered by the archbishop of St. Andrews, who said, that "as there were only a few ministers, and two or three Fyfe gentlemen in town, there needed be no steer anent the affair." The bishops, who thought there was no limit to their power, were mortified and astonished when the Council so interpreted the mandates as to suspend the order for reading the Liturgy till new instructions should be received from London; and that the ring-leaders in the riots should be set at liberty. Henderson, Dickson, and other supplicating ministers, expressed their gratitude in a public manner to the Council, for the fair statement of their case, which they had sent to the King. They placed their trust in the favour of God, and vowed not to relax in prayer until the Church was restored; they pointed out the causes they had for fasting, humiliation, and encouragement of their hopes; they framed plans for their after proceedings, and retained the best legal advice which the kingdom could afford; they kept Sir Thomas Hope as their secret oracle, and arranged that Balmerino and Henderson should, when occasion required, slip quietly behind the screen for instructions. And, that the brethren throughout the kingdom might concur more universally with them, Rollock, Murray, Cant, and Ramsay, were sent to different parts of the country. But Charles insisted upon ab-

solute conformity, and the consequence was that all the kingdom, to use Clarendon's words, flocked to Edinburgh, as if in a general cause which concerned their salvation. In the course of three days, upwards of twenty noblemen, many barons, a hundred ministers, provosts from seventy parishes, with many of the gentry from the principal burghs, commissioners from seventy parishes, with many of the gentry from the counties of Fife, Stirling, Lothian, Ayr, and Lanark, came to town. The citizens of Edinburgh were almost to a man opposed to Episcopacy, and they judged that if it were introduced among them, it would not stop until it had overspread the land. The magistrates presented a petition and remonstrance, which they expected to be sent to the King. But being disappointed in this, and finding the prelates more and more bent on the sternest measures, they combined in renewed opposition, and another more formidable tumult took place. At one of their meetings, Henderson, now "the bold and able leader of his party," moved, that whereas they had formerly petitioned to be freed from the Service Book, they might now complain of the bishops as underminers of religion, and crave justice to be done upon them." Some were not ready for this, but the deference which all were disposed to pay to Henderson's opinion, and the facetious and acute speeches which the earls of Rothes and Loudon made in support of it, silenced opposition. Loudon, Balmerino, Henderson, and Dickson, were appointed to make out a complaint against the bishops, as the authors of all the troubles the Service Book had occasioned, and to present it to the petitioners on the next morning. The result was a complaint which, within twenty-four hours, was signed by thirty-eight noblemen, and gentlemen without number, the signatures amounting at once to many hundreds.

It was during these troubles that those Presbyterian committees of vigilance were erected, which, from their sitting in four different rooms, or at four several tables of the Parliament House, came to be so well known by the name of the Tables. A member from each of these constituted a Table of last resort, which at length consisted in practice of Rothes, Loudon and Balmerino, and the two leading clergymen, namely Henderson and Dickson. Here most of the plans of the party were matured, and here, as Dr. Aiton observes, we bid adieu to the crowd as supplicants. It is the process of all revolutions. The submission and promptness with which the masses retired to the country indicated a

spirit more appalling than the uproar of the two riots. "Like the piston in the steam-engine, these Tables gave the command of the whole Presbyterian machinery. Through them, by the moving of their hand, a few nobles and the '*two archbishops*,' while sitting at Edinburgh, could at once stop or set in motion every wheel, however huge or remote, and send their commands to the inhabitants of the most distant glen with the rapidity of a skyrocket." To refute calumnies, the supplicants published a Historical Information in defence of their acts.

When it was discovered by the Presbyterians that the Service Book was to be sanctioned by a special royal Proclamation, and when this was published amidst circumstances of the most exciting kind, (for the details of which the graphic account of our author may be recommended as greatly superior to any other) Henderson suggested, that Presbyterians of all ranks, parties, and sentiments, whether they belonged to the Church or State, should make a common concession of minor differences, agree to certain definite opinions, and adopt a National Covenant framed upon irrevocable principles.*

By this mutual compromise, all differences among churchmen were to be at an end. By this overt act, every Presbyterian in the land, old and young, east and west, became equally committed, and, above all, by this proposed bond of union, every effort of the courtiers to break up the general confederacy was defeated. Had Henderson, says Dr. Aiton, been of the same impetuous temper as Melville, the Presbyterians would have been divided into separate detachments, which the Episcopalians would have cut up in succession. Although Henderson, at this stage, was but the general of one of the brigades which in their secret councils was an antagonist force, yet the leaders of the other divisions admired his extraordinary talents and amiable dispositions so much, that his unwearied endeavours to conceal minor differences among the brethren, were uniformly triumphant.

On the 23d and 24th of February, the Presbyterians, now wonderfully increased in numbers, met at Edinburgh, in defiance of the proclamation. It was agreed, on the motion of Loudon, that none should have dealings with any of the Lords of Privy Council without the knowledge and consent

* Baillie MSS. Vol. I. p. 84, says, "The Noblemen, with Mr. Alexander Henderson, and Mr. D. D. resolve the renewing of the old Covenant for Religion. Little inkling of this is given out at first to the rest."

of the whole Church. It was recommended, with great affection, by Henderson, that all their hearts should be strongly united one to another in a bond of union and communion. He said, that as they were now declared outlaws and rebels by their Sovereign, they should join in covenant. He recommended that all, in a conjunct motion, nobility, gentry, burgesses, ministry, and people, should now renew the covenant which was subscribed by their forefathers in the year 1550, with such additions as the corruptions of the times required. The proposal not only was adopted by the meeting, but sounded like an alarm-bell throughout the whole kingdom. Henderson and Archibald Johnston of Warriston, were appointed to frame a Confession of Faith, and Rothes, Loudon and Balmerino, were requested to revise it. The people were prepared for what was to be done by public exercises of religion. The Covenant consisted of three parts: first, the old Covenant, word for word; secondly, the Acts of Parliament which were in favour of their Confession against Popery; thirdly, the special application to their present circumstances. Under this last head, they swore to continue in the profession and obedience of Presbytery, and to "resist all contrary errors, to the uttermost of their power, all the days of their lives; to defend the person and authority of the King and of one another, so that whatever should be done to the least of them, for that cause, should be taken as done to all in general, and to every one of them in particular; and not to suffer themselves to be divided or withdrawn from their union, but to make known, that it might be timeously obviated, every attempt should be made." The third part, beginning 'In obedience to the commandment of God,' was written by Henderson. In vindication of the measure, Dr. Aiton reminds us of the maxim of James VI. who was surely no democrat, namely, that *pro aris et focis et patre patriæ*, the whole body of the commonwealth might rise as a solid mass. Accordingly, Charles's Advocate for Scotland did not hesitate to give his legal opinion, that this Covenant contained nothing inconsistent with the duty of subjects to their Sovereign.

Wednesday, the 28th day of February, 1638, was memorable in the history of Henderson and of the Church. There were sixty thousand Presbyterians in Edinburgh. In the afternoon, the venerable church of the Greyfriars, and the large open space around it were filled with Presbyterians from every quarter of Scotland. At two o'clock, Rothes,

Loudon, Henderson, Dickson, and Johnston, (the great jurist of the church,) arrived, with a copy of the Covenant, ready for signature. Henderson constituted the meeting by prayer, "verrie powerfullie and pertinentie" to the purpose in hand. Loudon, then, in an impressive speech, stated the occasion of this meeting. The Covenant was next read by Johnston, "out of a fair parchment, about an elne squair." When the reading was finished, there was a silence like death. Rothes broke it by challenging objections. "Feu comes, and these feu proposed but feu doubts, which were soon resolved." About four o'clock, the venerable Earl of Sutherland came forward, and put the first name to the memorable document. Sir Andrew Murray, minister of Ebdy, in Fife, was the second. After going round the church, it was taken out to be signed by the crowd in the church-yard. Here it was spread on a flat grave-stone to be read and subscribed by as many as could get near it. Many, in addition to their names, wrote, *till death;* and some even opened a vein and subscribed with their blood. "The immense sheet in a short time became so crowded with names, within and without, that there was no room for a single additional signature. Even the margin was scrawled over; and as the document filled up, the subscribers seem to have been limited to the initial letters of their names. Zeal in the cause of Christ, and courage for the liberties of Scotland, warmed every heart. Joy was mingled with the expression of some, and the voice of shouting arose from a few. But by far the greater portion were deeply impressed with very different feelings. Most of them, of all sorts, wept bitterly for their defection from the Lord. And in testimony of his sincerity, every one confirmed his subscription by a solemn oath. With groans, and tears streaming down their faces, they all lifted up their right hands at once. When this awful appeal was made to the Searcher of Hearts, at the day of judgment, so great was the fear of again breaking the Covenant, that thousands of arms which had never trembled even when drawing the sword on the eve of battle, were now loosened at every joint. After the oath, the people were powerfully enjoined to begin their personal reformation. At the conclusion, every body seemed to feel that a great measure of the divine presence had accompanied the solemnities of the day, and with their hearts much comforted, and strengthened for every duty, the enormous crowd retired about nine o'clock at night. Well, indeed, might Henderson boast, in

his reply to the Aberdeen doctors, 'that this was the day of the Lord's power, wherein we saw his people most willingly offer themselves in multitudes like the dew-drops of the morning—this was indeed the great day of Israel, wherein the arm of the Lord was revealed—the day of the Redeemer's strength, on which the princes of the people assembled to swear allegiance to the King of kings.' "

During the same week, the Covenant was sent to every shire, bailiery, and parish. In the country, it was every where received as a sacred oracle. Some men, says Henderson, of no small note, offered their subscription, and were refused, till time should prove that they joined from love to the cause, and not from the fear of men. "I was present," says Livingston, "at Lanark, and several other parishes, when, on the Sabbath, after the forenoon's sermon, the Covenant was read and sworn, and I may truly say, that in all my life time, excepting at the Kirk of Shotts, I never saw such motions from the Spirit of God. All the people generally and most willingly concurred. I have seen more than a thousand persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes; so that through the whole land, excepting the professed Papists, and some few who adhered to the prelates, people universally entered into the Covenant of God."

When Hamilton made his public entry into Edinburgh, the Covenanters, to the number of sixty thousand, according to Burnet, stood in ranks along the sea-side for several miles; —of women, says Baillie, there was a world. "At the eastern extremity of the links, on the side of a rising ground, as the most impressive part of the show, there stood six or seven hundred ministers with their cloaks and bands. Mr. William Livingston, minister of Lanark, the strongest in voice, and austerest in countenance, and most venerable of them all, supported by Henderson, Ramsay, and Blackall, was here appointed to make Hamilton a short address." The object of the Covenanters in this gathering seems to have been to display their strength. On Sunday, Henderson preached; but in such a manner that he was censured for undue prudence, and he scourged the bishops in his next discourse. Rothes, Montrose, Loudon and Henderson were deputed to treat with the Commissioner, and particularly to demand the calling of a free General Assembly, and a Parliament. He "assured them that they sould have a General Assemblie and Parliament, providing they would not irritate his Majestie

by their carriage and behaviour in this business, and that in his Majestie's own time," and that they should have their answer in a royal proclamation. To meet this, the others engaged themselves to furnish a protest. Here Hamilton and Henderson came into warm conflict, and were scarcely appeased by the facetious intervention of Rothes. In all the conferences the Commissioner demanded the rescinding of the Covenant. Henderson published "Reasons against the rendering of our sworn Covenant and subscribed Confession of Faith," and the party stood to their ground.

In all these proceedings Hamilton carried himself with consummate art, and used every finesse to gain time, and enjoy the instructions of the King. In a letter dated 11th June, 1638, Charles declares to the marquess, that nothing but force would bring the Scots to obedience, and commands him to disband the multitude and gain the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. "I give you leave," the King writes, "to flatter them with what hopes you please, so you engage not me against my grounds, and in particular that you consent neither to the calling of Parliament nor General Assembly till the Covenant be given up, your chief end being now to save time, that they may not commit public follies until I be ready to suppress them."

Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, not long after this, were sent with some others to Aberdeen, to gain over those who still refused to sign the Covenant. The mission was of great service to the Presbyterian cause; and the northern confederacy was greatly weakened by the loss of numbers of people, including about fifty ministers, who signed the Covenant. It is true that a paper war ensued between the Aberdeen doctors, under Forbes's guidance, and the Covenanters, who were led by Henderson. The controversy was fierce, and occupies more than a hundred pages of small print. The Episcopalians claimed the victory, and Hamilton seized the occasion, on his return from a visit southward, to make a personal attack on Henderson, Dickson and Cant, who were styled, from this mission, the three Apostles of the Covenant. Dickson and Cant indeed gave little aid in this dispute, "and for Henderson, although" says Guthrie, "it cannot be denied that he was a learned man, yet, without wronging him, it may be thought that he could not well hold against all those doctors, who, for their eminence and learning, were famous, not only at home but also throughout other countries abroad."

In the proceedings which resulted in the memorable Assembly of 1638, and of which we shall not repeat the history we gave two years ago,* Henderson was the acknowledged clerical leader. Of that Assembly he was the moderator, and pronounced the sentence of deposition and excommunication against the bishops.

Dr. Aiton has devoted a chapter to the origin of the War in Scotland. "The important question, Who began the war in Scotland? never has been, and probably never will be settled to the satisfaction of all parties. In spite of any thing which can be said on either side, it will be answered by many on both, not exactly in accordance with the facts, but in compliance with religious prepossessions. The war arose from so many remote circumstances, and these were so insensibly gradual in their progress, that it is difficult even to give a date to its origin, and, of course, far more so to make it apparent who were the aggressors. One class of Episcopalians may point with triumph to the uproar in St. Giles's Church as an incident which would justify an appeal to arms; while others, according to the moderation of their views, may date the determination to go to war, from the erection of the Tables, the meeting at Stirling, or the signing of the Covenant and levying of taxes on the part of the Covenanters. On the other hand, their opponents, approving of these bold measures, will refer it to the King's intolerance in enforcing Episcopacy on an independant church, or to his declaration that the Presbyterians were traitors, or to the whole tenor of his policy. But it is obvious that the question cannot be satisfactorily answered merely by trying to ascertain who committed the first overt act of hostility. In such cases, that is often an accidental isolated circumstance, depending in a great measure on the discretion, or the want of it, in inferior agents. The general question may have already, therefore, been answered by the reader. If not, the particular point now to be attended to is, when did the war become inevitable? In a war between a king and his own subjects, it is worthless to argue, merely when it might be justifiable to commence bloodshed. Hostilities are never excusable until it becomes utterly impossible to avoid them. Notwthstanding, then, all that has been said and done, peace might probably have been maintained up to the time that Hamilton left the Assembly. But however anxious both

* See Princeton Review for 1838, pp. 362—396.

parties may have been to avoid open hostilities, it appears obvious that they were inevitable from this period. Without pretending to vindicate the Covenanters in all their measures, the odium of beginning the war may be traced to this step, which was in effect a rash and irrevocable declaration of hostilities. Whether Hamilton or his superiors at Court deserve the reproach need not be ascertained. But if the war of words, although already tedious, had been maintained by him with more sincerity, the discharge of heavier metal in the field might have been spared. At any rate, however hopeless the task might appear, Hamilton's policy was to have remained at his post in the Glasgow Assembly; to have consented to what he saw he could not control; and in lieu of this acquiescence, to have urged his opponents to modify some of the propositions most opposed to his master's supremacy. In this way, although he could not have obtained all, he might have got something; partly to save his majesty's honour in covering the retreat. But by turning his back to the battle, he enabled the Covenanters to carry every thing in triumph. It is a remarkable feature in this case, which should be constantly kept in view in answering the great question, Who began the war in Scotland, that even up to this period, the effects of an honest policy on the part of the court, had never once been ascertained. If Hamilton even, in the Glasgow Assembly, could have made it appear that he and his master were at last to be trusted, and if, in addition, he had acted on a more liberal policy, he might, by a dexterous distribution of firmness and of conciliation, at least have brought over to his interest such a minority as would have kept his opponents more in check. The court ought to have known, that although the Covenanters were really anxious to preserve loyalty as a plant indigenous to their soil, yet they esteemed Presbyterianism as the green pasture from which alone they could procure spiritual food. As the chief earthly shepherd of the flock, and sovereign of a free and loyal people, Charles should have made a merit of necessity, by conceding at once the great point at issue, or if he felt it to be a matter of conscience to enforce Episcopacy on the Scots, it ought to have been Prelacy in its purity, and not alloyed with an Arminianism, ostentatiously decked out in the scarlet rags of Popery. From the moment the Scots conceived that the object of the court was to bring them first to yield to the Lutherans and next

to the Papists, they became determined to stand where they were at all hazards."

The Covenanters left no means of conciliation untried, even while they were arming themselves. They dispersed a printed declaration throughout England, in which they took God to witness that religion was the only subject, conscience the only motive, and reformation the aim of all their designs. Henderson, by authority, framed a remonstrance of the nobles, &c, vindicating them and their proceedings from the crimes laid to their charge in the proclamations. "So deep was their conviction as to the absolute submission to princes, that Lord Cassilis, Baillie, and even Henderson, for a time, seem almost to have felt that, if the King should play all the pranks of a Nero, they might no more resist his deeds than the poorest slave at Constantinople might oppose the tyranny of the Grand Turk." On further investigation, Henderson came to the conclusion that a defensive war was lawful, and drew up a paper in defence of the position, which, though read from many pulpits, was never printed. It may be observed that in this hesitation of Henderson and some of the leaders, the clergy in general did not share.

"Whatever difficulty," says Dr. Aiton, "there may be in answering the question, Who began the war? there can be no doubt that the Presbyterians were most anxious to bring it to a bloodless conclusion." Henderson was one of six commissioners named by the Covenanters to conclude a treaty with the King. At one meeting, when he happened to be absent, Charles missed him, and at the next declared himself much delighted with Henderson's reasoning. On another occasion, the King seemed to be in an especial degree attached to Henderson and Loudon. The result was a pacification, comprising these concessions, among others, that the Perth Articles be dispensed with—that bishops should, from time to time, be answerable to the General Assembly—that a new Assembly should be immediately held at Edinburgh, and thereafter annually—and that a Parliament should be convened to ratify whatever might be concluded in such Assembly. The matter was so managed that neither party was committed as to the Glasgow Assembly. Yet, after all, the feeling on both sides remained very much what it had been before the conference.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on Monday, the 12th of August. Henderson preached from Acts, ch. v., on the advice of Gamaliel, and exhorted the Lord Commis-

sioner, Traquair, and the members, to vie with one another in gratitude, zeal and moderation. Traquair, following his instructions, insisted that Henderson should again be moderator. This, in the opinion of some, savoured too much of the "constant moderator"—by which episcopacy had been lately introduced—and by none was it more opposed than by the nominee himself. Mr. Dickson was chosen moderator, and Henderson sat by his side as his coadjutor. The great measures proposed were, 1st, to condemn corruptions which had long troubled the church; 2d, To discuss the report of censures which had been inflicted on Episcopalian ministers, for errors, immoralities, and contempt of the authority of the Church; 3d, To condemn the Large Declaration, or manifesto of the King; and 4th, To renew the National Covenant. As it regards the first point, it was a delicate question how to accomplish the reform without any mention of the Glasgow Assembly, which the King had forbidden. This was effected by a recital, as if *de novo*, of all the abuses, and a re-enactment of the Glasgow Acts. They decided therefore in favour of the rejection of the liturgy, canons and High Commission—the Perth Articles—episcopal jurisdiction and civil power of clergymen;—also that the six Assemblies of 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, and 1618 should be accounted void of authority—that Assemblies should be held at least once a year, and that Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods should be constituted according to the order of the Kirk. Traquair gave in his formal written consent and subscribed the premises as his Majesty's Commissioner. "These gratifying results filled every heart with joy. Henderson, and especially the old ministers, who had felt the energy of the Holy Spirit accompanying ordinances in former times, and had contrasted with it the awful defection which afterwards ensued, could not express their sense of the present happy change under the countenance of the King, otherwise than by tears. The moderator stirred up all to be grateful to God, and affectionate to the King." This calm was interrupted however by a debate on the motion to approve the deposition of certain Episcopal delinquent ministers by the Glasgow Assembly. Though they wished to avoid any offence to the King by a formal approbation, they declared that *while they breathed* they would not pass from that Assembly. Eighteen ministers were also deposed, but it was recommended to Synods that those who were deposed merely for Episcopacy should, on evidence of submission to

the constitution of the Church, be reinstated. The National Covenant of 1550, with the bond of the last year appended, was next renewed, under the sanction of the royal authority. And the Privy Council, at the request of the Assembly, conferred on it the force of an act to oblige all his Majesty's subjects to subscribe it. This was the Assembly which passed the first Barrier Act of the Scottish Kirk, providing that no innovation causing disturbance should be proposed till the motion be first approved of at home, after due deliberation in the several Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk-sessions. After the Revolution, it is worthy of note, the Act of the Assembly was remodelled, and confined only to Presbyteries.

At the Assembly at Aberdeen, of July 1640,—just two centuries ago—Henderson was not present, being engaged in important business at Edinburgh. The great subject which occupied this court was an act against a sect which was arising similar to the English Independents. The part which Henderson took against these sectaries has been stigmatized as savouring of persecuting bigotry; and he was constrained to make a publication on the subject, which, though esteemed a healing overture by both parties, led to very unpleasant altercations, and gratified the foes of the Covenant, as a threatening of internal disruption.

In 1641, the office of Rector was revived in the University of Edinburgh, and was conferred upon Henderson, and, by the efforts of himself and other leading men, that institution was placed upon a solid basis. These men were great promoters of literature, and it should never be forgotten that to them Scotland is indebted for her admirable system of parochial schools. But the rumour of approaching war left little time for the care of letters. The English army was now advancing to the border, and in July the Scotch, to the number of twenty-two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, marched towards the Tweed. Each regiment was attended by one of the most eminent clergymen of its district. Of the number were Henderson, Blair, Livingston, Baillie, Cant, and Gillespie, and these were invested with presbyterial authority, that they might perform every part of the ministerial function. By means of pulpit addresses at Edinburgh such enthusiasm was excited, that the matrons of the city sent webs of coarse linen sufficient to make tents for almost the whole army, and the men advanced on security, 240,000 pounds Scots.

When a conference between the two parties was, soon

afterwards, agreed upon, Henderson was one of the commissioners who went to London: the others were Rothes, Loudon, Dunfermline, and Archibald Johnston. They were accompanied by Blair, Baillie, and Gillespie, as the most eminent preachers of that day. Clarendon says of Henderson's preaching in London, that the public curiosity was so great, that those who had the happiness to get into the church in the morning kept their seats till the afternoon's exercise was finished. Both Clarendon and Hume, however, ridicule the style of the performances. "Certainly," says Dr. Aiton, "Clarendon forgot the native elegance of his style, and Hume preferred sarcasm to truth, when they speak of the barbarism and ignorance of Henderson, Baillie, and Gillespie. All of them were profound scholars; and Baillie's acquaintance with the languages of modern Europe was most extensive. Besides being able to write Latin with the purity of the Augustan age, he was master of twelve or thirteen different languages."

During the few months which Henderson spent, on this occasion, at London, besides the unwearied attention which he must have given every day to the many important matters in hand—and among the great events of the period it may be remembered that the trials of Strafford and Laud were now in progress—he found time to write a treatise on Church Discipline, and to publish reasons for removing diocesan bishops out of the Church. He had several private conferences with the King, and others in company with Rothes and Loudon, in all of which he grew in favour with Charles. This favour he well nigh lost by means of a short and hasty paper vindicating the Commission from the charge of diminished zeal against prelacy and the "two incendiaries."

The General Assembly had been appointed to meet at St. Andrews, July 20th, 1641; but adjourned to Edinburgh, chiefly, Dr. Aiton declares, in hope of there meeting with Henderson. In this they were gratified, and he was again chosen moderator, notwithstanding his own earnest protestations. "Had there been nothing else to render this Assembly conspicuous in the pages of our Church History, or to secure respect for the memory of its moderator, the magnificent idea, which he here was the first to suggest, of framing our Confession of Faith, our Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and our Directory or Platform of Church Government and Worship, would have been enough to immortalize the period

in which he lived. By these Henderson has erected a monument in almost every heart in Scotland. For two hundred years, these have withstood the attacks of infidelity, and even many severe wounds from the hands of their friends; yet is the Confession of Faith, unshaken as the rock of ages, still found, on a Sabbath afternoon, in the hands of our peasantry, dear to them almost as their Bible, and the Catechism carried morning after morning, by our sons and our daughters, to the parish school, (the plan of which Henderson devised,) that their contents may enlighten the mind and spiritualize the nature of the rising generation. Next to the introduction of Christianity itself into Scotland, and the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, the framing of the Confession of our Faith and of the Catechisms has conferred the greatest boon on every Christian in our country. It was on Wednesday, the 28th of July, that Henderson first suggested to the Assembly the propriety of drawing up a Confession of Faith, a Catechism, and a Directory for all the parts of the public worship. His first intention seems to have been to frame the system in such a way as to make it agreeable to the worshippers on both sides of the Tweed. But there is no compromise of Presbyterianism in it from beginning to end, so as to support the Episcopalian principles of the English. On proposing the matter, he expressed himself as being anxious to escape the toil of compiling these important works; but the burden was laid on his back, with liberty to retire from his parochial duties whenever he pleased, and to call to his assistance the abilities and diligence of any of his brethren."

The Parliament of 1641 was attended by the King, who arrived at Holyrood House on Saturday evening, 14th August. On the Sabbath, he went to the Abbey Church in the forenoon, and heard Henderson preach. In the afternoon, his Majesty did not return to church, but exercised himself at the play called golf, which was the only recreation the place afforded. For this profanation of holy time he was reprimanded by Henderson, and condescended to forbear in future. He made Henderson his private chaplain, and requested him to name the preachers who should afterwards officiate. He accordingly stood behind the King in church, where Charles attended punctually forenoon and afternoon. On Tuesdays, in the morning and evening before supper, he heard his chaplain pray, read a chapter of the Bible, and sing a psalm. The King seemed anxious to join in all the

Presbyterian devotions, which were sometimes extremely protracted. On every occasion, Henderson was careful to pay his Majesty all the dignified and delicate respect which loyalty could inspire; insomuch that some, even of his old friends, suspected his motives, and thought him too lenient towards the King. It is well known that, at this Parliament, Charles ratified all the acts, including those of the Glasgow Assembly, by which Presbyterianism was established: he even swore the Covenant. He departed, as was said, a contented King from a contented people, for Presbytery seemed fully established.

The only fact connected with the Assembly of 1642, which we shall mention, is, that Henderson found himself under the necessity of vindicating himself from charges of undue moderation, and from the suspicion of playing the courtier. It should seem that he was successful in these defences. It has sometimes been asked how, since men who have deserved well of their age have so often been requited with ingratitude, there should nevertheless be in every period a constant succession of such men. "Our profession," said Henderson on another occasion, "can answer both in a word, that by a special providence, such as have deserved well come short of their rewards from men, that they may learn, in serving of men, to serve God, and by faith and hope to expect their reward from himself; and that, notwithstanding all the ingratiutde of the world, the Lord giveth generous spirits to his servants, and stirreth them up, by his Spirit, (the motions whereof they neither can nor will resist,) to do valiantly in his cause."

When the Parliament of England intimated their resolution to call an Assembly of Divines to concert measures for bringing about unity of religion, and uniformity of Church government in both Kingdoms, they required some ministers from the Kirk of Scotland, to be present by the 5th of November, 1643. Notwithstanding the extreme reluctance of Henderson, who pleaded former services and frailty of constitution, he was put on the list, "on account of his great honesty, which had ever remained untainted, and his unparalleled abilities to serve the Chruch and State." The commissioners were Henderson, Douglas, Gillespie, Rutherford and Baillie, ministers, and Cassilis, Maitland, and Johnston of Warriston, elders.

By this time the bloody war between Charles and the Parliament was in full progress. One of the principal events

in the life of Henderson was his embassy, in company with Loudon, to the King at Oxford, their object being to procure the calling of Parliament and the establishment of a lasting peace. For a time, the King refused them an audience; then he wished to see their instructions, and next he questioned their power to treat. Henderson was allowed no private conferences as on former occasions. Although the King tried to protect his person from affronts, yet when he walked the streets he was reviled from the windows, and some of his friends hinted to him that he was in danger of being stabbed or poisoned. The doctors of the university treated him with consideration, and invited him to compare notes with them on the subject of episcopacy. This he declined; and Clarendon adds, insolently; if so, certainly belying his natural disposition, and uniform conduct to his opponents. The discussions with the King were long, and sometimes angry: they ended without satisfaction to either party. While the Covenanters were awaiting the Convention of Estates in Edinburgh, Henderson was despatched to treat with the tender conscience of Montrose, who for a period of two or three years had been blowing hot and cold in regard to the Scottish cause. The result was as little successful as the preceding one: indeed it seems to have precipitated his flight into the King's arms. From this time till he laid his head on the block, the history of Montrose, says Dr. Aiton, gives us a detail of efforts in behalf of his royal master more brilliant and romantic, perhaps, than any in the pages of Plutarch.

Henderson was again moderator of the Assembly, when it met August 2d, 1643, at Edinburgh. It was remarkable for the visit of commissioners from England, namely, Sir Harry Vane the younger, one of the gravest and ablest of their nation, Stephen Marshall, a Presbyterian, and Philip Nye, an Independent, from the Assembly of Divines. The declarations from both houses of Parliament, and a letter from the English Assembly by Dr. Twisse, and a third signed by about seventy divines, were all read openly in the Assembly. Henderson, after a long speech, asked the opinion of the leading members of the house by name, whether the general answer was that the business should be committed to him and his assessors. At this critical moment, Guthry was the only man amongst them who saw the matter in its true light. He said "that the Assembly of Divines in their letter, and the Parliament in their declaration, were

both clear and particular concerning the privative part, namely, that they should extirpate Episcopacy root and branch. But as to the positive part, what they meant to bring in, they huddled it up in many ambiguous general terms. So that whether it would be Presbytery, or Independency, or any thing else, God only knew, and no man could pronounce infallibly. Therefore, that so long as the English stood, and would come no farther, he saw not how this Church, which held Presbyterian government to be *juris divini*, could take them by the hand." He made a motion in accordance with this speech, but, strange to say, no one seconded it, and the matter fell into the hands of Henderson and his assessors. The committees, after anxious consultation with the principal nobility, concluded that it was the duty of the Scots to enter into a confederacy with the Parliament. In the conferences, the English argued for a civil League, and the Scots for a religious Covenant. The English tried to keep a door open for Independency, while the Scots were equally eager to keep it shut. At length Henderson was appointed to frame a draught of the well-known Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms. This document was passed both by the Assembly and the Convention of Estates, on the 17th of August, 1643. It bound all who subscribed it, to preserve the reformed religion of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and also the reformation of religion in England and Ireland, *according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches;* to abolish Popery and Prelacy; to defend the King's person, and to preserve the rights of Parliament and the liberties of the kingdom.

As the Covenanters could not march their army till the Covenant was ratified on the part of the English, the English commissioners, with Maitland, Henderson, and Gillespie, embarked for London on the 30th of August. "On their arrival at the metropolis, there was great joy on all hands, and a hearty welcome, in the Westminster Assembly, from Twisse, Case, and Hoile, who all made set speeches on the occasion. The Commissioners found that an express had arrived in London from Edinburgh, with the Covenant, which had already undergone some slight modification. Henderson disapproved of any alterations, however trivial, having been made before he was heard in defence of his own measure. On this account, a conference was held in Pym's house, when the Scottish Commissioners were convinced

that the alterations were for the better. Some of the English divines stated, that, as they had sworn to obey the bishops in all things lawful, they durst not abjure Episcopacy absolute; they, therefore, proposed to qualify the expression by inserting the words, 'all anti-christian, tyrannical, or independent Prelacy;' but it was carried against Dr. Featly's motion. Many declared for primitive Episcopacy, or for one stated President, with his Presbyters to govern every church, and the abjuration of archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending upon them. When Calman read the Covenant before the House of Lords, he declared that by Prelacy all sorts of Episcopacy was not intended, but only the forms therein described. The term League was added in the title by Vane, who was the Talleyrand of Cromwell. On the 25th of September, both Houses of Parliament, with the Assembly of Divines and Scottish Commissioners, met in St. Margaret's Church. First, Mr. White, one of the Assembly, prayed for an hour, to prepare them for taking the Covenant; then, Mr. Nye, in a longer sermon, stated, that the Covenant was warranted by Scripture precedents and examples since the creation, and that it would be of benefit to the church. Henderson made a long speech, which was published at the time, stating what the Scots had done, and the good they had received by such covenants; and then he showed the prevalency of evil counsels about the King, and the resolutions of the States of Scotland to assist the Parliament of England. Then the Covenant was read, article by article, in the pulpit, from a parchment roll, all persons present standing uncovered, with their right hand lifted up in worship, and the solemnity of an oath. After this, two hundred and twenty-two members of Parliament signed, as did also the divines of the Assembly and the Scottish Commissioners. Dr. Gauge concluded the whole by a prayer for a blessing upon the Covenant. In the same way, it was tendered next Lord's day to all the congregations within the bills of mortality and throughout the kingdom, to the Elector Palatine and English abroad, and also to the army of the Parliament at home."

On the 20th of November, Henderson and the other commissioners, petitioned both houses of Parliament, that a warrant might be granted them for admission to the Westminster Assembly. This warrant was sent to Dr. Twisse, while Henderson and his brethren waited at the door for an answer. Three of the members came out to introduce them.

Dr. Twisse, in a long speech, gave them a hearty welcome, and assigned them a seat at his right hand, in the front of the members of Parliament deputed to attend. Henderson and the rest were struck, as well they might be, with the solemnity of the scene, the like of which, Baillie says, they had never beheld. When the united learning, ability, and piety, of this Assembly is considered, and when the caution with which every point was discussed is considered, we cease to wonder at the excellence of our formularies. In this great work the Scottish commissioners bore an active part. The experience which Henderson had gained at the helm of public affairs, and which all had obtained in the popular Assemblies of the Church, gave them great advantages. So much deference was paid to their judgment that Henderson made the first draught of the Directory for Worship, and of the other pieces: and "in the whole Assembly, no one supported them to better purpose, nor with better acceptance of all the hearers than the young, but learned, acute, and distinguished ornament of our Church, Gillespie."

As commissioners to consult for uniformity, Henderson and his brethren refused to treat, except through a regularly constituted committee of Lords, Commons, and Divines. On the questions at issue between the Independents and the Presbyterians, the Scottish divines had to fight their way against a great array of talent. On the question of ruling elders, they disputed for ten days. All were willing to admit elders as a matter of prudence, but the Presbyterians did not rest until it was agreed that besides ministers of the word there should be, according to the Scriptures, ordained elders and perpetual deacons.

In regard to the Directory for Worship, the two parties entered into a tacit compromise, and as the Independents were permitted to qualify some things in the preface, it passed with great unanimity. The next summer, Parliament called in all Common Prayer Books, forbidding their use even in private families, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, and ordered all ministers to read the Book of Directory openly, in their respective churches before morning service. Thus the Church of England was rendered, by public authority, Presbyterian.

At the memorable Uxbridge Treaty, Henderson was the champion for the Covenant. He was ably opposed by Dr. Stewart, clerk of the King's closet, who had been appointed to defend the hierarchy. The result was that Charles refused

to abolish Episcopacy, establish the Directory, confirm the Assembly of Divines, or take the Covenant: while he offered to suspend penalties, take off the yoke of compulsory rites, limit the power of bishops, enforce residence, and even call a national Synod. Both parties kept their ground and separated with mutual crimination.

To return to the Assembly of Divines, the question of church courts in regular subordination was decided in favour of the Presbyterians by a vast majority. But though the Independents were defeated, the Erastian party took an appeal to the Parliament. Here, to the inexpressible mortification of Henderson and his friends, it was carried in the negative; and the modified proposition of the Erastians, that Presbytery was merely lawful, and agreeable to the word of God, was substituted for the decision of the Assembly, which declared it to be *jure divino*. The Scottish Commissioners then called up the citizens of London to petition the Parliament that the Presbyterian Discipline might be established as that of Jesus Christ. But Cromwell was well aware that the time was now come for an open rupture, and the petition was dismissed with contempt. Their subsequent efforts were equally unsuccessful. The triumphant advances of the parliamentary army, and the misery of the Scots, emboldened Cromwell to produce, in the Committee of both kingdoms letters from unknown hands, calumniating the Covenanters and their Commissioners in London.

As the Independents gained power, the discussions became fiercer between the Parliament and the Assembly. When the question as to "the power of the Keys," came to be discussed, the Presbyterians claimed, of divine right, the power to retain or remit sin, and to proceed by admonition, suspension, and excommunication. The Independents claimed the same power for the brotherhood of every particular congregation; and the Erastians were for laying the communion open, and referring all ecclesiastical offenders to the civil magistrate. The Presbyterians carried the question in the Assembly, but they were thwarted in Parliament, for all ecclesiastical determinations were subjected to the civil power. This was the occasion of great offence to the Scottish Commissioners. Yet with this exception all the fundamental observances of Presbyterianism were established in England. The measure however pleased no party; for even the Scots were dissatisfied that Presbyteries were deprived of power over their communicants.

The English Presbyterians identified themselves with the Scottish Commissioners, and refused to give effect to the ordinance. Here arose a most disagreeable series of altercations between the Assembly and the Parliament, touching Toleration and the allied points; into the history of this we cannot for a moment think of going. Henderson and his brethren are found ranged upon the side of intolerance. They prevailed on the Scots Parliament to demand of the English Houses their civil sanction to the establishment recommended by the Assembly of Divines, and not to admit the toleration of sects, as being contrary to the solemn League and Covenant. Clarendon and Whitelock both state that the King tried to turn these divisions to his own advantage, and made great offers of compensation to two leading Independent ministers if they would oppose the Covenant uniformity intended to be imposed on England by the Scots.

During Henderson's absence from Scotland, matters were badly managed. In the Scottish Assemblies and Parliament, there were so much murmuring and jealousy as to what was going on in London, that it was actually proposed to supersede the commissioners there. The latter sent regular accounts of their proceedings, but seldom heard from home either on public or private affairs. At last they resolved to return to Scotland in October 1645, but the ministers of London sent twenty of their number to entreat that Henderson might remain, which was granted.

It will be remembered by the student of history, that after the fatal campaign of 1645, when Charles had fled to the Scottish camp, there were hopes entertained by this misguided monarch that the Covenanters would mediate between him and the Parliament; and that persons were sent to treat with him, in order to bring him over to Presbyterianism. "As Charles had more confidence in Henderson than in any one of the party, and as Henderson's qualifications were exactly fitted to the delicate work in hand, an express command was laid upon him, unanimously by Church and State, to resort to the Scottish camp for this purpose." He arrived at Newcastle on the 15th of May, 1646, and the conference proceeded. The papers which passed between the King and Henderson are given at length by Dr. Aiton. But unfortunately for Charles, Henderson's constitution gave way at this critical point, under the crushing mental anxiety and bodily fatigue which he had for years endured in the public service. If he had lived, says our biographer, the Covenanters would

have kept by their first mild declaration, that they neither would nor could compel the King to return to the parliament. About the middle of June, 1645, he had been confined several days with a calculous attack. He and Rutherford went down to the Epsom waters, but so long as any thing was to be done in London his presence was indispensable. Anxiety of mind, while with the King at Newcastle, greatly added to his bodily infirmities. "We know well," Baillie writes to him, "the weight that lies on your heart. I fear this be the fountain of your disease." On the 7th, the same writer says to Spang, that "Mr. Henderson is dying most of heartbreak at Newcastle." The rapid progress of his complicated diseases forced him to break off all controversy with the King, as well as all contention with Cromwell. He went to Leith by sea, in a still more languishing condition, and thence proceeded to Edinburgh, where he soon afterwards breathed his last, on the 19th of August, 1646, being about sixty-three years of age.

It has been pretended that Henderson died of remorse for the part he had taken in revolutionary measures,—that he became reconciled to the royal party,—that he uttered a death-bed recantation; and these impostures have become part of history. It is enough to say, that after careful investigation, the whole Church, on the 7th of August, 1648, condemned the pretended recantation as being forged, scandalous, and false.

We have traced the life of Henderson from its early seclusion to its close amidst the troubles of an eminently turbulent period. His own reflections on it are striking. "When" says he, "from my sense of myself and my own thoughts and ways, I begin to remember how men who love to live obscurely and in the shadow, are brought forth to light, to the view and talking of the world; how men that love quietness are made to stir and to have a hand in public business; how men that love soliloquies and contemplations are brought upon debates and controversies; and generally, how men are brought to act the things which they never determined nor so much as dreamed of before: the words of the Prophet Jeremiah come to my remembrance, 'O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.' Let no man think himself master of his own actions or ways:—'When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself and walkedst whither thou wouldst; but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and

another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldst not.' "

"Henderson," says his biographer, "never was married. By his testament, registered in the Edinburgh Commissary Court, and confirmed 9th November, 1646, he appears to have died in the possession of considerable wealth. He appointed George Henderson, a brother's son, who had attended him during the latter years of his life, as his principal executor and heir. He also mortified a house, garden, and croft, and two acres of light land, about half a mile north-west of the village of Leuchars, and four pounds ten shillings and sixpence sterling, to those holding the office of schoolmaster. He also bequeathed the sum of two thousand merks for the maintenance of a school in the town of Lithrie, in the parish of Creich. He left legacies to several brothers and sisters and their families.

"Henderson, by his latter will, ordained his executor 'to deliver to his dear acquaintance, Mr. John Duncan, at Culross, and Mr. William Dalgleische, minister at Cramond, all the manuscripts and papers quhilk are in my study, and that belong to me any where else; and efter they have received them, to destroy or preserve and keep them as they shall judge convenient for their awine privat or the public good.' Excepting a host of fugitive pamphlets, printed speeches, and sermons, hastily composed amidst a multiplicity of public avocations, which in the bulk have ceased to be interesting, Henderson has left no written works to testify his talents and worth to posterity. But so long as the purity of our Presbyterian establishment remains—as often as the General Assembly of our church is permitted to convene—while the Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, larger and shorter, hold a place, in our estimation, second to the Scriptures alone—and till the history of the revolution during the reign of Charles I. is forgotten,—the memory of Alexander Henderson will be respected, and every Presbyterian patriot in Scotland will continue grateful for the Second Reformation of our Church, which Henderson was so instrumental in effecting."

We have read the copious narrative of Dr. Aiton with unusual interest, and are indebted to it not only for the facts, but, whenever it suited our purpose, for the language. To any but a Presbyterian the book would seem prolix: to ourselves it is only too short. We abstain from comment, and leave this fragment of our annals to the meditations of the pious reader.

ART. III.—*The African Slave Trade.* By Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.
The African Slave Trade. By Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. Part II.—The Remedy.

NEW BOOKS are a good index to the character of a people among whom they are produced. They treat commonly of those subjects which most occupy public attention; their number shows the degree of interest taken by the people in those subjects; their intellectual excellence is the result and the evidence of the existing state of educated talent; while the moral principles advocated or implied are not only a criterion of the religious character of their authors, but they show the prevailing belief of the people at large. We have in this remark a key with which we can readily explore the regions of mind, morals, occupation, and general improvement in any given age or country. Whether we look at the polished writings of the Greeks, the admired productions of the Augustan age, the ponderous 'opera' of the early Christian Fathers, the controversial volumes producing and springing from the Reformation, or the thousand and one books on all subjects which the awakened mind of our own generation has given birth to, we at once perceive the prevailing character of the people by whom these different books were written and read. A good account of "the life and times" of some generally admired book would throw valuable light on the character of its day.

We have been struck with this remark when looking at the direction which the minds of men in our times have taken on the subject of Slavery—the books which have been written show how widely, deeply, and for the most part how rightly men think and feel in regard to this evil. The Slave Trade, the most distressing branch of the system of Slavery, has received the most searching attention of many writers. Of this, these books of Mr. Buxton give ample proof, being not only themselves a good index to the present state of the British mind on that subject, but deriving no small part of their value from their containing a well-prepared summary of what has been written by a multitude of writers, concerning both the Slave Trade and the land which has so long been ravaged by it. And it is highly gratifying

to see the general agreement amongst writers of all classes in exposing the evils of this shocking traffic. Governors of Colonies, naval men, travellers, merchants engaged in lawful trade, missionaries, philanthropists of Europe, Africa and America, seem alike anxious to contribute information, arguments, suggestions and plans that may lead to the suppression of this vast evil. Such a general agreement is creditable to the humanity of intelligent men. And the knowledge thus accumulated from so many different sources is highly important. With the best intentions, men can do nothing without light, except to long and pray for the good which they know not how otherwise to seek; but when both the nature and the relations of any evil are clearly understood, it becomes practicable to devise ways and means for its removal. This is the present position of the question concerning the destruction of the Slave Trade. We now know what that trade is, and we know its connexions on both sides of the Atlantic with the interests of the buyers and the sellers of men. We have, indeed, long known the existence of this traffic, and we have partially known the extent to which it has been carried, but these volumes contain a fulness and a minuteness of information on the whole subject which, we apprehend, will often present new views of this great evil even to those who are well acquainted with the general subject; and they contain plans, which if not original, are yet wisely formed and well matured, and which well deserve the consideration of all benevolent men.

Our readers are aware that Mr. Buxton wears the mantle of the great and good Wilberforce, as leader of the British opposition to slavery. He seems to have little of Wilberforce's readiness and beauty of fancy, and less of his glowing enthusiasm. We suppose he has no claims to genius, and he could not hope to be admired, as Wilberforce often was, even by those who were bitterly opposed to his measures. But in pure benevolence, sound judgment, diligence, and unwavering sympathy for the slave, Buxton is not at all inferior to his distinguished predecessor. He is a respectable member of the British Parliament, and his private character, we believe, is one of great worth; we have heard that, without being a Dissenter, his preferences are with the Wesleyan body of Christians in England.

We come now to his books on the Slave Trade, and the remedy for the Slave Trade. And here we suppose many will meet us with the question, "Can any good thing come

out of Nazareth?" One of these volumes bears on its Title-page the ominous name of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and we should judge the other has been republished in the same connexion. Waving our preferences as to that point,—and well we may, for we think the Colonization Society might better have undertaken their protection in this country: they contain little that will be censured by the most zealous opponent of modern Abolitionism, and much that favors the Colonization scheme,—waving that point and the question connected with it for the present, we take pleasure in speaking well of the style in which these books have been published, and of the price, which is so moderate as to place them within the reach of all, who wish to examine what we certainly consider the most valuable book that has ever been published concerning the African Slave Trade.

The first volume shows at length the extent of that trade, the mortality connected with it, and the entire failure of all the efforts that have been made for its suppression; a valuable chapter is added to this volume on commercial intercourse with Africa.

Most persons will be not less surprised than grieved to learn the vigour of this detestable trade at the present time. Its victims are twice as numerous as when the trade was proscribed thirty years ago, and their sufferings are greatly increased. Here we shall give some particulars.

The principal slave markets are Cuba, where about 60,000 slaves from Africa are annually sold, and the Brazils, where nearly 80,000 are disposed of. Slaves are also taken to Porto Rico, in the West Indies, Buenos Ayres, and it is alleged, we hope without foundation, to Texas. The number recaptured amounts to nearly 8000 annually on the average. The whole number of slaves who are brought across the Atlantic, without including the victims to the trade, whose sufferings are mercifully ended by death before they are stored in the holds of the Slave-ship, amounts to not less than 150,000 annually. Besides this *Christian* Slave Trade, there is a Mohammedan draught on the miserable inhabitants of Africa, which reduces to slavery 50,000 people every year—of whom 30,000 are taken from the North East coast in Arab vessels, belonging for the most part to the Sultan of Muscat, and 20,000 to Barbary, Egypt, &c.

The number of slaves brought to our American Continent seems incredible, especially when we remember, that at the commencement of the controversy concerning this Trade,

the number was estimated only at 70,000. But Mr. Buxton, with the most evident determination not to overrate the evil, nor to assert any thing without the support of decided testimony, has brought forward such an array of evidence as seems to preclude the hope of any mistake, and to show that this large number is not too largely stated. He derives his testimony from four independent sources.

I. From the papers on the Slave Trade presented annually to Parliament, by command of her Majesty, consisting of Reports from Naval Officers, Governors of the Colonies and Consuls, Decisions of the Courts, &c. These documents authorize the estimate of at least 150,000, actually taken across the Atlantic.

II. Gov. M'Lean, and several other British officers, who possessed good opportunities of forming an opinion, from their residence on the African Coast, have estimated the number of slaves taken from that Coast in one year at 196,146.

III. An estimate has been made by ascertaining the value of goods, manufactured in Great Britain, which are applicable only to the purposes of this trade. One third of the price of a slave, it seems, is commonly paid to the native slave-dealer in these goods. The average price of a slave being £4, and the goods being disposed of at a certain average advance on their cost. When the amouut of money invested in this way is ascertained, in connexion with a knowledge of the usages of the trade, it is easy to calculate the probable number of Slaves purchased. According to this method of reckoning, the average annual number is 187,500.

IV. An estimate which serves to give a general idea of the extent of the Trade is formed from the number of slave-vessels which left Brazil, Cuba, &c., for slaves, in a given year 1829, as compared with the number of captures in that year, the proportion being one out of thirty. In the year 1836-7 the number of re-captured Africans was 7,538 multiplied by 30 = 226,140.

From these various sources, but chiefly the direct testimony of the first, for the particulars of which our readers will refer to the book itself, it seems not extravagant to place the number with Mr. B. at 150,000. When to these we add the 50,000 slaves annually torn from their homes, for the Mohammedan markets, we have the probable extent of the African Slave Trade.

The statement of mere numbers, however, conveys no adequate impression to the mind, of the manifold and extreme

evils of this infamous traffic. Each one of this large multitude of slaves once dwelt in peace in his native village, and before we can understand the enormity of this trade, we must see that village surprised, destroyed in the dead of night by bands of ruthless men, the houses fired, and by their lurid light the work of plunder and death rapidly completed. Families are broken up. Parents and their children are forever separated. The aged and the feeble meet with no mercy. The strong, and especially the young are seized, bound, loaded with bonds, if refractory, and hurried off to the slave-factories on the coast. This is one of the most common modes of seizure, though others not less cruel are sometimes adopted. On the march to the coast, the poor captives commonly suffer incredible hardships, and many sink under them, and find rest from their sufferings in the sands of the desert. Those who reach the factory are kept in miserable, crowded apartments, badly fed, unfeelingly treated, and obtain neither help nor sympathy in the sickness brought on by excessive fatigue on the march and by wretched treatment, or by the agony of their mental sufferings, so that before the christian slave-purchaser arrives, many often become a prey to the last enemy. Those who still remain, live but to undergo what is surely worse than death, the horrors of the middle passage across the Atlantic. Who has not heard of these horrors? And yet who has any correct impression of what they are? We ask not of what they were? For in order to escape detection by armed cruisers, the slave-dealers crowd their hapless victims into a narower space, and subject them to such restrictions as were unknown when the Slave Trade was legal, expecting and even calculating that if one third should die on the passage, with all the risk of capture, still their profits on the adventure would be ample! We make here a single quotation, selected on account of its recent date and the high character of the author from whose book it is quoted, to show that the dreadful sufferings of the voyage cannot be spoken of in language too strong, and that they are not less severe now than formerly:

"Dr. Walsh, in his "Notices of Brazil," gives a most animated picture of the state of a Spanish Slaver, detained by the vessel of war, in which he returned from Brazil, in May, 1829. He says, 'When we mounted her decks, we found her full of slaves; she had taken on board 562, and had been out seventeen days, during which she lost fifty-five. The slaves were all enclosed under grated hatchways between decks. The space was so low that they sat between each other's legs, and stowed so close together that there was no possibility of their lying down, or at all changing their position by night or day. As

they belonged to, and were shipped on account of different individuals, they were all branded like sheep, with the owner's marks of different forms. These were impressed under their breasts, or on their arms; and, as the mate informed me with perfect indifference, 'burnt with a red-hot iron.' "

"After many other particulars, the statement of which my limits will not admit, Dr. Walsh continues: 'The poor beings were all turned up together. They came swarming up like bees from the aperture of a hive, till the whole deck was crowded to suffocation from stem to stern. On looking into the places where they had been crammed, there were found some children next the sides of the ship. The little creatures seemed indifferent as to life or death, and when they were carried on deck many of them could not stand. Some water was brought; it was then that the extent of their sufferings was exposed in a fearful manner. They all rushed like maniacs towards it. No entreaties, or threats, or blows could restrain them; they shrieked and struggled and fought for a drop of the precious liquid, as if they grew rabid at the sight of it. There is nothing which the slaves during the middle passage suffer so much from as want of water. It is sometimes usual to take out casks filled with sea-water as ballast, and when the slaves are received on board, to start the casks and refill them with fresh. On one occasion a ship from Bahia neglected to change the contents of the casks, and on the mid-passage, found to their horror that they were filled with nothing but salt water. All the slaves on board perished! We could judge of the extent of their sufferings from the sight we now saw. When the poor creatures were ordered down again, several of them came and pressed their heads against our knees with looks of the greatest anguish, at the prospect of returning to the horrid place of suffering below. It was not surprising that they had lost fifty-five, in the space of seventeen days. Indeed, many of the survivors were seen lying about the decks in the last stage of emaciation, and in a state of filth and misery not be looked at.

"While expressing my horror at what I saw, and exclaiming against the state of this vessel, I was informed by my friends, who had passed so long a time on the Coast of Africa, and visited so many ships, that this was one of the best they had seen. The height sometimes between decks, was only eighteen inches; so that the unfortunate beings could not turn round, or even on their sides, the elevation being less than the breadth of their shoulders; and here they are usually chained to the decks by the neck and legs. After much deliberation this wretched vessel was allowed to proceed on her voyage.

"It was dark when we separated; and the last parting sounds we heard from the unhallowed ship were the cries and shrieks of the slaves suffering under some bodily infliction.*" Slave Trade, pp. 128-130.

Many other accounts are given by our author, some of which are greatly more aggravated cases, and others are of dates quite recent, but our pages do not afford space to quote them. Nor can we dwell on the sufferings of those who survive the voyage, during the time of their "seasoning" in the new climate and country to which they have now been brought, nor on the thousand evils which grow out of their relation as slaves at the mercy of men whose evil passions are little restrained by law, and whose temporal interests are considered by them infinitely more important than the social, mental, or moral improvement of their slaves. It is proba-

* Walsh's Notices of Brazil: London, 1830, Vol. ii. p. 475, &c.

bly no exaggeration to set down the loss of life from the seizure, march, detention on the coast, passage, and seasoning, to say nothing of human happiness in the countless circumstances and relations of our life, as greater than the numbers finally sold into hopeless slavery. The mortality connected with this trade is, indeed, truly dreadful. We might gladly spare our readers and ourselves the review of these evils and sufferings, did we not remember the fine remark quoted in one of these volumes from Fox, in reference to this subject, —"True humanity consists not in a squeamish ear; it consists not in starting or shrinking at such tales as these, but in a disposition of heart to relieve misery. True humanity appertains rather to the mind than to the nerves, and prompts men to use real and active endeavours to execute the actions which it suggests." We call to mind also that the humanity of our readers has not been formed from poring over sickly novels, but it has been inspired by the reading of the Bible; their highest wish is to imitate the benevolence of Him whose sympathies were always ready to flow towards the needy, but whose hand was not less ready to give them help.

The Slave Trade is strongly entrenched behind the pecuniary interests of various classes of wicked men, and hence the difficulty of putting an end to it. The native Slave-Captor and seller, the least criminal of all slave-dealers because the most ignorant, finds this trade his only means of procuring those European commodities for which he has acquired a taste. The native chief or petty king is not aware that the productions of his rich country would procure a better supply of his wants, and he sells his subjects or the captives taken by them rather than the productions which their labour would make ready for the market; thus neglecting the only source of valuable commerce to which he could look, and at the same time impoverishing both himself and his country. The European or American merchant finds this trade a very profitable investment of his capital, and the agonies and heart-breakings of thousands of his fellow men are light in comparison with the one hundred and eighty per cent. advance which it yields him. There is also a marine interest created by this traffic, and the ship owners, captains, agents, insurers, &c., employed in its various ramifications, are all opposed to the abolition of slave-trading. And there are the purchasers of slaves, a numerous body of men, possessing large wealth, living chiefly in those Roman Catholic American States and Islands, where conscience is little enlightened, who are

firmly persuaded that their temporal interests are inseparably connected with the prosperity of the Slave Trade. If, however, but one of these various classes of interested men can be induced to abandon this trade forever, or for such reasons as will make it certain they will have no successors, it is then at an end. It would be most gratifying to subdue this gigantic evil, and all evils, having their origin and their strength in the selfishness of our depraved nature, by no other weapon than that of truth spoken in love. Truth has a force greater than that of many armies. Its power is "mighty to the pulling down of strong holds." It is the peculiar armour of Christians. Nor do we underrate its power, when we recognise as lawful auxiliaries, those general agencies, under the direction of providence, which are not less ordained of God for the fulfilment of his holy purposes than is the truth of his sacred word. Providence and grace are often united in bestowing blessings on the afflicted. Sometimes the work of reform or of mercy is accomplished only through what are called the means of grace; but great and crying political and social evils, we apprehend, particularly those which implicate men in their national relations, are often, if not commonly, remedied by the interposition of providential agencies. It is not only lawful, therefore, but highly expedient to make use of general, in distinction from strictly religious agencies for the suppression of the Slave Trade, or of any other evil. And "Mr. Buxton's plan," as it is familiarly called, is to make it the interest of the African not to trade in slaves, at the same time using proper means to enlighten his mind and to elevate his condition.

Preparatory to the direct measures which Mr. Buxton would employ, he recommends increasing the efficiency of the Naval Force engaged in this service, by concentrating that force on the African Coast, increasing the number of vessels, and employing in part armed steamers. On the average of four years preceding 1838, the British had 42 vessels of war on the West Indian and South American stations, and 14 on the African. By the larger squadron, in four years, there were taken and adjudicated 34 slavers; by the smaller, 97; showing conclusively the importance of this change of station. This increase of naval force would greatly augment the risks of the slaver, and aid the efforts to change the direction of African self-interest; while steam-vessels could explore rivers and harbours, impenetrable to vessels of war, where the slave-dealer often collects his vic-

tims, and they could often come up with slavers when sailing vessels would fail, frequent calms prevailing in those latitudes. Another preparatory measure is to form Treaties with native powers in Africa, engaging their co-operation to put down the Slave Trade, by giving them certain advantages. This measure is to be tried chiefly with the powerful rulers of the interior, of whose good will there is much better hope than of the co-operation of the rabble of petty chiefs on the coast, who have become for the most part callous to every good feeling by the corrupting influence of this detestable traffic, and who reap a double profit from it on the export of slaves and on the import of goods in exchange. The powerful Sultans and Kings of the interior are a different race of rulers, more willing to establish amicable relations with Europeans, and if their co-operation can be secured, the fountains of the mighty evil will be in a great measure dried up.

The basis of the remedy proposed by the author, as already intimated, is to employ efficient means to call forth the resources of the African soil, and to convince the natives that their true interest consists in selling the productions and not the producers. It can be demonstrated that the Slave-Trade is a ruinous one to the Africans themselves. And it is deemed practicable to convince them of this most important truth. Mr. Buxton goes at length into statements concerning the varied productions, and the fertility of the African country as contrasted with the trifling value of the exports; these statements place his scheme in a very favourable light, viewed in reference to the capacity of the country and people for the change which all benevolent men must wish to see accomplished. The regions of Central Africa, besides having a remarkably fertile soil, possess many noble rivers, are occupied by a dense population, and are easily reached from civilized countries. The Sugar Cane, Coffee, Cotton, Tobacco are indigenous, and might be grown abundantly. Other natural productions may be arranged under the classes of Grains, Fruits, Roots, Timbers, Nuts, Dyes, Dye-woods, Gums, Drugs, Minerals—all of which classes abound in most valuable articles. And yet this vast and fruitful land now "receives for all her exports, both of people and productions, less than half a million (sterling) of imports, one half of which may be goods of the worst description, and a third made up of arms and ammunition."

In order, then, to establish and promote that fair com-

merce which shall supersede the infamous traffic in slaves, Mr. Buxton recommends the British government to obtain Fernando Po, an island in the gulf of Benin, about 3° N., and other commanding positions, in order to protect the enterprises which are to be set on foot from the hostile influence of European slave-dealers and interested natives; he urges further the importance of settling factories, and of sending out trading ships.

He also proposes, that two Societies be forthwith formed, "a Benevolent Society, which shall watch over, and befriend the interests of Africa; and a Company, which shall cultivate her soil," sending out hereafter "persons well acquainted with tropical climates and productions, ... to commence pattern farms and establish factories well supplied with European goods; in a word, to use all the means that experience may point out, for a profitable and successful employment of British skill and capital in the African continent." The support of these Associations Mr. B. assigns to individuals, as a duty to be undertaken by all who feel concerned for the welfare of Africa; while the British government, he thinks, "should take on itself the whole duty and expense of preserving the peace and of affording the necessary protection to new British settlements in Africa," besides carrying into effect the preparatory measures which have been already described.

The principles on which this remedy is proposed are of the most liberal, as well as of the most Christian character. Free trade, free labour, and the various influences andinstrumentalities of the Christian religion, are strongly advocated in these volumes. Mr. B. would make Fernando Po, and the proposed station to be formed at the junction of the Niger and the Tchadda, what Singapore now is—free ports to all nations; he would utterly prohibit all manner of slavery in any territory that may be acquired, while he warmly urges the importance of religious or missionary operations, as necessary to the success of his scheme, not less than from a cordial personal interest in the greater objects for which such efforts are undertaken by Christians, saying truly, that "the Gospel ever has been, and ever must be the grand civilizer of mankind."

Our readers will not fail to observe the decided testimony of this distinguished philanthropist to the importance of missionary labours, viewed as forming an essential part of his plan. Perhaps no person is better qualified to form an intel-

ligent opinion on that subject, having been chairman of a committee of the House of Commons a few years ago, on the Aborigines question—a position which required the most thorough examination to be made into the principles, proceedings and results of the Missionary enterprise. After referring in the second volume before us to the evidence laid before that Committee, and making several valuable extracts from it, showing the influence of religion in removing evils and in elevating the character and condition of barbarous and half civilized tribes, Mr. Buxton adds:

"The hope, therefore, of effecting Africa's civilization, and of inducing her tribes to relinquish the trade in man, is, without this assistance, utterly vain. This mighty lever, when properly applied, can alone overturn the iniquitous systems which prevail throughout that continent. Let Missionaries and schoolmasters, the plow and the spade, go together, and agriculture will flourish; the avenues to legitimate commerce will be opened; confidence between man and man will be inspired; whilst civilization will advance as the natural effect, and Christianity operate as the proximate cause of this happy change."

"I believe that Christianity will meet the necessities of the case, and will prove a specific remedy for the moral evils of Africa." Remedy, p. 218.

He accordingly recommends—

"First. That in every settlement formed on the views here laid down, the religious, moral, and industrial education of the natives should be considered an essential object, claiming the early and careful attention of the founders of such settlement.

"Secondly. That Missionary Societies should, by mutual agreement, subdivide and apportion the parts of this common field, so that each section of the Christian church may have undisturbed possession of its own sphere of labour.

"Thirdly. That immediate arrangements should be made by each for normal schools, intended to rear not only native teachers of religion, but native artizans, mechanics and agriculturists, well instructed for the purpose, and themselves converts to Christianity.

"Fourthly. That the African Civilization Society, now being instituted, shall befriend and protect all who are engaged in disseminating the truths of Christianity." Remedy, pp. 222, 223.

The outline now given of the "Remedy" presented in this work for the Slave Trade, furnishes an answer to a question often asked amongst us, and to which the friends of Colonization and of modern Abolition have given very different replies—Is this plan friendly to our American Colonization scheme? If that scheme be considered as a plan for the removal of the coloured people from this country to the land of their fathers, Mr. Buxton's work makes no reference to it, nor does his purpose require him to consider it at all; while it must be acknowledged that Mr. B. himself is avowedly opposed to our Colonization Society viewed in this light. But if this Society be regarded as a means of forming colonies, "or settlements" as Mr. B. calls them, on the Afri-

can continent, whose whole influence shall be opposed to the slave trade, and whose connexion with the native inhabitants shall be instrumental in giving to them the advantages of civilization, then it is perfectly clear that the American Colonization Society is doing, and has long been doing, an important part of what our author is so anxious to have done. If the actual results of its "settlements" have been less beneficial than was designed and hoped for, we must set down the blame to the large "account current" with imperfect human nature. The American Colonists may not be as pure in their benevolence as Mr. B's emancipated slaves from the West Indies, on whom he is disposed to rely for operatives at first in his proposed settlements, but he will no doubt find on actual trial that even West Indian negroes are far from being free from imperfection. That our Colonies should be regarded as a part of the machinery which Mr. B. would set in motion, is put beyond doubt by his having specified the British colonies at Sierra Leone, on the Gambia, and on the Gold Coast, as illustrating and confirming his positions. Wherein do the English and American settlements differ, considered with reference to his object? Mr. Buxton is worthy of blame, in our judgment, for not referring directly to the American colonies in support of his theory, especially as he is not unacquainted with their history. Nor is it less strange that he should look only to the West Indies for settlers that can endure the climate, when it is notorious that in these United States there are fifty coloured people for every one that could be found elsewhere, fitted for the object proposed by possessing the requisite agricultural, mechanical, social, intellectual, and religious qualifications. We can but hope, in our confidence in a man of so much real philanthropy, that Mr. B. has been led to "stand in doubt" of every thing American on this subject, by the representations so commonly, and we must say, so falsely, made by certain of our own selves—of which a specimen is furnished by a remark in the advertisement of the American editor to the first of these volumes—that "facts have abundantly proved, that the *colonies* of Sierra Leone and Liberia are the mere handmaids of the Slave Trade." Let Mr. B. judge, by the application of this wholesale remark to his own colony, of its truth when spoken of ours. We cannot dismiss this topic without expressing our deep regret that benevolent men on the two sides of the Atlantic are in danger of being alienated from each other by the indiscriminate charges made by ultra

men on this general subject. Having "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," it is afflicting that we should not also have a common heart and a united hand for all good objects. We confess, however, that we see little prospect of a better understanding with our British brethren. They seem erroneously to suppose that abstract principles can be carried into practical operation with equal facility and speed in every land, and they are misled by the apparent agreement between our American abolitionists and themselves; an agreement, however, chiefly in name, for neither Mr. B. nor any other British philanthropist of intelligence and established character could, if in this country, hold fellowship with our organized abolitionists; we make this remark, without undertaking now to substantiate it, from a pretty extensive acquaintance with British Christians of liberal views.

Concerning the plan developed in these volumes for the suppression of this giant evil, we have but little further to say. Some of the preparatory measures appear to us wise and promising—particularly the concentration of the naval force on the African coast, and the employment of steam vessels. As to the plan itself, it consists mainly of two things, now recommended to be attempted together, which have long been attempted separately, both by British and American Christians, we mean colonies and missionary agencies. So far as Africa is concerned, the friends of the American Colonization Society, and the supporters of our Missionary Societies have long used, substantially, the same arguments for their respective modes of doing good to the Africans, which are recommended by our Author; they have hoped for similar results; and they have thus argued and hoped, because they have been using the same instrumentalities by which he would effect his object. The suppression of the Slave Trade, the calling forth of African agricultural and commercial resources; the improvement of the native mind; and the giving of that Christian knowledge and influence, without which all other means will be employed in vain, are ideas with which, we suppose, the minds of all our readers have been familiar for years; and they have looked for the happiest results from their labours, missionary and colonial, to which these ideas have given rise. Our Missionary Societies all speak the language of strong hope in regard to their proceeding, and if our Colonization Society has failed to accomplish all that was expected from it for Africa, (we refer not now to what is expected from it by many, for the coloured people of this

country, which we consider an entirely different subject,) it must be ascribed to, what Mr. B. will probably find the greatest difficulty attending his scheme, the imperfections of the colonists. It is needless to say they are but men, and subject to all the temptations which beset men in their circumstances. Something may also be ascribed to the trying nature of the African climate to foreigners, a difficulty not prominently set forth in these volumes. But while we think that Mr. Buxton recommends little that is new, we are glad to see old and approved ideas under new aspects, old and vilified schemes of benevolence under new combinations, abused American notions under the patronage of the great leader of British Abolitionists; and we are not only glad, but delighted to see such a powerful movement making in behalf of long suffering Africa. We trust a fair and effective trial will be given to all that is recommended in these volumes. We hope that the entire moral strength of the British nation, backed by the requisite pecuniary and goverment support, will be exerted for this truly noble object—better worthy of a great nation's mightiest energies than the subjugation of any Eastern kingdom. And we shall humbly but fervently unite with our British Christian brethren in seeking the blessing of Him, whose favour vouchsafed alone ensures success. We would also imitate their zeal. We would impart new animation to our various Colonies planted on the African coast. Concerning the principles on which these settlements have been formed, we have no doubt, all that Abolitionists say against them to the contrary notwithstanding; and if there be any thing in their management or their practical operation that is open to objection, as Abolitionists contend, we shall cheerfully agree with them in seeking its amendment, but we cannot consent to throw away a vessel of silver because there may be some alloy in its composition. We regret, indeed, that our Colonial settlements do not include any of the great arterial rivers of Africa, by which access might readily be gained into the interior, but still we should not be indifferent to the scope offered by them for our benevolence. We should, on the contrary, encourage by all means the labours of our various Missionary societies among the natives on that part of the Coast which is under our care. Each of the great bodies of Christians in this country has a bond of union with Africa in its existing Missionary establishments. Our Congregational and New School Presbyterian friends have a well con-

ducted mission at Cape Palmas; our Episcopal brethren have also an important Mission at that place; while the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian bodies have Missions at other places. These Missionary settlements should become channels of great blessing to the African people, and should be kept well filled with the waters of life.

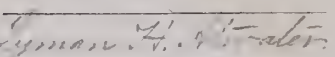
We cannot undertake to give our readers an account of the information contained in these volumes on the commercial capabilities of Africa. A multitude of facts, from a hundred different sources, are here brought together, which deserve well the attention of intelligent mercantile men, but which do not admit of being abridged. The historical notices of the English Colonial settlements possess much interest, but to these also we can give only this passing reference. In a work of this kind various subordinate matters, subsidiary to the general object of the author, and yet distinct, almost episodical, in their character, receive proper notice. Of subjects under this category is the question concerning the mental capacity of the Negro race, and we are prepared to subscribe to the general correctness of the views presented by our author. In a state of slavery, parents are poorly qualified to instruct their children, the plastic season of youth passes almost without improvement; maturer years are years of ignorance; the position of the unfortunate slave through life is unfavourable to mental or moral elevation, and the wonder is that so many coloured people form characters in many points so respectable rather than that the coloured man, being a slave, should be a degraded person. Any race of men, under the long continued action of similar causes and influences, would become degraded. A rather successful analogical argument is brought forward to refute the often alleged inferiority of the Negro, as evinced in his present debasement, by showing that when Englishmen and Africans have changed places, the coloured man being the master and the white man the slave, a similar degradation of people having our own aristocratic complexion has been the consequence. The illustration is taken from the case of the crew of a merchant vessel who were taken captive and reduced to slavery; the account is given by the captain of the vessel on recovering, some years after, his liberty. The opinion of the negroes themselves may be set off against the opinion of white people, both classes judging of each other in similar circumstances; though we may observe *en passant*, that the accounts given by the captain, then the overseer of the white slaves, appear to

confirm the estimate formed of them by their owners. According to the narrator, in one place "the Arabians were well received; but we were more ridiculed than ever we had been, receiving an abundance of the vile epithets so common to their people, who had ever viewed us as a degraded set of beings, scarcely fit to live in the world." "Swinish looking dogs and white skinned-devils, were the appellations which were familiarly applied to them by the Africans." The narrator of these things himself, gives proof of the evil influence of slavery on his morals; he had no scruple about stealing his master's corn, tobacco, fruit, &c., nor about deceiving him by all manner of falsehood. Are these things less evil in a white slave than in a coloured one? Or is slavery itself a system adapted to repress the good, and to develope strongly the evil and debasing tendencies of our nature?

Reverting again to Mr Buxton's Remedy, we cannot conclude our notice of his book, without mentioning with great pleasure the reception it has met with in Great Britain. The highest persons in church and state have publicly expressed their confidence in this scheme of benevolence, and Lord John Russell has, in a letter to Parliament, published in the Appendix, not only expressed his conviction of the expediency of some prominent points of the undertaking, as the best if not the only way of putting down the Slave Trade, but has officially presented estimates for the requisite expenses of three iron steam-vessels, with complete equipments, and for liberal presents to native chiefs and kings. Great Britain is one of the most powerful nations in the world: and while there is much in her policy that we stand in doubt of, and while some of her leading measures are such as we entirely disapprove, still we rejoice in her greatness. She has the ability to accomplish much for the good of our race, and we observe with unaffected pleasure the abundant evidence of her willingness to give the blessings of civilization and Christianity to the long benighted children of Ham.

The prospects of Africa appear full of hope. Powerful causes cannot fail to produce great changes in her condition. Delay may attend their operation, but there can be no uncertainty as to their final result. Africa shall rise from her degradation. The people long oppressed shall yet lift their head among the nations. Let the friends of that long oppressed country but prove faithful, and under the blessing of the

great King of nations, the very land of slaves shall become the home of a people rejoicing in that blessed liberty wherewith Christ makes free.



ART. IV.—*An Inquiry in the modern prevailing notions respecting the Freedom of the Will, which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Rewards and Punishments, Praise and Blame.* By Jonathan Edwards. Gould, Newman and Saxton, New York, 1840.

THE appearance of a new edition of the standard work of President Edwards on the Freedom of the Will, furnishes an occasion, which we are glad to embrace, of calling the attention of our readers to one particular part of the subject which has of late been a matter of frequent debate.

No attentive and competent observer of the controversies, which of late years have harassed the Church, will dispute that in a great measure they turn upon the nature and functions of the human will. It is as evident that the chief of these questions, on which all others hinge, is that which relates tothe Power of Contrary Choice. It will be agreed that whatever goes to determine concerning the reality, nature and operations of this power, does in that degree determine the controversy itself. In the hope of contributing to this happy result, the ensuing inquiry will be conducted. No valuable progress can be made in it, unless it is pursued with a clear conception of the real point at issue. Our first endeavour, therefore, shall be to ascertain precisely what that point is.

1. The question is not whether the will might have made a choice the contrary of that actually made, had its motives, either internal or external, or both united, been different; i. e. had the state of the agent's mind within, or the outward inducements presented to it, been different. No one disputes that on this supposition there might have been a choice different from, or contrary to, that actually made. No one disputes that should such a change subsequently occur, it might produce a corresponding change of choice.

2. The question is not whether there is a mere natural power of contrary choice, as the phrase "natural power" has

been understood by the best theologians. By this is meant that such a contrary choice would not be extrinsic or contradictory to its nature as will. Such a choice, supposing the requisite influence for its production, would be a proper act of will, germane to its nature, and involving no inherent absurdity or self-contradiction. It would involve no increase of its faculties or powers, no change in its organic structure, or appropriate nature as will. Had it chosen the contrary, this would not have proved or implied it to be a larger, stronger, or constitutionally different faculty. When men turn to the love of God, they do it with the same faculties which were employed in hating him, both as to extent and nature. The state and action of these faculties towards moral objects alone are changed. The question is not whether, in this sense, the human will is endowed with the power of contrary choice.

3. The question is not whether the will, in one and the same act of choice, may or may not choose two contrary objects. This is too palpably absurd to be maintained, and none avowedly or intentionally contend for it. Whether some theories do not involve this position in such a degree that they stand or fall with it, is a fair question for discussion.

4. The question is not whether men may choose whichever of two objects they please. Those who do not examine carefully, are often made to believe that this is the grand question at issue. No one doubts the affirmative of this question.

5. Neither is the question whether the will has liberty of choice, i. e. in every act of choice, acts freely, according to the pleasure of the agent, and not by constraint or compulsion. This is agreed on all hands.

6. But the question is whether the will is so constituted, that, at the moment of any given choice, under precisely the same motives of inward inclination and external inducement, it may turn itself either way; either in the way it actually does choose, or the opposite; either in accordance with its highest pleasure or inclination, or in direct and utter hostility to them. And whether such a property in the human will be essential to liberty, moral agency, praise and blame, rewards and punishments; a question which lies at the very root, as will be perceived, of some of the chief questions in divinity and ethics.

That we may not be obnoxious to the charge of raising a false issue, and fighting a fiction of our own fancy, we shall

quote from the abettors of the notion in question, a few sentences showing clearly what are the views of this subject widely entertained and propagated at the present day.

Their cardinal doctrine on this subject is thus expressed by a leading advocate of it: "Choice in its very nature implies the possibility of a different or contrary election to that which is made."* This "possibility," as this writer explains himself, refers not to its having different objects but at its election, so that it may choose whichsoever it pleases; but it refers to the possibility of making the mind's choices themselves different or contrary to what actually occur, at the same instant, under precisely the same internal and external motives, and the same objects offered to their election. For he says, "the question of free will is not whether men choose. This is notorious, none deny it."† Again—"Free-agency is known and defined by the Confession itself and admitted to be the capacity of choice, with power of contrary choice."‡ And in various forms he abundantly asserts, that "choice" and "voluntariness" are not a sufficient ground of accountability unless the mind not only chooses, but exerts a "control" over its own choices.

Another writer speaks of "a will which has not its nature correlated to any objects but a will indifferent, for if its nature were correlated to objects, its particular selection and determination would be influenced by this, and consequently its action would be necessary."§

Again. "The only escape from necessity, therefore, is the conception of will as above defined—a conscious self-moving power, which may obey reason in opposition to passion, or passion in opposition to reason, or obey both in their harmonious union; and lastly which may act in the indifferency of all, that is act without reference either to reason or passion."‖ Again. "The reason and the sensitivity do not determine the acts of the will. The will has efficiency, or creative and modifying power in itself—self-moved, self-directed."¶

A few sentences from a publication recently discontinued, in further explication of the properties of this power of contrary choice, claimed to be essential to true liberty, will suffice under this head. "We know that a moral system necessarily implies the existence of free agents with the power

* Beecher's Views in Theology, pp. 31, 32. † Id. p. 32. ‡ Id. p. 91
§ Tappan, Review of Edwards, p. 221. ‖ Id. p. 227. ¶ Id. p. 244.

to act in despite of all opposing power. This fact sets human reason at defiance, in every attempt to prove that some of these agents will not use that power and actually sin."* "This possibility that moral agents will sin, remains, (suppose what else you will,) so long as moral agency remains; and how can it be proved that a thing *will not* be, when for aught that appears, it *may* be. When in view of all the facts and evidence in the case, it remains true that it *may* be, what evidence or proof can exist, that it *will not* be?"† Again. "It will not be denied that free moral agents can do wrong under every possible influence to prevent it. The possibility of a contradiction in supposing them to be prevented from doing wrong is therefore demonstrably certain." But we will not weary our readers with a more prolix detail of extracts, which might be multiplied to any extent. Most of them are familiar with these. It is notorious with what ingenuity, zeal and industry these sentiments have been defended and propagated in every variety of form, and what multitudes have been brought, either to espouse them with enthusiasm, or submit to them in silence.

While the first of the writers quoted teaches that it belongs to the very nature of choice, that there should be a capacity of producing contrary choice, and that without this "control" of the mind over its own choices, there is no true freedom, moral agency or accountability; the second clearly avows that indifferency of will towards the objects either of reason or desire, without which this faculty is rather a metaphysical figment, than a living reality, and maintains that no other constitution of the will can exempt us from the despotism of fatal necessity: while in the last series of extracts we reach the climacteric, to which the doctrine necessarily rises by the demands of logical consistency, viz. that it belongs to the very essence of moral agency, that the will is of such a nature or in such a state as to be able to sin "despite of all opposing power." And that this is no mere theory but an awful fact in their estimation is evident, because they advance it to account for the introduction of sin into the world—strongly arguing that God would have excluded it, if he could have done so without destroying moral agency. From all which it is most manifest that the will, according to their conception of it, cannot, without the loss of accountability, moral agency, and merit of praise or blame, be put

* Christian Spectator, 1831, p. 417. † Id. 1830, p. 563.

in such a state that it may not sin, in spite of all the motives and influences without and within the man, which the Almighty can employ to prevent it. Such is the power of contrary choice, extensively and confidently asserted in these days to be requisite to moral agency. This notion we propose to discuss so far as the space allotted to us will permit.

No evidence has yet been adduced of the existence of such a property in the human will. The only evidence of the existence of mental attributes, which sound philosophers have deemed admissible, is those mental operations which presuppose the faculty in question. Thus we judge men to possess reason and understanding, because we recognise in them exercises of reason and intelligence. We conclude that they are endowed with consciences because they take cognizance of right and wrong in moral actions. We attribute to them the faculty of will because they choose. And adhering to this Baconian method of philosophizing by induction of facts, (and on any other system, what can prevent any dreaming speculator from endowing the human soul with an endless number of fictitious attributes?) what legitimate evidence is furnished of the existence of such a faculty of contrary choice, as we are now canvassing? That men choose as they do choose, all admit, and of course maintain the existence of a faculty adequate thereto. But that they choose the contrary of what they choose none contend. How then can they contend for the existence of a faculty in all respects adequate to do what confessedly is never done?

Neither does consciousness testify to the existence of any such faculty: though most of all relied on and appealed to bear such testimony. But this is a vain refuge. For consciousness is the mind's cognizance of its own operations; it never beholds naked, abstract faculties separate from their workings. It discerns them in and by these workings, and so becomes conscious of their existence and nature. This and nothing else is the office of consciousness. How then can it be cognizant of operations which do not exist. It may be conscious indeed of having been able to choose differently, had it so pleased—because such has ever been the law of its choice. Will any one pretend that it is conscious of a power to choose contrariwise, its ruling inclination or pleasure being and continuing to choose as it has chosen, or that such a faculty would be any desirable addition to the moral endowments of men; or lend any new aid, finish or grace to moral agency?

Neither is any evidence of such a power contained in the intuitive convictions of men, as to what is requisite to moral agency and accountability. For however it may be requisite in order to men's being responsible, that they be able to do as they please or choose; yet who will claim that it is deemed necessary that they should have the property of choosing the exact contrary of what on the whole appears to them most eligible and desirable? So far from being essential to, would not such a property be declared by them destructive of all responsibility?

There is decisive evidence that such a property of the human will does not exist. For that which is contended for is not merely that the will may put forth a choice the contrary of what actually occurs, supposing such a change to occur in its circumstances as would induce it, (which all admit,) but that in precisely the case in which it exercises a given choice, it is fully adequate to a contrary election. Now this contrary choice is actually made or it is not: if it is made, then the will chooses the contrary of what it does choose, which is self-contradiction; if it is not made, then those conditions were wanting in it as a cause, which were indispensable to the effect, and in the absence of which it was inadequate to the effect. It is a trifling evasion to answer that the will could have chosen otherwise had it been so inclined: this is not the point in hand. The thing contended for is that it might have chosen otherwise at all events, whether inclined or not, and in spite of all opposing inclination, yea, in spite of all opposing power, even of Omnipotence: and that this is essential to moral agency. It might as well be said that scales could turn the opposite way, if induced by a preponderating weight. And does this illustration adequately exhibit all that is intended by that famous power of contrary choice, which has been so largely spoken of, as bringing in a new era in the philosophy of theology?

Neither is it any answer to say that this reasoning is inconclusive in regard to such a faculty as is now contended for: by which its advocates mean a cause unlike all others, and which they variously define as a 'self-active,' 'self-originating,' 'self-determining,' 'selecting' cause. For it did either thus of itself enact, originate, determine or select a choice the contrary of what it did, which is plain contradiction; or it did not: and therefore wanted some condition the presence of which was indispensable to that effect, and the

absence of which rendered the cause inadequate to the effect —as really though not as blamelessly, or in such a degree so, as is the hand to lift a mountain.

But again, all will doubtless admit, that although the natural faculty of will exerts the choice, the direction of that choice under given outward motives, is determined not by the bare natural faculty, but by its moral state. Thus the faculty of will equally in good and bad men exerts their volitions: but their moral goodness or badness determines the direction and quality of those choices. To deny this, is to deny, confound and utterly vacate the distinction in theology between natural and moral ability. If then the will is in a given moral state, how can it be a property of it to put forth choices of an opposite moral character? Is this a real requisite or desirable appendage to moral agency?

Such a property of the human will really amounts to the liberty of indifference: For if the will be in a condition, by which it is fitted or liable to turn either way, then it cannot be already inclined by a preponderating bias in one direction: for this is but saying that it chooses the contrary of its own preference. This difficulty is attempted to be evaded, but not answered, by alleging that although the will may not choose contrary to its own inclination, yet it may reverse that inclination. But let it be explained how this inclination can be reversed without choosing contrary to it. Suppose however it might. Then surely that property or function of will which thus reverses its own ruling bias, must at least itself be free from the power of that bias, or it would never incline against it, and work its destruction. It must therefore at least be in a state of equipoise or indifference as to the objects of choice.

As we have already seen, one leading advocate of this notion, clearly discerning this consequence, boldly marches up to it, and embraces it, and contends that such a freedom of will as involves its indifference either to the objects of reason or passion, in short a will void of all "correlation" to other objects, is essential to freedom from that necessity which destroys moral agency and accountability. But it deserves to be considered, whether the will does not by every act of choice pass out of this indifference, into a decided inclination toward some object: and by consequence whether after the first choice it can ever be endowed with that glorious indifference, which is essential to moral agency and accountability, or on this system can be responsible for

any of its acts. And we would inquire further, how it can make any first choice between objects, while in a state of perfect equipoise between them: why should it move towards either more than towards any thing else, or why should it not remain motionless, if there is no "correlation," no ground of affinity and attraction between them? Or could such motion be referred to any thing besides the purest contingency and hap-hazard, or possess any property of a rational and accountable act? On this scheme all moral agency and accountability would be exorcised from the universe.

Another class of advocates, hedged in by a view of this thicket of absurdities, have taken ground more cautiously. Wishing to navigate clear of the quicksands of indifference on the one hand, and on the other, to limit moral action to the workings of this favourite power of choice with power of contrary choice, they have struck upon the rock of self-love. They teach us, not that the will moves from indifference, but that "self-love is the primary cause or reason of all acts of choice that fix supremely on any object." And they maintain that this self-love has no moral character, but only the choices prompted by it. At first sight this has the appearance of accounting for the acts of the will, not by a good or evil bias within it, but without it, and void of moral quality. But let it be considered whether this solution, instead of disentangling the scheme, does not involve it in deeper perplexity. For how can "self-love be the primary cause or reason of all acts of choice or preference," unless the will is so constituted, as to follow its leadings? If it cannot, then if there be any truth in the doctrine, it is always a law of the will's choices, that it should choose that object, which appears to minister most to self-love. For suppose it to reject that which offers more, and to elect in preference that which offers less to self-love; it of course chooses in view of the perceived difference between the two: that difference in this case is so much denial to self-love. Therefore self-love could not have been the "cause or reason" of such an act of choice. Hence it is demonstrable that if "self-love be the primary cause of all acts of choice," these acts must be according to its promptings. They cannot therefore be the contrary of them. Where then shall we look for the capacity of contrary choice? And how does this scheme get rid of that bias in the will, or "correlation" to self love, or uniform law of action, which are deemed so pregnant with fatalism, because fatal to free-agency? And if self-love has

no moral quality, in any state or degree of it, which determines the will, if all its choices are merely imperate acts of desires having no moral quality, then how can they have moral quality themselves? However biased in regard to objects void of moral quality, must it not remain eternally indifferent to moral objects? And are not all moral agency and accountability thus swept from the universe? And is this conferring on moral agency any new attribute of dignity, or element of perfection? The self-love scheme might easily be traced out to more absurd and ruinous consequences. But we confine ourselves to those which bear upon the power of contrary choice.

This scheme involves all the absurdities which attach to the notion of the self-determining power of the will as held by the old Arminians. For little value can be put upon a power of the mind to choose either way, unless it can determine which of the two choices in question it will put forth. Will they who assert a power in the mind to choose in given circumstances the opposite of what it does choose, tell us how this power could be made available without the mind's choosing to make it so: how its actual choice could be in a condition either to be exercised or avoided unless it were so that the mind chose to exercise it, and could choose not to exercise it, or how, on their principles, the mind could be responsible for it, without such a liberty as this implies? The question involves its own answer. They never can. This control of the mind over its own choices, which they claim, is surely a mere nullity, unless that mind chooses those choices. If then a free act of choice has not moral quality in its own nature, but can only acquire it from a previous act of choice, the same is true of that previous choice: also of its forerunner, and so on ad infinitum till we reach a choice before the first choice in order to find moral responsibility, and indeed chase it out of being. We go from link to link and never find a staple: we sound from depth to depth, and find no bottom, for bottom there is none, neither can there be in this sea of absurdities.

Some of these metaphysicians have been fully aware that the power of contrary choice contended for, was none other than the self-determining power, and have accordingly undertaken to vindicate this doctrine of self-determination from the insuperable objections which lie against it. They allege that it is not obnoxious to the absurdity of choosing choices: because, like all other causes, it is its nature in working an

effect to "select"* its object. That the will selects its objects, and that such is its nature, all agree. But this is not the question. As one of these writers says, "that men choose is notorious, none deny it." The inquiry is not whether different objects are put at men's election, or whether they could choose differently if they pleased; but whether in a given state, all things remaining the same, their choice may be either way, even the contrary of what it is. We object, that in order to this, it must choose between its choices. The answer is, "by no means; for like all other causes it selects its objects." By this one of two things must be meant; either that it is its nature to "select" the objects it does choose; then where is the capacity of contrary choice or "selection:" or it "selects" which "selection" it will make between two opposite objects—in other words chooses its choices. So much for this evasion.

Such a property of the human will as we are now discussing makes mere and blind contingency the final determinant of its choices. For it teaches that it is inconsistent with moral agency, that the will should have any such ruling bias toward given objects, as effectually, and infallibly to prevent its choosing the opposite. Not even Omnipotence itself can thus prevent it, without infringing upon moral agency. If then it be requisite to free action, that the will should be void of all bias or relation to any objects, which will decisively direct its choices toward them: if, as has been shown already, according to this scheme, it must be in a state of equipoise or indifference; then most clearly the will is not determined either way by any thing without or within itself: being instated in sublime equipoise or indifference above them all. To what then but the blindest fortuity can they be referred? And where is the survey of those vast Providential dispensations which hang on the choices of moral agents, except, as one has said, in "all-powerful contingencies?"†

Such a property, so far from being requisite to, utterly subverts all moral agency and accountability. For, as has already been shown, it drives all moral responsibility out of the world, by pushing it to a choice back of the first choice. It makes choice proceed from indifference and blind contingence; and what moral qualities can be attached to that which by its very terms has no quality, is neither one thing

* Tappan. Review of Edwards, p. 185.
† President Day.

nor the other, is blank nonentity or blind contingence? To state the case familiarly: If at any moment a choice may spring up within us, "despite all opposing power," all strength of inclination and force of persuasion which I may have of myself, or omnipotence can work, how can I be responsible for it, more than for an involuntary spasm of the nerves?

We go still further, and assert that a kind of necessity is requisite to the very freedom of actions, and cannot be divorced from them without destroying or impairing that freedom. For is not a free act one which possesses certain qualities? If then such an action as is possessed of such qualities, and no other, is free, it follows that if a given choice be free it must be such an action and no other. For example: Let any person choose freely what his inclination would prompt, as to property, location, opportunities of study or usefulness, and would not such a choice if free be some given thing to the exclusion and rejection of its opposite? and could a choice, if free and "unhindered by fatal coercion," elect, and prefer one thing or its opposite, e g. affluence or poverty, at the same moment? On this point we may safely appeal to human consciousness. The question speaks its own answer. Thus in order to freedom in the manner and quality of an action, there must be a necessity as to its event: a necessity that it be as it is and not otherwise. Thus if you choose freely between two objects, there is one on which that choice will fall; nay cannot but fall without losing its freedom. This conclusion cannot be escaped without plunging into blind contingency as the determiner of the will. This pretended competency of the will, to one choice or its opposite, as effectually destroys all true freedom, as would a denial of freedom to choose whatever it pleases: nay it is one and the same thing. So true is that fundamental position of Calvinism, which, so far as we are informed, all Calvinistic writers have maintained: that in respect to the choices of moral agents, there is freedom as to the manner, and necessity or fixedness as to the event of them; and the one involves the other. Neander has beautifully expressed Augustine's doctrine thus: "On the highest point of moral elevation, freedom and necessity coincide."* So our Protestant confessions teach that although "God unchangeably ordains whatsoever comes to pass," yet he does it so that "violence is not

* Bib. Repository, 1833, p. 96.

offered to the *will* of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established." And again: "Although in relation to the foreknowledge and decrees of God, the first cause, all things come to pass immutably and infallibly; yet by the same providence he ordereth them to fall out, according to the nature of the second causes, either necessarily, freely or 'contingently.'" By "contingently," is meant, as another article teaches, not that any "thing to God is contingent or uncertain;" but, as these confessions assert, "according to the nature of second causes," by which is meant that to them the actions are contingent or avoidable if they choose to avoid them: not that their choices are liable to be of a given thing or its opposite: for they teach that the choices themselves are immutably foreknown and determined; yet not so as to impair, but to establish their liberty, for the manner of them also is immutably fixed.

This is precisely the view we have maintained: that freedom as to manner, and necessity as to event stand or fall together. And this is what Dr. Twisse, prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, not only means, but laboriously argues, in the context of that famous passage, in which he says "contingently means avoidably as every university scholar knows," which has been so abundantly quoted to prove that he and with him the Assembly of Divines, and their venerable confessions, held to the power of contrary choice, in the sense contended for in the late controversies among us. It is worthy of observation too, that in the very next page, Dr. Twisse confines this power of avoiding evil to particular purposes and acts of abstaining from given sins. While he expressly asserts that "fallen man has no power to abstain from them in a gracious and holy manner." Thus Judas, had he chosen, could have refrained from betraying Christ, but not in a holy manner, that is, from principles of faith and love. In other words, it was perfectly consistent with Judas's continuing a wicked man, that it should have pleased him to refrain from his act of treachery; and had it thus pleased him he could and would have abstained from it. But there is no conceivable act or state of the natural man, no desire of salvation, or resolutions to be holy, which do or can produce faith and love. There is a gulf between the two which nothing can fill, but the renewing work of the Holy Ghost. Now it is notorious that the power of contrary choice has been chiefly handled in reference to one point; viz. to establish the ability of the unrenewed man to turn himself to God, and make a new heart,

without Divine Grace, and that other points interwoven are merely collateral and subordinate to this. Whatever else Twisse meant by "avoidable," he directly denies this, almost in the same sentence. Is it altogether just to hold him forth as its champion? If many of our "University scholars," aye, and Teachers too, were more conversant with his treatises, and those of other kindred defenders of the faith, it would go far to prepare the way of the Lord, and restore the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

The most perfect moral agents in being are destitute of this property in question, which is asserted to be requisite to moral agency. Such is God, all whose acts are immutably, (freely as to the manner yet necessarily as to the event) determined by perfect wisdom and goodness. It is impossible for God to lie. He cannot deny himself. Is not he supremely excellent, and deserving of praise? To deny this is to deny his perfections, and blaspheme his Name! The elect angels can never become the subjects of sinful choices. Regenerate men, who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, cannot prevailingly sin, or utterly fall away. Are they not moral agents? Are they the less excellent and praiseworthy, for being so inflexible holy, that they cannot become the prey of sin and Satan? But you say they can lapse into sin if they please? Indeed! can they unless it be their pleasure so to do? Dare you question that it will always be their pleasure to abide holy? If not, where is the possibility of their apostasy? This is the very point at issue; whether it ever will or can be their pleasure to lapse? Will you presume to suggest that their powers of moral agency would be improved by such a liability? But you say there can be no merit or worthiness in their standing if they have not power to fall. That they have power to fall, if they choose or please, nonedispute. But they will not choose or be pleased to fall, is there no worthiness in such a character? Then is there none in the Universe. So this notion, like all other errors in theology, cannot be maintained without striking at the Deity himself. It puts his unchangeable holiness in jeopardy and doubt. The foregoing reasons satisfy us that such a power of contrary choice as that which has been canvassed is no indispensable property of moral agency. We will briefly advert to some of the methods adopted to give this notion currency and popularity.

Its advocates speak of the opposite view as if it implied that men were compelled to act, to sin, or to be holy,

against their wills. They abound in phraseology like this: If there is no possibility of a contrary choice; if men are compelled to act as they do by fatal necessity; if their inability is not wholly in their aversion of will, if it is something which no purity of desire or purpose can remove, and the like, then they are not accountable. Whereas our view is exposed to no such objection; for it implies that there is no supposable, prevailing will, desire or choice contrary to the actual choice. Otherwise the actual choice would be omitted, and the contrary put forth. Their system, if any, is in fact obnoxious to this charge. For it supposes that choices may spring up contrary to prevailing inclination, yea, "all opposing power." And yet the changes are ever ringing on this idea of compulsion contrary to their will, to bewilder carelesss theologians, and the more careless multitude.

They set it forth in glaring colours as stoicism, fatalism, heathenish destiny, and are abundant in such words as fatal necessity, adamantine bonds of fate, &c. They noise them abroad with great frequency, variety and emphasis, as if they were of vital importance to their cause.

Our present limits forbid any inquiry into the doctrines of the ancient Stoics and Fatalists. But we beg leave to say that these startling words neither answer nor constitute an argument. Neither do they prove the identity of our doctrine with any held by the Stoics and Fatalists: neither, if that were proved, does it of itself prove its untruth, unless every sentiment ever held by their schools is to be concluded false, to the suppression of all further inquiry; which few will be bold to assert. And if it be incumbent on some, is it no so on all, not to resort to "other means than truth and argument" in this controversy?

It is much insisted on and reiterated, that if their doctrine be denied, then there is no further use of endeavours to attain virtue in ourselves, or of employing means, endeavours, and persuasions to promote it in others. This is plausible, and strongly seizes the sympathies of men. But let us examine whether this difficulty does not press with more crushing weight on their own scheme. For if the will be without bias or "correlation" to any object, if it be liable to choose either way, in spite of all motive and inducement, and all internal inclination, which Omnipotence itself can work, of what avail is it to employ means and persuasions with such an agent? Were it not as hopeful and rational to expostulate with the idle wind, which bloweth where it listeth, and none

can tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth? But in the orthodox scheme, there are some characteristical susceptibilities in man to which appeals can be hopefully addressed. The impenitent even, if not peculiarly obdurate, can be persuaded to refrain from external impurity and vice; and by the efficacious grace of the Spirit can be "effectually softened, bowed and renewed, as to hear the word with gladness, obey, and live." Our only and our sufficient encouragement to preach the Gospel to every creature is, that God can make them willing to embrace it in the day of his power. Are there any who rely on any other encouragement? If so, let them avow it. If not, why tax our scheme with a perplexity which confessedly burdens their own?

Lastly and pre-eminently, the chief allurement by which this scheme has fascinated multitudes of young ministers, and others, is to be found in its vaunting airs of new light and discovery in religion, and being the only true philosophy. This after all is the occult enchantment, the magic wand by which it has spelled throngs of votaries. And it is precisely this which needs to be dissipated, before a respectful hearing can be gained in behalf of the true system, however masterly and irrefragable the style in which it may be defended. That it has reared up a generation of preachers who pride themselves on their philosophic insight, and extensively given birth to a style of preaching, in which the dry bones of lifeless metaphysical subtleties have had an undue proportion to the milk and meat of God's word, which feeds his church, is undeniable. But in view of the foregoing considerations, it is for our readers to decide, whether the holders of this scheme do indeed exhibit that extraordinary philosophical acumen, that rare genius for solving metaphysical problems, that unexampled insight into the true structure of the mind, which they would fain pretend. We submit whether any theory ever advanced by the wildest sciolist, or most transcendent transcendentalist, surpasses this for crude absurdities, and glaring self-contradiction; and when we hear the flourish of trumpets about new light and unparalleled discovery, we submit to any one tolerably versed in the past controversies of the Church, whether there be any thing in this doctrine, or its attendant sisterhood of errors, which has not from the time of Pelagius till now, alternately infested the Church, and been exorcised from it, as God has seen fit to try his people, or to deliver them with an outstretched arm. And we submit also to men's sober judgments, with-

out comment, the fulsome pretensions which have been so largely made to intellectual greatness and superiority, in the case of those competent to invent or defend such a scheme as this; as also the free imputations of dulness or insanity, or some other malformation in the case of those minds which cannot perceive its beauties, or lend it their sanction. Indeed any scheme which prides and vaunts itself much on its great display of metaphysical tact, and philosophic wonders, does so far forth evince its inconsistence with the glorious gospel of the blessed God. For this is no philosopheme of men, but a testimony of God, which brings to nought the wisdom of the wise and the understanding of the prudent. It teaches us that "vain philosophy" "spoils" men. True philosophy takes the yoke and learns of Christ, as a disciple of his master. Spurious philosophy is an usurper in the city of the great King, commanding what Christ may and may not teach, and thus lords it over our faith.

It will be perceived that in the several heads of this disquisition we have barely struck and opened veins of thought, without exhausting them, each of which would yield a rich reward to the most patient and thoroughgoing inquiry. We have a deep and deliberate conviction, a conviction strengthened by every day's experience, that this point is the hinge on which the chief theological differences that agitate our Zion turn; and that there will be no relief, no sufficient check to those errors which have harassed the Church, until the truth on this subject is clearly settled.

It seems too plain, indeed, to be questioned, that if it be essential to moral agency, that it be a property of the will to choose either way in spite of all opposing power; that it be endowed with such independence, that no "evidence or proof" can exist that it will act in a given way, not even in any thing which Omnipotence can do to direct it: then there can be no proof or evidence, that any thing which God does or forbears to do through all eternity, is the reason or cause, positive or privative, why moral agents act as they do act. Of course the doctrine of decrees is subverted. There can be no evidence of God's providential government, as concerns the actions of free agents or things depending upon them. There can be no evidence that any work of his Spirit upon the souls of men is the reason or cause of their turning to God. Indeed, no work of any sort can be the cause of such a change in them who have power to sin despite all opposing power: for it cannot produce the change until they permit

it by the very terms of the statement. Thus an end is made of efficacious grace. With this doctrine, as all know, Divine sovereignty and the orthodox view of election stand or fall. If it is indispensable to moral agency that the infallible prevention of moral agents from sinning "may involve a contradiction;" that they should not be in a state which would be incompatible with their ever sliding into apostasy: "what evidence or proof can exist" that the saints will persevere unto salvation, or that the glorified saints and angels, and even God himself, may not lapse from heavenly purity? "For," as these writers say, "how can it be proved that a thing *will* not be, when, for ought that appears, it *may* be?" A fearful prospect this for all holy intelligences! And if nothing beside the actings of this power possesses moral quality, or can be sinful or holy; then surely there can be no native and hereditary sinfulness in men, if indeed there can be any of any sort.

Is it not then clear beyond dispute, that those cardinal points of the evangelical systems, which have been so much in controversy of late, are thus shaken by this notion of contrary choice which saps and mines the foundation on which they rest? To us this is past all doubt. Having often had occasion to reason with the advocates of the new scheme, we have found them uniformly taking refuge in this notion as their impregnable citadel. They have uniformly confessed that the whole controversy hinges upon it. Is it not then of vital importance to labour to establish the true philosophy on this point; and not merely prune away the branches of this poison-tree, but lay the axe at its root?

While we build not our faith on the wisdom of men, but on the sure testimonies of God, is it not lawful, nay, obligatory, to ward off the boastful assaults of a pretended philosophy, by showing that it is "philosophy falsely so called," evincing its folly, and humbling its pride? Has not this been the method of the most successful defenders of the faith? On this subject let the illustrious Edwards, though dead, yet speak, whose own immortal treatise on this very subject is a most noble example and confirmation of what he says.* "There is therefore no need that the strict philosophic truth should be at all concealed; nor is there any danger in *contemplation* and *profound discovery* in these things. Indeed these things never can be well established, and the opposite

* Works, Vol. II. p. 300, New York Edition.

errors, so subversive of the whole gospel, which at this day so greatly and generally prevail, be well confuted, or the arguments by which they are maintained answered, till these points are settled. While this is not done, it is to me beyond doubt, that the friends of those great gospel truths will but poorly maintain their controversy with the adversaries of those truths: they will be obliged often to shuffle, hide, and turn their backs: and the latter will have a strong fort whence they can never be driven, and weapons to use, from which those who oppose them will find no shield to screen themselves; and they will always puzzle, confound, and keep under the friends of sound doctrine, and glory and vaunt themselves in their advantage over them; and carry their affairs with a high hand, as they have done already for a long time past."

Was this written near a century ago by so accurate a draftsman as Jonathan Edwards? If it truly delineates what then was, could it better describe what now is? Who more valiant for the truth, or mighty in counsel and act for its defence than he? Shall we not heed his counsels as well as revere his name? There is no new thing under the sun. If his history was prophecy as to the danger, shall not his counsel be so as to the remedy?

Let his testimony admonish us all to burnish and gird on our armour for a victorious conflict with false doctrine, not only in its outworks, but also in this its strong citadel. While there may be a presumptuous and perilous delving into the labyrinths of

> "Fixed fate, free will, fore-knowledge absolute
> To find no end in wandering mazes lost,"

there is also a safe and prudent study of them, which is necessary and profitable.

Particularly ought we to master and confound all reasonings and doctrines, which go, or tend, to a denial of the possibility of "that which is the true system of administration in the city of God;" that it is possible, at least, that the Maker of all things should have his creatures at his own disposal; that he may work in them, to will and to do of his own good pleasure; that he doeth his pleasure in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of earth; that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy. For of him, and through him, and to him are all things, to whom be glory forever!

Art. V.—*The Court of England, during the reign of the Stuarts; including the Protectorate.* By John Heneage Jesse.

We have felt, in common we presume, with every reader of history, that this department of literature falls far short of conceivable, and we must think, notwithstanding the amount of talent and industry bestowed on its cultivation, of attainable perfection. We are confident that the difficulty of good historical writing has seldom been appreciated by those who have attempted the task: and that, contrary to a common impression, the talents necessary to its sucessful accomplishment, in their number, diversity, and harmony, are among the rarest with which the human mind is gifted.

History may be likened to certain optical instruments, the object of which is to bring into distinct vision objects that are removed from us, both in regard to distance and time, and which must therefore give us a minute and exact view, in detail, of their dimensions and properties, and the several relations of both. The manufacture of such an instrument is obviously attended with extreme difficulty, and is wholly impracticable except in the most advanced stages of the arts. One man may possess skill enough to shape and finish the brass work; another may carve and adjust the wood, and a third may be taught to cut and polish the reflectors and lenses, but none of them can produce a finished telescope; and even should they combine their talents for the purpose, it is barely possible to prevent the instrument from giving a tinge to the objects of vision.

Very analogous is the production of history. One author is occupied in gathering and arranging mere materials, without the slightest attempt to modify them, or even lifting a tool. Another constructs the frame-work of history, while another, still, fits in the glasses and regulates the focus, and after all, when you come to scan the objects in the field of view, you find them partly coloured and dim, and the perspective and proportions wretchedly bad. Some of the difficulties are inherent and insurmountable, but greater skill and experience would vanquish the most of them.

In historical literature, in the widest sense of the term, there are three classes of writers. The first comprises mere annalists, collectors and compilers of documents and statis-

tics, men who furnish the warp and woof of history. Their avocation requires untiring patience, a relish for prying into all manner of things, with curiosity and impudence enough to surmount the apathy and reserve of mankind; and above all, that far-sighted perception and appreciation of the great and vital, but remote connexion of these primary mechanical offices with important results; something like that which enables the bellows-man behind his organ to reckon his services just as indispensable, and therefore as deserving of a share of the applause, as those of his coadjutor, who draws out the enrapturing melody from its keys. The comparision, however, does injustice to the subject: for the talents of this class of writers are as rare as they are valuable; and if specimens in natural history are valued in proportion as they are scarce, we see not why these should not receive a high niche in our Cabinet of Authors. Our country can boast a few admirable examples of this class; but after what we have said, they might, perhaps, consider it dubious praise, to have their names given as specimens of the genus we have described.

Our second class of writers includes those who are known distinctively as historians: that is, those who take the materials furnished at hand, and form a connected tissue. We have characterized the previous class as that which provides the warp and woof, the present weaves the web of history. Our literature abounds with specimens that are excellent of the sort. But what more do we want? We have a full, faithful narrative of facts, interspersed with profound philosophical reflections as to the causes and tendency of all the great leading transactions. What more can we desire? Where is the imperfection of history of which we venture to complain?

We will remark, before proceeding to answer the question, that our historical narratives and disquisitions are almost universally tinctured with party bias. Without falsifying the facts of history, it is perfectly easy to make them produce false convictions in the mind of the reader. It cannot be too often repeated, for example, that while Gibbon is admirable as a historian of the class we are describing, his book is one of the most dangerous in our language, for its insidious and powerful hostility to religion. Hume is vastly less objectionable, but would also be a strong case in proof of our remark. But this objection is a fault in the execution of this description of history, and not fundamental to the thing itself.

We proceed, therefore, to say that the whole style of historical writing seems to us extremely defective. Let us advert, for a moment, to its characteristics. It is a detailed narrative of facts and qualities in the abstract, with occasional philosophical essays. Now it enters into the very nature of this mode of writing to be dull and tedious. It addresses itself to the understanding and the reasoning powers, while the more sprightly and buoyant of our faculties, conception and fancy, are suffered to grow drowsy and go to sleep for want of amusement. This defect is peculiarly unfortunate in the case of children and youth. In the early stages of intellectual developement, when the perceptive and immaginative faculties are by far the most active, and are the avenues by which the great bulk of knowledge gets access to the juvenile mind, it is almost impossible to lead them through the domains of history; for there is not a vestige of life to be seen, no melody of birds, no waving sunny banks, not even a flower to delight their fancy; but straight, monotonous, interminable roads, bordered, indeed, with ripe and rich fruit, but most of it above their reach, and even that, of a sort which they have not yet learned to relish. Nor is it only the fatigue of the process. The want of interest has left them to wander through the mazes of their path, half asleep; and when they have reached the end, they have scarce a single distinct recollection of the objects and localities which you wished to impress upon their memory. In a word, it is heavy drudgery, for youth especially, to wade through history; and when they have done, some of their faculties may perhaps be strengthened, but their minds are not stored with knowledge. The impressons on the memory are few and faint and evanescent.

There is of course a vast difference in this respect in different authors. Some are more dry, more dull, more abstract than others. But the difficulty of which we complain is not a thing of degree, but of kind; not a fault of the composition, in point of beauty, vigour, or eloquence, but of the whole mode of representing historical truth to the mind. Several modern attempts to make history attractive to youth have, to a great extent, failed by mistaking the real difficulty of the case. They have simplified, ornamented and tried to enliven their subject, and while they have succeeded in part, they have still failed to compass the great object in view. History is still the least interesting of all the branches of study, to a great body of students; while, from

the nature of the case, we should certainly conclude that it ought to be the most absorbing to every class of minds, and the most of all to the young.

To take an example, and one which will give every possible advantage to the department of history:—The student will devour with absorbing interest the historical dramas of Shakspeare, while the excellent volumes of Hallam will be read, not for their interest, but for the knowledge they contain, if indeed they are not left undisturbed amidst the dust of an upper shelf. Sir Walter Scott will enlist and enchant a thousand readers, who could not be induced to wade through the best histories of classical or modern times. Now why is this? The subject is the same in both cases; men, manners, and actions. Ah, but in one case it is fiction, and in the other fact. But no man admires fiction as fiction. It is only as the representation of scenes, which the mind at the moment contemplates as real. And hence, fiction, itself, is interesting, only in proportion to its resemblance to nature and truth. If it is unnatural it is shocking. Now why is not a display of truth and nature as attractive as fiction, when fiction herself is obliged to array herself in their garb, in order to please? We do not recollect to have seen the question distinctly put: and we cannot conceive of an answer, except, that truth is kept behind the scenes, and merely described, while fiction borrows her dress and steps out upon the stage, to display herself in real living characters. Let truth then take back her own attire, and come forth, and play her part in life, instead of having it recited by a prompter, and she will instantly become, by her simplicity and honesty, the universal favourite alike of buoyant youth, and sober manhood.

Between the ordinary style of historical narrative, and that which we have attempted to describe, there is much the same difference, as to effect, that exists between the hearing of the ear, and the seeing of the eye. It is the difference which every one must have felt between two versions of the same story, accordingly as they are well or ill told. One man will hold the breathless attention of children by some trifling narrative, while another will fail to gain a hearing for the most instructive details of history. It is the same principle, which, as to the interest of their works, distinguishes Rollin from Shakspeare. To concede this superiority to fiction over truth, would, it seems to us, be a libel on the constitution of the human mind, and its relation to human nature.

We cannot conceive why the style of representation of the great Dramatist of English literature might not, as to its essential characteristic, be applied to the department of history. We do not mean, of course, to have the events of history manufactured into dramas, of five acts each, cut and carved for theatrical exhibition; but to have them represented, in the style in question, to the "minds eye," as they successively arise; so that instead of listening as to a report of distant transactions, we may enter into them with all the interest of living present reality. In a word, we would have the genius of Shakspeare employed, not to create, but simply to display human character and actions. For the verbal descriptions, or, at best, the outline profiles or crayon sketches of the characters of common history, we would substitute the fresh speaking portraits, full length and coloured to the life, after the style of those which enchant you at every step in the galleries of the romance of history. The only difference would he, that instead of fancy paintings, we would have them perfect likenesses. Let this be done, and students of all classes will linger amidst the scenes of history, and receive the lessons of its wisdom, with nearly the same interest, and more real pleasure, than they now resort to gaze upon the splendid and gorgeous, but unsubstantial visions of fiction.

Nor let it be objected, that this mode of representation would require an endless accumulation of the details of life, in order to secure fulness and accuracy, and thus swell the compass of history beyond all reasonable proportion. It is not so. The artist does not lay fibre after fibre, nerve after nerve, and vein after vein; but a few touches of his pencil, and the features of his picture, beam upon you from the canvass. The perfect distinctness, and amazing compass of action, comprised in the characters of Hamlet or Othello, show that brevity would gain as much as beauty by the style in question.

The reader has probably perceived, what we ought to have distinctly stated before this time, that the third class of authors, in the division proposed at the outset of these remarks, consists of those who have taken undisputed possession of the wide field of historical romance. To revert once more to our original figure, it is the characteristic province of this class, to take the threadbare web of history, and work upon it all manner of embroidery. Their object is to beautify and please. Their relation to the others, will probably be

sufficiently apparent from all that we have said. We would only repeat, that we blame them, not for the fascinating embroidery which they put upon the otherwise bare unsightly fabric; but that they have wrought upon it fancy work, instead of the sweet scenery of nature. The evils thus occasioned are twofold: first they have begotten a false taste just so far as they depart from nature; and secondly, they have done injustice to truth, by substituting fiction in its place. History will shine in the perfection of beauty, not by condemning the style of their workmanship, but by changing the character of their subjects; and by availing herself of their art, to adorn with the vivid, impressive pictures of truth the nakedness of her narrative.

We have felt, without expressing it, unfeigned diffidence in penning suggestions so radical, in regard to a subject which has lain under the full glare of so many strong minds. But it is not impossible for one, of no great pretensions in architecture, to make a suggestion as to a principle embodied in a given plan which had escaped the notice of a master mind, simply because the latter was occupied with the vastly greater difficulties encountered in the execution of the plan. To criticise, in such a case, is not to enter the lists invidiously with those who have the talents to embody,—to create. A very small man may be able to assign very sufficient reasons, why one of the great structures of Sir Christopher Wren would have answered the purpose better if it had been a parallelogram instead of a cross.

For ourselves we confess, that, in the case in hand, our growing convictions are ripened into confidence, by the sanction to the principles which we meant to develope, (whether we have succeeded or not,) furnished by that Book, which, while it makes no pretensions whatever to any thing of the sort, really supplies the most perfect models in every department of literature: It is an unspeakable relief to our mind, to take refuge behind an authority which is conclusive, if we are fairly sheltered by it;—to put forth a specimen which embodies, and therefore both defines and defends the principles we have tried to describe. The Bible furnishes the most perfect example of what we mean. The characteristics of its style are precisely those which we wished to portray and recommend. In every chapter of its histories, we have not dry, tedious narrative, but living characters acting and speaking before us. We catch the exact expression of their features, and sympathize with every emotion that kin-

dles in their eye. We retire to the desert or the mountain-top with our Saviour and his disciples, and bend with silent interest to catch, not the wisdom merely, but the very tones of his voice. We mingle with the crowd who spread their garments and palm branches before the King of the Daughter of Zion, and the Hosannas of the multitude resound in our very ears. All the leading scenes of our Saviour's history, at Sychar, in the temple, in the judgment hall of Herod, and on Calvary, are not descriptions, but pictures. You see not only every individual of the whole assembly, but you could paint every countenance: not because one of them is described, but because the passions of each are so marked that you cannot avoid conceiving a face to express them. Why is it, we ask, that not only the best, but the most numerous class of our great historical paintings, are founded on scripture scenes? Partly, no doubt, because of the sublimity of the subjects: but we are persuaded that an equally important reason, though we do not recollect to have seen it stated, is that the style is so highly graphic, that it irresistibly suggests the idea, and the artist may be said merely to copy the picture, which already beams in brightness and perfection from the pages of Scripture. Even the most prosaic passages of the prophecies are so strikingly picturesque, that Hengstenberg, the clearest of prophetic commentators, maintains the theory that all their communications were made to the minds of the prophets, in the form of dramatic or rather scenic representations; that all, even the most didactic, were literally "visions."

We have not yet placed the subject in as strong a light as it will bear. The writers of fiction, though perhaps unknown to themselves, are deeply indebted to the Bible, for the very excellencies which we have noticed, and endeavoured to recommend to the attention of writers of history. Dr. Spring has said with equal truth and force, "There is not a finer character nor a finer description in all the works of Walter Scott, than that of Rebekah in Ivanhoe. And who does not see that it owes its excellence to the Bible?" Shakspeare, Byron and Southey, are not a little indebted for some of their best scenes and inspirations, to the same source. At the suggestion of a valued friend, we have turned our thoughts to the parallel between Macbeth and Ahab—between Lady Macbeth and Jezebel—between the announcement to Macbeth of the murder of his family, and that to David of the death of Absalom by Joab—to the parallel

between the opening of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and Byron's apostrophe to Rome, as the Niobe of nations—to the parallel between his ode to Napoleon, and Isaiah's ode on the fall of Senacherib,—and also to the resemblance between Southey's chariot of Carmala, in the curse of Kehama, and Ezekiel's vision of the wheels; and have been forcibly impressed with the obligations of this class of writers to the Sacred Scriptures.

We have here a triumphant answer to the objection, founded on the alleged impossibility of applying the style in question, in its full perfection, to other subjects than those of fiction. In the Bible we find that it not only admits of this application; but that its primary and appropriate office, is to clothe and adorn the characters and incidents of real history.

Such is our theory of good historical writing: but let it not be thought that we deem its execution an easy task. To attempt it unsuccessfully, is to incur the danger not only of failure, but of rendering ones self ridiculous. The later works of Carlyle furnish a notable case in point. He has indeed brought his characters on the stage, in person; but he has them stiffened up in the buckram of his egotism till simplicity and nature are out of the question. Hence they disgust instead of pleasing. And to make the matter utterly ridiculous with personages who are too stiff even to walk with tolerable grace, he sets them to soaring transcendentally, till they are lost to view amidst the clouds of mysticism.

There is still another class of Authors who may 'by permission' be included among historians. They differ from those described only in the nature of their subject, and belong to one or the other respectively, as it regards the style and manner of treating it. We refer to those who describe, not nations, but individuals, not great public events, but prominent public characters. It is in this category that the author of the work before us is found. He writes Memoirs of the Court of England during the reign of the Stuarts. But the volumes we have seen come no further down than the Court of Charles the First, and do not therefore fulfil the promise of the title page, which covers the whole dynasty, "including also the Protectorate." The work exhibits the usual characteristics of its kind. The author has displayed great industry in hunting up details of private history, and in rummaging files of old letters. He seems to think nothing beneath his notice

that has any connexion with the subject of his memoir. He throws the light of accredited correspondence on a thousand trifling little questions, which no one has thought worth while to investigate, and yet every one is curious to see settled. He has all the fondness for gossip and scandal, which could be desired. He loves to tell us how Charles's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, excited the indignation of London, by having his coach drawn by six horses, "a memorable instance of his splendour when we remember that only forty years had elapsed since coaches were first introduced into England," and how the old Earl of Northumberland eclipsed him "to the great contentment of the citizens" by driving through the streets with eight:—How the pompous Lord Herbert of Cherbury chased a French Cavalier all through a meadow to compel the surrender of a knot of riband, to a young girl of ten or eleven years of age, from whose arm he had stolen it:—How Lord Bacon always fainted at an eclipse of the moon, and how his servants never dared to approach before him, except in boots of Spanish leather, as he could always detect the smell of common leather which was extremely offensive to his Lordship's nerves: How Queen Henrietta Maria, having been driven from her house in Burlington, by Parliamentary cannon balls, returned in the face of danger, to rescue her favourite lap-dog, which she had left asleep. One is at a loss whether to feel amused or indignant at the zeal displayed in proving that this unfortunate Princess, after she became a widow, was actually married in secret to her *Chevalier d'honneur*, Henry Jermyn, and in uncovering to the world, the harshness and cruelty with which he treated her. The book throughout is of the highest order. But for some rather gross indelicacies, it might be characterized as a book for girls. There are no masterly touches in the portraiture; no meddling with great questions of government or national policy.

In regard to the character of the prominent individuals and parties of the day, both civil and religious, he is a mere mirror for the opinions of Hume; and of course the reflected images he gives us have gained nothing in correctness, while they have lost greatly in brightness and force. There is the same misrepresentation, the same special pleading, the same recklessness and even bitterness towards religion. Charles I. is a perfect saint, the most meek, well meaning, and conciliating, while the most abused and persecuted of mortals.

The Earl of Stafford, as usual, plays the part of a Martyr to the hypocritical bigotry and uncompromising hatred of Puritanism.

We have no wish to dogmatise on the great questions of English history, at the interesting period in question, but inasmuch as the other side of the subject has suffered in public estimation from the want of a historian attached to its principles and its parties, we will take the occasion to say, that in our judgment, it was the unfortunate issue of this struggle, which stamped it with the name and impress of infamy, which it still wears in the accredited records of history. Clarendon stigmatized it as "The Great Rebellion," and the epithet still adheres to it; while we cannot but think, that if the royal sceptre had passed at once into the hands of some Prince of Orange, it would have robbed of its honours and titles the change of Dynasty which occurred under James II., and descended to us in history under the title of "The Glorious Revolution." And even yet, notwithstanding its misfortunes, we hope it will not be long, before the Court of Public Sentiment will reverse the verdict given under the combined influence of fear and favour, and pronounce it the first, though unsuccessful, struggle, for religious and civil liberty.

We were disappointed at first, but on reflection were glad that our author says so little about these great public interests. We should have to quarrel with him at every step if he did: while we willingly take his hand, and step with him behind the tapestry to listen to the private intrigues of those, whose public character it is difficult to assail. There are not many writers who have a talent, perhaps we should say a taste, for exactly that sort of business. And yet while it does not greatly exalt our ideas of their merit, we thank them for admitting us,—not to stare at kings and nobles clad in the artificial splendors of the camp, the council chamber or the throne, —but to observe in the privacy of their own family, the familiar scenes of domestic life. We get many new ideas, and occasionally one of some importance by thus stealing behind the scenes. What a contrast there is between the notions of the unbending dignity and awful majesty, which even we Republicans are apt to throw over royalty, and the ridiculous pranks ascribed to James I. at the marriage of Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, and Lady Susan Vere.

But there is another respect, more honourable to the par-

ties, in which the private differs from the public character of those, who were active in the great political transactions of Modern Europe. Since the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. and Ferdinand of Arragon, and their respective successors, the period when the use of standing armies was resumed, and the leading powers of Europe commenced their struggle for the empire of the world, the small remains of principle and integrity which lingered in the courts of the age, were completely annihilated, and the desperate game which followed, engendered the policy, which Machiavelli has embodied, and which passes by his name;—a policy which every man professed to abhor, but which every court in Europe notoriously practised without the least hesitation, in all their foreign diplomacy. Such was the perverted public sentiment of the age, that we must not infer that all public men were necessarily bad men in the domestic and social circle. While this is no apology for the enormous political vices of the times, it is often a great relief to our feelings to find men, whose public conduct we cannot defend, prove themselves worthy of our respect and admiration, by the constancy and purity of their domestic virtues.

We rise from the perusal of every thing pertaining to the public and private life of political men with a profound sense of the wretchedness of a life which so many covet. The emptiness, insincerity, intrigue, jealousy, hatred, oppression and assassination, which go to make up the history of thrones and of courts, present a gloomy picture of human nature.

ART. VI.—1. *Justification by Faith: a Charge delivered before the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Ohio, and at the twenty-second Annual Convention of the Diocese, at St. Paul's Church, Steubenville, Sept.* 13, 1839. *With an appendix.* By the Right Reverend Charles P. M'Ilvaine, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Ohio. Columbus: Isaac N. Whiting. MDCCCXL.

2. *Oxford Divinity compared with the Tenets of Romanism, &c. &c.* By the Right Reverend Charles P. M'Ilvaine, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Ohio. Philadelphia: J. Whetham & Son. 1840.

IN our last number, we gave a brief and cursory notice of Bishop M'Ilvaine's CHARGE to the clergy of his diocese, on the 13th of September 1839. The importance of the doctrine inculcated in this charge, the soundness of the theology taught, and the perspicuity and convincing evidence with which it was exhibited, deserved a much more full and extended review; which we were prevented from giving by several circumstances unnecessary to be here detailed, but especially by the information, that the right reverend author had another work in preparation for the press on the same subject, and which might be considered, as in some sort, an appendix to the "CHARGE." The object of this additional work was understood to be, "to bring under examination the doctrine of certain gentlemen of the university of Oxford, recently published in this country, on the subject of JUSTIFICATION." As this volume has just come to hand, and as these two works are not only closely connected, but, in the author's view, parts of the same, we have placed them both at the head of this article, and propose to review them as one work. It is not surprising to us, that there should be a continual tendency among men to degenerate from the truth, in their opinions respecting the true method of justification. To all creatures, as originally created, the only method of obtaining the divine favour, is by their own obedience to the divine will. This is the only method of acceptance with God, of which reason has the least conception. And if the wisest of creatures had been required to devise some other method of justification, consistent with the divine law and the attributes of God, they never could have conceived

of any such plan. Indeed, if sin had never entered among God's creatures, there had never been any need of any other method, than the one already mentioned. And after sin existed, if no purpose of mercy towards sinners had been entertained, there would have existed no occasion for a new method of securing the divine favour. The most exalted exercise of finite intellect could never have conceived of any thing else as possible, but the regular exercise of law and justice, in relation to transgressors. Accordingly, when the angels rebelled, nothing else was seen but the rigid execution of the penalty of the law upon them; and of course the same method of treating other sinners would reasonably have been expected. The method of salvation for sinners is, therefore, a doctrine of pure revelation, of which no conception could have been entertained, unless it had been revealed. And now, when made known, however, its divine wisdom may be admired by minds enlightened from above, yet human reason is prone to think of no other method of acceptance with God, than by personal obedience. It is true, that if we reasoned logically upon the facts of the case, we should soon come to the conclusion, that justification by his own works was impossible to a transgressor; but men are naturally blind to their own true character. They have no deep and abiding sense of their own sinfulness; and their views of the holiness of God are obscure and inadequate; so that they still dream of doing something to obtain the favour of God. Clear views of the divine attributes, and of the extent and spirituality of the law of God, would either drive men to despair of salvation, or would lead them to the refuge which the mercy of God has opened for sinners of the human race. But when men are left to themselves, they uniformly trust to their own righteousness; and to supply its defects, resort to such penances and sacrifices as they hope will be accepted as an atonement for their short-comings. Thus it has often occurred, in the history of the church, that with a divine revelation of the true method of justification in their hands, not only the ignorant multitude, but their learned teachers, fall into the opinions suggested by blinded reason, and lose sight entirely of the revelation which God has made on this subject. Or, they task their ingenuity and learning, to accommodate the doctrines of the word of God to their own self-righteous notions.

The true method of a sinner's justification is clearly taught in the Old Testament, as well as in the New, and the believers

under the old dispensation, fully embraced this doctrine and placed all their dependence on it, as appears by many of the Psalms; but when Christ sojourned on earth, the expounders of the law, the Scribes and Pharisees, had no idea of any other method of salvation but by works of law; and even when they embraced the gospel, many of them were still infected with the old leaven of self-righteousness, and insisted on a strict observance of the ceremonial law, as the only method of obtaining the favour of God and eternal life. It was this which induced Paul to enter so fully into the doctrine of a sinner's justification, in several of his epistles; and this was wisely ordered, for these self-righteous doctrines, having their foundation very deep in human nature, and receiving the support of unenlightened human reason, there is a necessity, from time to time, to combat and suppress the same set of errors. Thus, although Paul had so clearly and explicitly pointed out the danger of going about to establish our own righteousness, and not submitting to the righteousnesss of God; yet, in a few centuries, the Pelagians and Semi-pelagians, revived the old exploded heresies, which Paul had condemned. But whenever the enemy comes in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord raiseth up a standard against him. Augustine, who had himself, like Paul, been once blind to the truth, was raised up to defend the true doctrines of the gospel, and for the last twenty years of his life, he made it his chief object to labour for the extirpation of these false and dangerous opinions, which ascribed our salvation to the obedience of man, rather than to the grace of God. His opinions and his writings received the express and repeated sanction of the church, expressed by her councils and bishops; and the truth, as taught by this great theologian, was considered as established. But, in process of time, the majority of the Catholic church degenerated from the true doctrines of the gospel; and became as corrupt in doctrine and practice, as were the Pharisees in the time of our Saviour. There were, however, in the darkest ages, some who knew the truth and adhered to it at every risk; and all the attempts to eradicate pure evangelical doctrine were unsuccessful; for when by persecution the witnesses of the truth were scattered abroad, as in the beginning of the gospel, they went every where propagating the truth. All the precursors of the reformation, whether in England, Bohemia, France, or Switzerland, held a sound and pure doctrine respecting the method of Justification. And the Waldenses and Albigenses entertained, as their ancient creeds show, the

same doctrine which was afterwards so successfully preached by the reformers. According to the account which Luther himself gives, of the progress of light in his own mind, the doctrine of justification by faith was that which he was first led to embrace, and by a right understanding of which he was enabled to see the corruptions of the Roman Catholic church. He saw clearly that all the other errors of that church might be fairly traced to this great radical error, which led him constantly to speak in the strongest terms of the cardinal nature of this doctrine. And on this point all the reformers were perfectly agreed. If any of them went at all astray, it was not by making any of our works in whole or in part a ground of our acceptance, but by disparaging good works too much, lest man should be led to place any dependence on them. All the creeds of the reformed churches are in perfect agreement on this subject. They all held that the only ground of a sinner's justification in the sight of God, is, THE PERFECT RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST IMPUTED TO US, or set down to our account, and received by faith. Any departure from this doctrine was considered as so serious a step towards heresy, that men of great eminence, who questioned whether the active obedience of Christ was imputed to the believer, were considered as worthy of censure. But after a while the old leaven of self-righteousness began to work, and while the doctrines of the reformers stood unaltered in the public formularies of the churches, secretly and gradually, in most Protestant churches, an almost universal defection took place. This departure from evangelical doctrine, in nearly all Protestant churches, may be said to have reached its acme about a hundred years ago. The church of England, though originally as pure in doctrine as any of the reformed churches, had, about that time, so universally lost the doctrine of justification by faith alone, that when Whitefield and Wesley, Hervey, Romaine and others, were raised up to proclaim the truth, it was like the publication of a new gospel. Since that time there has been an increasing body of the clergy in the established church, who understand and faithfully preach this reformation doctrine. These excellent and evangelical men have been opposed by most of the prelates of the church, and stigmatized as enthusiasts and Methodists; but they have been able to prove, to the satisfaction of all impartial judges, that they have brought in no new doctrine, but simply held and taught the doctrines of the XXXIX Articles, in their plain, obvious meaning.

The sound exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith, may be taken as the test by which evangelical men of every denomination may be known and distinguished from others. John Wesley set out by preaching this doctrine, with Whitefield, Hervey, and his other associates, but to the great injury of the cause of gospel truth he unhappily declined into Arminian or Semi-pelagian doctrines: and he, and all his followers since, although they have talked much of justification by faith, yet use this phrase, not in the sense of the reformers, but in the Arminian sense, according to which, the act of faith is made the righteousness which justifies; or, faith is used as comprehending all other graces, and, so, to be justified by faith, is to be justified by our own sincere obedience. Thus also, in the "New Divinity" which arose in New England, towards the close of the last century, the pure doctrine of justification by faith, has been obscured, or set aside. Indeed, in the theology of those called orthodox, in New England, there was very little attention paid to the doctrine of justification. You might hear hundreds of sermons, denominated orthodox, without any special mention, much less clear explication, of the doctrine of justification by faith. Dr. Hopkins, in his System of Theology, speaks in an obscure and unsatisfactory manner about Christ's active obedience; and when he comes to tell what the essence of a justifying faith is, it is made to comprehend love and all sincere obedience of the heart. And Dr. Emmons, in whose hands the system was further improved, explicitly rejects the obedience of Christ as the ground of our acceptance; and teaches that we receive no benefit from Christ, as Mediator, but pardon alone. And as it is a part of this system, in all its varying forms, to reject every idea of imputation of any thing to any man but what personally belongs to him, it is impossible that, consistently with this, a sound doctrine of justification should be held. To reject the imputation of Christ's righteousness as the sole ground of a sinner's justification, is to repudiate the scriptural doctrine of justification altogether; for, as there are but two conceivable methods of justification, by our own obedience, or the merits of another; and as the merits of another cannot possibly be available for our salvation, unless imputed to us, it follows, that they who reject imputation do necessarily reject the true method of justification. The only thing which can be said in apology for the advocates of the "New Divinity" is, that while they reject the *word*, they retain the

thing, which we charitably believe to be the truth in regard to some, who have imbibed prejudices against the word *imputation*. But we are gratified to observe, that several distinguished theologians in New England are returning to the use of the old phraseology on this subject, as, no doubt, having observed the inlet to serious errors which was made by rejecting the use of the scriptural terms. And we are encouraged to hope, that in that region where light is so generally diffused, and where the doctrines of the reformation were so firmly held by the pilgrim-fathers, there will be a general return to the good old paths.

As the public and acknowledged formularies of a church unhappily furnish no certain criterion of the opinions of its ministers, it is often difficult to determine what are the real opinions of a majority of the teachers in a particular denomination. And this observation applies with peculiar force to the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States. This church has adopted the doctrinal articles of the mother church, without material alteration; and we all know, that these contain a sound doctrine on the subject of justification; but, as was mentioned in regard to another denomination, this is not a subject which is commonly made prominent in the preaching of most of the ministers of this church; nor is their strain of preaching such, commonly, as can be reconciled with a sound doctrine on this subject. Indeed, it is not long since a pamphlet was published by one of the right reverend bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in which the doctrine of a gradual and progressive justification was advocated. On this subject, therefore, the learned theologians of Oxford will find in this country many docile disciples, who stand ready to embrace most of their new doctrines. Accordingly, we learn that the Oxford Tracts, which have been regularly republished in New York, have a wide circulation, and are received with much favour by a large number of the clergy of this denomination. In these circumstances, we consider the preparation and publication of Bishop M'Ilvaine's Charge, on Justification, a most important and seasonable work, and happily calculated to stem the current of Popish doctrine which threatens to inundate that church in both its branches, in England and America.

Although we knew that Bishop M'Ilvaine was a truly evangelical man in his views of gospel truth, we did not expect to find him coming out so decidedly and boldly in defence of this great cardinal doctrine of the reformation. We

have remarked, even in the most evangelical writers in the "Christian Observer," of London, a considerable reserve and obscurity, as to their real opinions, on several points considered of vital importance by the reformers; and we supposed that Bishop M'Ilvaine would probably partake, in some degree, of the same spirit; especially, as the advocates of these points are stigmatized by the majority of their brethren, as *Calvinists*. But in this respect, we have been most agreeably disappointed in Bishop M'Ilvaine. He has come out with the genuine courage of a reformer, and has thrown himself into the front of the battle, which is now commencing between evangelical truth and Popish error. We have seldom ever read a publication from any quarter with so much unmixed pleasure, as this *Charge* to the Ohio clergy, on the subject of *Justification*. It was, indeed, beyond our expectation to find this distinguished and eloquent bishop marching up to the defence of this precious doctrine, in the very spirit of Luther or Melancthon; and discovering not the least disposition to deny or keep back any particle of the truth, but exhibiting the whole, with a clearness and force of argument, which cannot but have weight with all who are capable of being swayed by a regard to the authority of Holy Scripture. In our opinion, Bishop M'Ilvaine has performed a most important service to the cause of evangelical truth, and the more he is calumniated by churchmen who teach another gospel, the more should he be cherished, encouraged, and supported by all other denominations, who hold the truth as it is in Jesus. Mere questions of order, of ceremonies and discipline, which divide the friends of truth into different denominations, are nothing, compared with the vital doctrines of the gospel, which reveal the true and only method of a sinner's justification, in the sight of God.

That the reader may have an opportunity of judging for himself respecting Bishop M'Ilvaine's opinions, and the ability with which he explains and defends them, we take pleasure in presenting him with an extract, which, though long, will richly repay the lover of truth for the time occupied in its perusal.

"All-important, to the whole subject, is a distinct idea of the meaning and use of the term JUSTIFICATION. With this, therefore, let us begin.

"When the Apostle declares that 'by faith a man is justified,' in what sense is that justification to be understood? The question is easily answered, but the whole subject materially depends on it.

"*Justification*, in its most comprehensive sense, imports the making of a man *just* or *righteous*.

"This must be done in one of two ways. It must be either by *a personal change in a man's moral nature*, or by *a relative change in his state*, as regards the sentence of the law of God. The former justification is opposed to unholiness; the latter to condemnation; the one takes away the indwelling of moral pollution; the other, the imputation of judicial guilt. If we understand justification, in the first sense, as expressing the making a man righteous, '*by an infusion of righteousness*,' as Romanism expresses it, we make it identical with *sanctification*, and therefore, it is as gradual as the progress of personal holiness, and never complete till we are perfected in heaven. But how will that sense appear in such a passage as that wherein it is said: '*He that justifieth the wicked and he that condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord.*' Not to speak of the evident opposition in this passage between the words *justify* and *condemn*, implying in both a *judicial* and not a *moral* change; how could it be *an abomination* to the Lord to justify the wicked, by *making* him personally holy by an infusion of personal righteousness. But if we take justification in the latter sense, as indicating a *relative* change, it is then *a term of law*, understood *judicially*, and expresses the act of God, in his character of Judge, deciding the case of one accused before him, and instead of condemning, *acquitting him;* instead of holding him guilty, *accounting him righteous*, so that he becomes the man of whom David speaks—the happy man 'unto whom the Lord *imputeth no sin*.'

"In relation to the former sense, there is not a place in Scripture wherein the word justify, in any of its forms, is used in reference to remission of sins, that can be so interpreted. As to the latter, the judicial sense, there are passages, very many, in which it can with no appearance of reason, be understood in any other. This sense is specially manifest where *justification* is spoken of as the opposite of *condemnation*. Take Rom. v. 18. 'As by the offence of one, *judgment* came upon all men to *condemnation;* even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto *justification* of life.' Here, most evidently, justification imports a *judicial clearing* from the imputation of guilt, in the precise sense and degree in which condemnation imports a *judicial fastening* of the imputation of guilt. The same

appears in Rom. viii. 23. '*Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that* JUSTIFIETH; *who is he that* CONDEMNETH?' Here is the idea of a court, a tribunal, a person arraigned; the accuser is called; the whole is judicial; and if by the *condemnation* spoken of we could understand an act of the Judge *making* the accused guilty by the infusion of *unrighteousness;* then also by the justification spoken of we might understand an act of the Judge *making* the accused *just* by an infusion of *righteousness;* but if this interpretation would be absurd in the former case, so must it be in the latter, for the two must evidently be interpreted alike.

"But it is not necessary to go very particularly into the proof of the judicial sense of the word justification in the Scriptures. The great matter is to keep clear the essential difference between *justification* and *sanctification;* between the former, as opposed to the imputation of guilt, and the latter, to the indwelling of unholiness; the former as a restoration to favour; the latter to purity; this, as the act of God *within* us, changing *our moral character;* the other, as the act of God *without* us, changing our *relative state;* blessings inseparable indeed, but essentially distinct. 'There be two kinds of Christian righteousness; (says Hooker) the one without us which we have by imputation; the other in us, which consisteth of Faith, Hope, Charity and other Christian, virtues—God giveth us both the one justice and the other; the one by accepting us for righteous in Christ; the other by working Christian righteousness in us.'

"Such then being the *judicial* or *forensic* sense in which man is said to be justified before God, a sense so essentially important to be kept distinctly in mind, that, as Bishop Andrews says, 'we shall never take the state of the question aright unless we consider it in this view;' and since a judicial process implies *a law,* according to which it is conducted, and a law requires, of course, *a perfect fulfilment* of its precepts, in other words, *a perfect righteousness,* before any can be justified by sentence of the Judge; the question occurs, *by what righteousness is a sinner to be justified before God?*

"Brethren what do we teach, what must we teach on this subject? The Law of God is 'holy, just and good;' it is as holy, just and good now, as in the beginning; requiring, as ever, a perfect fulfilment: so that, as St. James says, 'he that offends in one point *is guilty of all,*' and comes under the

whole condemnation of a broken law. The figment of a mitigated law, a new law, called the gospel, requiring less than the perfect obedience of the old, and reduced into a nearer accommodation to our infirmities, that is to say, to *our corrupt and disobedient hearts*, is as much opposed to propriety of terms, as to scriptural verity.

"The change wrought by the transition of man from under the covenant of works, to that of grace, is not a change from the requirement of a perfect fulfilment of the law for justification, to that of an imperfect; for now as ever the righteousness for which alone we can be accounted righteous, must be *perfect*. Nothing less, *in a judicial sense*, can be righteousness. Inasmuch as we are accounted sinners, simply because we have transgressed the law, whether it be only once, or a thousand times; so we can be accounted righteous only when we may be regarded as having perfectly kept the law. 'Nothing (says Bishop Hall) can formally make us just, but that which is perfect in itself. How can it give what it hath not?' 'That is no righteousness (says Bishop Hopkins) which doth not fully answer the law which is the rule of it; for the least defect destroys its nature and turns it into unrighteousness. Now the change wrought by the covenant of grace changes not the demand of the law except as it effects a transition from the requirement of a *personal fulfilment*, for justification, to that of *fulfilment by a surety*. 'The obedience to the Law (says Bishop Reynolds) is not removed, but the disobedience is pardoned and healed.' The covenant of works demanded a *personal* righteousness, without spot or wrinkle. The covenant of grace provides that perfect righteousness in the person of a *representative*—'the Lord *our Righteousness*;' so that every believer is '*accepted in the beloved*,' as being 'complete in him,' and 'may be called, (in the language of the Homily) a fulfiller of the Law.'

"Now there are but two conceivable classes of justifying righteousness, viz: *Our own righteousness, and the righteousness of Christ*. These are continually distinguished in the Scriptures and set in direct and irreconcilable *opposition* to each other. Is one called '*the righteousness of law?*' the other is '*the righteousness of faith;*' is the one called by St. Paul, our '*own righteousness?*' the other, he calls 'the *righteousness of God.*' Is one described as '*by the law?*' the other is '*without the law.*' Is one 'reckoned '*to him that worketh?*' the other is '*to him that worketh*

not.' Is the one "*of debt?*' the other is '*of grace.*' Does the one give man '*whereof to glory*' because it is '*of works?*' the other '*excludes boasting*,' because it is '*of faith.*' Does St. Paul 'count all things but loss that he may win Christ and be found in him?' He has no hope of succeeding till he has first laid aside *his own righteousness* as worthless and put on, in *its stead*, 'the righteousness which is by the faith of Christ.' In his view, these two cannot coalesce; cannot unite into one vesture; they are essentially inconsistent in the office of justification; so that if we trust in the one, we cannot have the other; if we 'go about to establish our own righteousness,' it implies that we *have not submitted to, but rejected the righteousness of God.* Our justification must be either of grace exclusively, or of works exclusively. It cannot be of both, '*Not of works lest any man should boast.*' *If by grace, (says St. Paul) then it is no more of works, otherwise grace is no more grace.* But *if it be of works, then it is no more grace; otherwise work is no more work.*' 'It is not grace any way, (says Augustine) if it be not free every way.'

Will not every friend of the truth be filled with joy and gratitude when he has read the sentiments just cited; especially, when he considers, that they proceed from a learned and eloquent bishop, whose diocese extends over a state which already contains more than a million of souls? And as Bishop M'Ilvaine is an elegant and forcible writer, as well as an eloquent preacher, we cannot but think, that he has been raised up by Providence, at this critical juncture, to be a defender of the faith 'once delivered to the saints.'

But as the word "*imputation*" has been so offensive to many, and has been even publicly reviled as more absurd than all others, and that too by men who have it in their own creed, which they have repeatedly and solemnly subscribed, let us hear what Bishop M'Ilvaine has to say on this subject.

"You perceive, Brethren, that I have freely used the word *imputed*, as applied to the rightcousness of faith. I use it because it is the Scripture word. 'Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord *imputeth* righteousness without works.' It is used by our translators interchangably with '*reckoned*' and '*counted;*'—all these three words being employed for the same Greek word of St. Paul. I understand by it, precisely what the Church means by the word, '*accounted*' in her eleventh Article. Righteousness *accounted* or *reckoned* to us, is righteousness *imputed.* So is the word used

by our ancient divines. Witness the writer of the Article. Speaking of the consequences of a lively faith in Christ, says Cranmer: 'Then God doth no more *impute* unto us our former sins; but he doth *impute* and *give* unto us the justice and righteousness of his Son Jesus Christ. And so we be *counted* righteous, for as much as no man dare accuse us for that sin for the which satisfaction is made by our Saviour Christ." In explaining such a passage as that of 2 Cor. v. 21—'*He hath made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him*," I know of no more appropriate language than to say, of the first part, that it expresses the *imputation* of our sin to Christ; and of the second part, that it expresses the *imputation* of Christ's righteousness to us. In any other aspect, the verse is not intelligible. Thus says Bishop Hall, expounding that verse: 'So were we made his righteousness, as he was made our sin. *Imputation* doeth both. It is that which enfeoffs our sins upon Christ and us in his righteousness. Scripture every where teacheth our perfect justification by the *imputed* righteousness of our Saviour, brought home to us by faith.'

"I find no hesitation in such writers as Archbishops Cranmer and Usher; Bishops Hooper, Andrews, Hall, Davenant, Reynolds, Hopkins, Beveridge, the 'judicious Hooker,' &c., in speaking of the righteousness of Christ, as *imputed* to the believer, and the sins of the believer, as *imputed* to Christ, and that, in the fullest sense of imputation. In addition to the evidence already given from Cranmer and Hall, the following from Archbishop Usher will suffice. 'This is *imputative righteousness, as it is in the Articles of the Church of England*. That for the merits of Jesus Christ, God is well pleased with the obedience of his Son, both active and passive, as that he takes us to be in that state for his sake, as if we had all fulfilled his laws, and never broken them at any time, and as if we owed him not a farthing. And this kind of justification must of necessity be by imputation: why? because when a man hath committed sin it cannot be undone again. The act passed cannot be revoked. How then can I be justified, the sin being past, and the nature of it still remaining? I say how can I be justified any other way than by imputation? This kind of justification which consists in the remission of sins, cannot but be *imputative*.' "

A complete view of the doctrine held by the reverend author cannot be had, without another extract to show the part which faith performs in the justification of a sinner.

"We have not yet directed your attention particularly to the *nature* and *office* of *Faith* in the sinner's Justification. Our remaining time is very brief, but we cannot avoid a short notice of one point connected with that subject, as requiring our special care.

"There is a mode of representing the office of faith, which though found, not unfrequently, where the true doctrine of Justification, in other respects, is, for the most part, distinctly preached, we are far from considering as involving a mere difference of expression. We refer to the representation of the office of faith, as if it were efficacious unto Justification, *not as a single act of the soul, by which we embrace Christ*, operating merely as the appointed *instrument* of participation in his righteousness and justifying only because it lays hold on that righteousness; but as efficacious, because it is '*the root of all Christian virtues*,' 'the originating principle of love and every good work,' and thus, in root and branch, the '*complex of Christianity*.'

"If this representation be correct, there is no propriety in saying that we are justified by *faith*, which there would not be also in saying that we are justified by "love, joy, peace, long-suffering," &c., by all those virtues of godly living which are "the *fruits* of faith," and which "*follow after* Justification."

„Now that the word faith is sometimes used in the Scriptures for the sum of Christianity, we freely grant; that Justifing Faith is indeed the root of all Christian virtues, so that they 'do all spring out *necessarily* of a true and lively faith,' we consider a most necessary truth, exceedingly to be insisted on with every soul to whom the gospel is preached. But that faith derives any of its justifying virtue from these fruits, which are not its life, but its evidences of life, we hold it of great importance to deny, and on the contrary, to maintain that, though *working by love*, as it must if living, faith is effectual for justification, simply as an act of embracing Christ, in all his offices, and benefits, and requirements, whereby the sinner lays hold of his promises and puts on the garment of his justifying righteousness. To some it may seem that the difference between these divergent views is too slight to be made of any importance. We apprehend, however, that it is the point of divergency where lies the unseen origin of those very errors which have for their legitimate issue, *when carried out*, nothing less than justification by *inherent*, and therefore by *our own* righteousness."

It is now time that we should notice the volume which Bishop M'Ilvaine has just published, and which is intended to counteract the baleful effects of the doctrine on this point so industriously propagated by certain learned professors, in the university of Oxford, by means of a series of Tracts and other publications. As these Tracts already fill several volumes, and treat, in a serious and learned manner, of a great variety of subjects, it would be an almost endless task to follow them through all the ramifications of error contained in them; and the more especially, as the errors of these learned writers are mixed up with so much that is good, and calculated to promote a devotional spirit. Bishop M'Ilvaine, instead of attacking their opinions successively and in detail, like a skilful general has ascertained the citadel of their strength,—the central point of the corrupt system,—the πρωτον ψευδος, from which all the other errors are derived, and has found this fundamental point to be, *an erroneous doctrine respecting a sinner's justification*. This doctrine, he had clearly shown to be unscriptural, in his "CHARGE," but here he undertakes to demonstrate, that the Oxford doctrine is identical with that of Rome, against which all the reformers opposed themselves, with such determined zeal and resolution. The reverend author takes pains to ascertain what is the real doctrine of the Oxford divines, and finds that it corresponds precisely with opinions contained in the writings of the late Alexander Knox; from which he brings a sufficient number of extracts to show clearly the theory which he held; and which, Mr. Faber and the late editor of the "British Critic," though widely differing from one another, had denounced, as a doctrine, identical with that of the Romanists. He then compares the Oxford doctrine with that of the distinguished fathers of the English Church, who had written on the subject of justification, such as Hooker, Andrews, Hopkins, Beveridge, &c., and demonstrates, by decisive quotations, that these eminent men maintained a twofold righteousness, the one external, and which by the grace of God was accounted, or imputed to the believer; and the other, inherent, by which the mind is renewed, and in a measure rendered conformable to the will of God. Whereas the Oxford divines maintain, that the only righteousness which can be the ground of justification is that which is wrought within us. The former carefully keep up the distinction between justification and sanctification; while the latter confound the two, and make no perceptible differ-

ence between justification and sanctification. "The righteousnes whereby we are justified before God is made to consist in the fulfilling of the law *by us.*" "By righteousness is meant *acceptable obedience.*" "We need then," say they, "a justification or making righteous; and this might become ours, in two ways, either by dispensing with that exact obedience which the law required, or by enabling us to fulfil it. Now the remedy lies in the latter alternative only; not in lowering the law, much less abolishing it, but in bringing up our hearts to it—attuning them to its high harmonies." Thus unequivocally does Mr. Newman express his opinions, in his "Lectures on Justification." If God counts any righteous, "it is by making them righteous."—"If he justifies, it is by renewing." "If he reconciles us to himself, it is not by annihilating the law, but by creating in us new wills and new powers, for the observance of it." They maintain that, "those who are regenerate in baptism, can, and do fulfil the divine law, and that their indwelling righteousness has a JUSTIFYING QUALITY; and does justify them in the sight of God." Again, Mr. Newman calls our indwelling righteousness, "the propitiation for our sins in God's sight." Accordingly they make justification to be a progressive work, increasing as sanctification increases. "But does this scheme entirely exclude the merits of Christ?" Mr. Knox replies to this, and Mr. Newman agrees with him, "Doubtless the church never loses sight of the merits of our blessed Saviour, but she confides in them *not as a substitute for internal grace*, but as an infallible security that his grace shall be freely communicated to all who cordially ask it." "Then the doctrine is, the merits of Christ have purchased for us the grace of sanctification, by which we are made righteous for Christ's sake—he fulfils the law by having a righteousness implanted in his heart, at baptism, for Christ's sake. His works are now *good in themselves.*" Love is imputed to him for righteousness."

Although Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman thus evidently confound justification with sanctification; or rather make our sanctification the ground of our justification; yet, they will not argree that their doctrine is the same as that of the Romanists. Our author, however, does not permit them to escape from a conclusion so palpable. He pursues them through their dark reasonings and mystical expressions, and proves that the distinction which they pretend to set up is too subtle to make any partition between the theories, which can be perceived.

In his fourth chapter Bishop M'Ilvaine traces the doctrine of the Romanists on the subject of justification up to its source, and finds its origin, in the dogmas of the schoolmen, of whose theology he gives a succinct account. In the close of this chapter, he paints out also a remarkable resemblence between the Oxford doctrine and that of the early Quakers, as exhibited in the writings of Robert Barclay and William Penn.

In the fifth chapter, our respected author goes into a thorough and learned investigation of the opinions established by the council of Trent, and clearly evinces, that the difference then existing between the Romanists and Protestants, is precisely the same, as that at issue between the Oxford divines and their opponents.

He next proceeds to give us the views of these learned theologians of Oxford, respecting the office of faith in a sinner's justification; and here again, by a large quotation of authorities, he proves, that the Oxford doctrine and that of the Roman Catholics, is identical. The argument, indeed, is most remarkable, and is made so manifest, that it is hard to conceive how any reasonable man can deny it.

The next coincidence between the Oxford doctrine and that of Rome, is in their views respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, and particularly baptism.

It is well known that the Romish church considers baptism to be the efficacious means of justification to all who receive it: by which original sin is entirely remitted and righteousness is infused. The taking away of original sin is not in the sense, of not imputing it; but taking it away, by *extinction*. And this effect takes place by the mere external administration of the ordinance, which they term *opus operatum*. "Now," says our author, "is not this precisely the doctrine of Oxford divinity, as to the efficacy of baptism?" Baptism is considered in that scheme, as efficacious to justification in the adult recipient, without any faith, except such as devils may have as well as we. He is made *righteous* by baptism from being up to the time of baptism *unrighteous*. A living faith working by love, is begotten in baptism, and is expressly said not to precede but to follow it. Further evidence cannot be needed than this, that in the *opus operatum* of baptism, the two schemes of Rome and Oxford are one." And in regard to both sacraments, they studiously keep out of view the idea of their being *signs* of grace. "This aversion to signs in the sacraments, this *opus opera-*

tum doctrine," says our author, "is broadly declared by Dr. Pusey, in the broadest terms, in the very teeth of the most express language of his own church." "Baptism," says our 27th Article, "is a *sign* of regeneration or new birth, &c. whereby the promises are visibly signed and sealed." But Dr. Pusey says expressly, "*Baptism is not a sign, but the putting on of Christ*—' wherefore baptism is a thing *most powerful and efficacious*.' In other words, baptism is not the sign of regeneration, but *regeneration itself*. The church of Rome never exceeded this. The *opus operatum* was never more decidedly and boldly expressed."

"Another manifestation of the doctrine of the sacraments," says Bishop M'Ilvaine, "in which Oxfordism and Romanism singularly concur, is seen, in the entire difference drawn by them, between the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments, in regard to saving efficacy." He then proceeds to show, from a reference to the fathers of the English church, that they uniformly regarded the sacraments of the two dispensations as standing on the same footing, and as attended with the same kind of efficacy, in opposition to the Romanists, who strenuously contended for an essential difference. After which he demonstrates, by a large citation from the writings of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman, that these gentlemen differ entirely from the sentiments of the best English divines, and maintain opinions which are in perfect harmony with the tenets of the Romish church.

Although Bishop M'Ilvaine makes the errors of the Oxford divines, on the subject of justification, the chief point of his attack: yet in the progress of the work, he undertakes to show, that from this corrupt root nearly all the branches of the Romish system naturally germinate; and undertakes to prove, that the tenets of the Oxford system, as already developed, have a striking resemblance to Romanism in the following particulars; in her errors respecting *Original sin—Sins committed after baptism—Distinction of sins into mortal and venial—Purgatory—Prayers for the dead—Invocation of saints—Transubstantiation—The power of working miracles—Auricular Confession—Extreme Unction—Anointing in baptism and Confirmation—The Sacramental character of Marriage—Prayers and rules of fasting—Image worship—Nature of Christian holiness—and the Authority of unwritten Tradition.* Now, if the Bishop has been able to show a near approximation in the Oxford doctrines to those of Rome, in all these particulars,

it will be in vain to pretend that there is in them no tendency to Popery. How the proof adduced may strike others, we cannot tell, but to us it is most convincing. Whether the authors of the Oxford Tracts have any design of seeking a reunion of the English church with that of Rome, is not material: the radical principles of the Romish system have already been adopted; and the branches naturally proceeding from this corrupt root, are sufficiently developed to prove the identity of the two systems. And these pernicious tenets cannot fail of facilitating the progress of popery among the people who embrace them; and their deleterious influence will be much the same, whether propagated in the church of England, or that of Rome. It is true that these writers deny that their system has any near affinity with Romanism; but their attempts to make out a difference, when to us there appears to be none, rather confirms us in the belief of what is made so evident by a fair comparison of the two systems. There may indeed be nice points of difference between Oxfordism and Romanism, but they are so minute and subtile as not to be easily perceptible. This we think Bishop M'Ilvaine has rendered exceedingly manifest.

It has appeared to some, that as this was a controversy which has arisen in the bosom of the church of England, and has a special relation to her tenets and institutions, other denominations of Christians had no concern in the matter; and that it was indecorous for them to interfere. The unreasonableness of this sentiment, must, we think, be evident to all; for when any doctrines are divulged and industriously propagated, which are inimical to evangelical truth, wherever they may arise, or by whomsoever they may be propagated, it is the solemn duty of all who are set for the defence of the gospel to use their influence, be it more or less, to oppose a barrier to the progress of dangerous error. The defence of truth and the refutation of error is a common concern; and as the evils of popery have been great beyond expression, in obscuring and perverting the doctrines of Christianity, and corrupting the worship of God with superstition and idolatry, it is a manifest duty, incumbent on all Protestants, to come forward in opposition to the dissemination of such tenets and opinions, as tend to favour this anti-christian system. The Oxford doctrines are, therefore, deeply interesting to all who love the truth, and wish to defend it.

We are very willing, however, that Episcopalians should be the chief combatants in this contest; and if they had a

host of defenders of the faith, such as Bishop M'Ilvaine; or even a few as able and as fearless advocates of the pure doctrines of the reformation, as this distinguished prelate, we should willingly resign the whole battle into their hands. But we are seriously apprehensive that this pious and learned bishop will not receive the least encouragement, much less effectual aid, from the majority of the clergy of his own church. It is pleasing, however, to know, that even among the dignitaries of the American Episcopal Church, he does not stand alone; but that his able defence of the scriptural doctrine of justification, has met with a decided approbation of others in the same station. As long as the Protestant Episcopal Church maintains such doctrines as those exhibited in the "Charge," and the Volume, under review, we shall, notwithstanding our different views of church government and external order, cordially bid her "God speed." And when any bishop, or other clergyman of that denomination, comes boldly forth in defence of these precious doctrines, he shall have our support, however feeble it may be; and we shall consider such as on the Lord's side, though they gather not with us.

We are aware that our praise will, in certain quarters, be considered "dispraise;" but we know also, that Bishop M'Ilvaine feels a noble disregard of the censures of those churchmen who cherish a much warmer sympathy with Roman Catholics than with such Protestants of other denominations, as hold precisely the system of doctrines, contained in the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of the church of England.

The chief contest, from the beginning, has been, and it ever will be, about the true method of acceptance with God; whether by our own works and merits, in whole or in part; or by the mere grace of God, through the merit of Jesus Christ. This was the chief subject of controversy in the church, in the days of Paul; and how vital he considered the difference which then existed between those who depended on the law for justification, and those who sought this blessing by faith in Christ, is sufficiently manifest throughout the whole of his epistle to the Romans; and especially in his epistle to the Galatians, where he denounces the teachers of salvation by works as preaching "another gospel;" and as having departed entirely from the doctrines of grace. The same was the chief subject of controversy in the days of Augustine, who introduced no new opinions, but asserted and vindicated those which had been taught by Paul in languageas decided and unequivocal as can be employed.

And when the light of the reformation dawned on the Christian world, what was the doctrine which Luther and Melancthon, Zuingle, Bucer, and Calvin considered the main point to be established, and rescued from the perversion of the Romish doctors? It was no other than gratuitous justification, by faith, through the righteousness of Christ imputed. Can it be shown that any one of the reformers, who was retained in the fellowship of these distinguished men, ever dissented from this cardinal doctrine? In all the creeds and catechisms, published by the different churches, is there one, which does not give a prominent place to this doctrine? And yet, so contrary is it to the proud reasons of men, that however plainly this doctrine may be established at any given time, it is never long before degeneracy begins; and with the same formulas of doctrine, in the books and in the church, *another gospel* imperceptibly, comes in. This great fundamental truth is at first overlooked; a doctrine inconsistent with it gradually gains ground; and at length, it is openly impugned; and not only impugned, but virulently calumniated, as a doctrine Antinomian, and opening the flood-gates to all manner of licentiousness. And it is no new thing, even in Protestant churches, for men to be persecuted and expelled from the communion of the church, and sometimes exiled from their country, for maintaining and preaching those very doctrines contained in the creed of the church to which they belong. No impartial man ever doubted of the Calvinistic character of the articles of the church of England. And yet what an array of learning, and what an abuse of reasoning and ingenuity have been displayed to give them another aspect. When we call the XXXIX articles Calvinistic, we do not mean to assert that they were derived from the writings of Calvin; there may be historical evidence, that the writings of Luther and Melancthon, of Bucer and Martyr, had more influence in giving complexion to these articles, than the writings of Calvin; but all these, on the subject of justification, as well as the other doctrines of grace, held the same opinions as John Calvin. They all drew from the same fountain of Paul's inspired Epistles; they were all familiar with the writings of Augustine against Pelagius and his coadjutors. Calvin came later on the theatre of the reformation than several of these, and brought in no new doctrines. However his name may be abhorred by pelagianizing theologians of the Church of England *now*, no writings were

more in vogue and more highly esteemed, than his INSTITUTES, in the purest and best days of that church.

When we say, therefore, that the articles of the Church of England, and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, are Calvinistic, we mean, that they contain the doctrine, from whomsoever it might be received, which now is technically called *Calvinistic.* Indeed, we do not see why it is necessary to suppose that the doctrine of the ARTICLES was derived from any foreign source. Had not Cranmer, and his associates, in the reformation in England, access to the same Bible from which Luther and Zuingle derived all their evangelical opinions? And were not the English reformers, as well as those on the continent, men of learning and talents, and capable of deducing from the Scriptures, the truths which are there so plainly taught, that he who runs may read? It is a remarkable fact, that all the precursors of the reformation, Bradwardine, Wickliff, Huss, Jerome of Prague, together with the Waldenses and Albigenses, entertained substantially the same opinions as those universally embraced by the reformers; and it was on these DOCTRINES OF GRACE that they all laid the greatest stress; and their greatest complaints against the Church of Rome were, on account of her perversion or denial of these precious doctrines, on the knowledge of which salvation depends. And now, if a thousand sincere inquirers were to sit down separately, and without any bias from any quarter, to study the Bible with humble prayer, however they might differ in minor points, they would all imbibe the doctrines of grace, and would be led to ascribe their salvation, not in any measure to their own works or merits, but to the mercy of God in Christ: and their whole reliance for eternal life would be on his finished righteousness. This encourages us to hope and believe, that in proportion as the church falls under the influence of the Holy Spirit, Christians will be disposed to adopt and to adhere to the doctrines of grace. They are not the doctrines of any one age; nor of any particular set of men: they were not discovered by Augustine, by Luther, by Calvin, by Owen, by Beveridge or any other reformers or divines; but by all these were found in the Bible, and confirmed by their own experience. We are not afraid, therefore, that the true doctrine of justification will ever be lost from the earth. However darkness may for a season overspread the church, light will sooner or later break forth, and this truth will stand out conspicuously, in

the view of the enlightened readers of the Holy Scriptures. The gates of hell can never prevail against the church; for it is founded, not on Peter, a poor frail mortal, who needed to be held up himself every moment, but on CHRIST the ROCK OF AGES, and on the truth, that he is THE SON OF GOD. This truth cannot utterly fail, because the Holy Spirit is promised to abide with the church forever. And we are assured, that in the latter days his influences will be poured out more copiously and universally than at any former periods. Then shall the truth of God, accompanied by this celestial light, shine forth clear as the sun; so that "all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest," and then contentions and divisions shall cease, for Zion's watchmen shall see "eye to eye." May this glorious day speedily dawn upon our miserable world, and upon a divided and distracted church!

ART. VII.—*The substance of a Discourse, delivered upon the occasion of the Semi-Centenary Celebration, on the second Sabbath in December*, 1839, *before the Presbyterian Church in Cheraw, S. C.* By J. C. Coit. Prepared for the press and published by the Author, as a Testimony against the established Religion in the United States. Columbia: 1840. pp. 72.

WE have read this Discourse, consisting of seventy-two closely printed pages, twice through, with as much attention as we could command, and yet we are far from being confident that we understand it. The author begins with remarking on the influence of the institutions of the State upon religion. In this country, where public opinion is effectually the law of the land, the church, he thinks, has become subject to its power, so that "in the fashion, form, and substance of religion, the people are as absolute as the Ottoman Porte, though they declare and enforce their canons by opinion only." Thus the majority of the people, "without the forms of legislation, have established a national religion." This establishment admits of great diversity: it includes every thing which will tolerate and live in peace with all other things. Nothing but "infamy, bonds, and imprisonment,"

he thinks, can await Christianity, under such an establishment, since the gospel reveals a religion "which not only condemns man's dishonour, sin, and shame, but annihilates, with a more withering curse, his glory, pride, and righteousness; a religion that stands pre-eminent, apart, and alone; rejecting all offered alliances, and denouncing every other system, not only as erroneous, but infernal." The great majority of the people, he adds, "will declare war against such a religion; all the orders of the establishment, with their overwhelming influence, will oppose her, and endeavour to awe her into silence, or to frown her into insignificance and dishonour." "If Christianity will renounce her exclusive principle, and exercise a liberal charity for all forms of idolatry; if she will recognize, or even let alone, (cease to prophecy against) Taylorism, Arminianism, and the various other forms of infidelity in the national pale; if, in short, she will submit to the authority of the state in matters of faith, she will be received with the 'sister churches' into the embraces of popular favour." But if she dissent, she will be denounced and persecuted.

"If there be," says the author, "an uncompromising, exclusive principle in Christianity, it is of the greatest importance that all should hear it; this principle we hold to be faith in the doctrine of Christ, according to our standards; this is our testimony as Presbyterians; this is our confession. Our system is a peculiar one; and as it differs fundamentally from all others, so we hold it to be the only true system. This, our exclusive principle, is denied by the unanimous voice of the establishment; by the temper and convictions of the great body of the people, and by the spirit of the age. We are told that there are men of benevolent hearts and pious sentiments, of great goodness, truth, justice, and mercy, every where among people of every sect, name and denomination, and therefore that no particular faith is necessary to true piety and salvation. This fatal opinion is every where opposed by Scripture."

Having thus defined the position of the church, he proceeds to examine her ways for the last fifty years, and finds her guilty of apostacy both as to faith and practice. The former charge is sustained by a brief account of the rise and progress of the New Divinity. As to the latter, appeal is made, if we understand the writer, to the prevalence of benevolent institutions in proof that the practice of the church has been no better than her faith. "With the coronation of

Love commenced the era of benevolent institutions among us. You know, my hearers, that the king and his subjects in the American Israel have not been restrained to a spiritual jurisdiction, but have been everywhere projecting reforms, where any thing is amiss in persons, families, neighbourhoods, cities, states and people all over the world. It has been a liberal, and enlightened, a magnanimous, a disinterested, a comprehensive, a universal love. This is the king that has reigned in our Israel, and we have rejoiced in his high places and groves; offered upon the altars which he has made; burnt incense and sacrificed to his idols; observed his times and walked in his statutes and ordinances." A long parallel is then run between this apostacy of our church, and that of the ten tribes under Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and that of the papacy. "Have not our churches," he asks, "been degraded into mere financial agencies to raise their quota of taxes for the royal treasury, that king Love may carry on his magnificent campaigns of benevolence and humanity? Has our church in fact obeyed the word of the Lord; walked in his ways; done that which was right in his eyes; kept his ordinances; sanctified his sabbath; honoured his church and ministers; defended his truth; lifted up his sacrifice, and gloried in the mediation of the royal and eternal priesthood of the man Christ Jesus? Or have we, like Jeroboam and the Pope, so humanized Christianity, that all obligations to duty and worship are such as may be done by substitution of human appointment; by a representation we are competent to ordain and establish? Has not gold become, under the dynasty of king Love, value in the abstract? Is it not accounted an equivalent for any religious service; and will not the king compound for money in lieu of personal services?"

As to the unfaithfulness of the church in matters of doctrine, he says, "If the new school theology is true, then our Confession is a bundle of lies; yet our church has tolerated these infidel and detestible doctrines more or less for thirty years; they have been preached to the hearts and minds of our people; avowed and defended in printed sermons, books and commentaries, by presbyterian ministers, and all the people have said, amen! Is here no room for repentance, humiliation and reform?" . . . . "Have we not indiscriminately intermingled in religious correspondence with Arminians, Methodists, Pelagians and others of licentious doctrines; and has not a spirit of love and polite-

ness to them shut our mouths and proved us recreant as witnesses for God?"

What this reform should be we are taught under the third head. "We must go back to the old paths; the good old ways which we have deserted: we must recant our false doctrines and renounce our false worship." As to reform in doctrine, he says, "Necessity is upon us to cry aloud and spare not, to lift our voice upon the mountains, and proclaim that there is a difference; a great and impassable gulph is fixed between us. We believe their religion to be a fundamental departure from the faith of the gospel; we oppose it not mainly or radically by the force of argument, but by the word of God; by the testimony." As to practice, the reform should be directed against the national societies. "Is there any king Saul among you who would spare the king and the chief and best of the spoils of Amalek, to sacrifice to the Lord your God? Do you murmur among yourselves saying, 'Old king Love has a very good heart, fine feelings and an excellent spirit, and has been devoted to the liberty and happiness of the people; that his institutions have done a great deal of good, and ought not to be utterly destroyed?' In religion nothing is good but obedience to God. Circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing; but obedience to the commandments of God. If these national societies confessed allegiance to Caesar, making no other pretensions than (the truth) that they are mere political organisms to promote the public welfare, we should have no religious controversy with them; their merits would be discussed like other measures of mere practical ethics, or civil government; upon the principles of morals and political expediency. But when they put the cross upon the banner of their empire, and march in the name of the King of kings, call upon us for levies of money and of men, and for submission to their laws and ordinances, upon the obligations of conscience and religion; we ask for their commission. There is no pretence of any authority, or word, or warrant from the throne. Their glory is that they are volunteers; every band is a free will, a voluntary society, self constituted to do good; that is, to destroy the works of the devil upon principles of action more efficient and better adapted to the spirit of the age, than those impotent institutions and ordinances, the church, the ministry, the word, the sacraments and prayer, which Jesus Christ, in his want of forecast in olden time, established as his means to this very end, but which have proved a failure! Such pro-

fane and blasphemous principles are the foundation stones of the national establishment." "The American Tract and Sunday School Societies are self impeached, as witnesses for Christ and his gospel. The bond of their union is a compact to suppress the truth; that truth and those doctrines which, according to the testimony of our church, and of all her true children, are the pillars of the gospel. Associations no better on Christian principles (so far as their object or effect is to deny the faith, and to usurp the offices and functions of the church,) than the assembly of chief priests, scribes, elders and rulers of the people, who were convened at the palace of Caiaphas, the high priest, to consult how they might take Jesus by subtlety and put him to death."

As to the missionary societies, he asks, "What are the objects and works of the missions of the Establishment? To civilize, educate, and improve the degraded, ignorant, and destitute, at home and abroad; their missionary teaches letters, grammar, geography, arithmetic, astronomy, moral and mental science, agriculture, medicine, the useful and fine arts, history, political economy, &c. &c. Religion! such religion as they have, they send; their religion, in this behalf, consists in teaching and preaching these very things. They have more faith in the efficacy of this mental and moral cultivation and training to do good, than in the power of the gospel; or they may regard these as a preliminary expedient; a sort of John the Baptist to go before in the wilderness, to prepare the way, to make crooked things straight." "As to the Education Societies of the Establishment, the learning which pertains to this world merely, such as mental and moral philosophy, and the common branches of science and the arts, this is the proper business of the parent, the guardian, the state. It is not the work delegated to the church. All these things are desirable, some of them indispensable; and so are bread and meat and water; but it is not the office of the church to manage plantations, raise stock, dig wells or make pumps." "As to the Bible Society, of all the works of king Love, the most plausible and seductive, I object," says our author "to its vital principle. It is pledged to send the written word without note or comment; without the testimony of the church, without the voice of the preacher. Now God has not given his word on this wise to volunteers; and if any voluntary society undertake this office, it is a self constituted agency and a will worship; it is not obedience to a command."

It is not however these national societies alone, that the au-

thor fears and denounces. "We now," he says, "it seems, are to have our Boards for missions, foreign and domestic, for education, and for publication of tracts and divinity. Whether we are not like Rachael, stealing Laban's images and concealing them; whether we are not hankering with the Hebrews after the flesh pots of Egypt, or with Achan hiding in our tents the wedge of gold and the Babylonish garment, whether these Boards are not calves like those in Dan and Bethel, or altars after the fashion of that in Samaria; whether, in short, this device of Boards be not a Trojan horse which has in its bowels the principles of the voluntary societies, benevolent institutions, and even king Love himself, is a matter of most momentous import. Let us hear no voice but the word of the master; and let every one who hath an ear hear him. If the administration of our church be established through the functions and agency of these Boards, the captains will become invested with a prelatical superintendence and control; they will, de facto, constitute the government, nothing will remain for the churches and presbyteries to do in the important departments committed to the Boards but to obey and to pay."

"These Boards, unless speedily arrested in their growth, will infallibly take root and perpetuate their existence; and from their inherent tendency to expansion, will spread out their leaves like the green bay, till like the societies they overshade, obscure and blight the plantings in the garden of the Lord. They are very great trees, which Paul hath not planted nor Apollos watered. Let us then remember the Scripture, 'Every tree which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up.'" In the Appendix, he tells us the Presbytery of South Carolina resolved to support the Boards, and declared 'they are fully convinced of the insufficiency of individual churches or presbyteries to carry forward the great enterprizes of benevolence.' "Here," says our author, "is a formal renunciation of presbyterianism, and a college of Cardinals is elected by the presbytery, to carry forward the work which Christ has given the church to do. We believe presbyteries and individual churches are fully competent to do what it is proposed the Boards should do for them."

Many of our readers, if they have not looked at the name of the author of this discourse, will no doubt think that we have here an exhibition of the bigotry and narrow-mindedness of the genuine old Scotch seceder school. The writer,

however, is a native of New England, and, as is very obvious from his sermon, has not been long enough in the church of which he is so over-zealous an advocate and rebuker, to learn its principles or to imbibe its spirit. His sermon is in conflict with our standards, from beginning to end; and no man, formed under their influence, or who really adopted their principles, could possibly exhibit the spirit which pervades this discourse. When we say that the sermon is in constant conflict with our standards, we do not refer so much to its theology as to its ecclesiastical principles. We are, however, far from being satisfied with its theology. The man who calls Taylorism and Arminianism infidelity, holds, if we understand him, the most objectionable of all Dr. Taylor's doctrines. "In the first man," says Mr. Coit, "who was created in the maturity of human perfection, God made an experiment or probation of the power of the law of personal holiness, or of the sovereign dominion of the human will to maintain life in man; and the fact was thus manifested and proved that life could not be preserved by this law. Such is human nature in its best estate that it will be seduced into disobedience by temptation and the subtlety of Satan." We know not how the author would explain this, but to us it seems plainly to teach the doctrine that sin is necessarily incidental to a moral system. This is still plainer from what follows, for it is added, "Had every one of the human race been created good, like the first man, every one would in time have yielded to some modification of temptation which an endless existence and social intercourse would involve." Nor could God prevent such a result without destroying the moral agency of man, for the writer says, "To affirm that God is bound in justice to interpose his dominion or power to preserve the agent from transgression, is to destroy legal or natural liberty, and to deny the facts of the probation and fall of mankind." We cannot see the difference between this statement and the fundamental doctrine of Taylorism, viz. that God cannot effectually control the acts of a moral agent without destroying his liberty. This idea is still more plainly presented in the Appendix, where the writer says, "Should He control the will of man by perfect laws of intellect, sensibility and organization, the agent would be brought within the empire of necessity; liberty would be destroyed, and the subject become and be merely a ministerial or executive agent." If then, according to the doctrine of the scriptures and of our standards, Adam was created perfect, he was not

a free agent, of course the author holds that he was not thus created, but was imperfect, faulty, or other than good from the beginning. What a contradiction of Scripture, and what a reflection on God are involved in this statement, every man can see.

When we say that the doctrine that God cannot effectually control the acts of his moral creatures without destroying their liberty, is the fundamental doctrine of Taylorism, we are not to be understood as meaning that it is peculiar to that system. It is the first principle of Pelagianism in all its forms. Mr. Coit does not carry it out, and therefore it does not vitiate his theology. He seems to have introduced it to justify the fall of all mankind in Adam. Since it is certain that all would sin sooner or later, even if created as perfect as the first man, and as God could not prevent such a result without destroying the liberty of men, there was no harm in treating them as though they had done what it was certain they would do. Whatever this may be, it is not the docrine of the Bible or of our standards. Our object however is not to convict Mr. Coit of heresy. We are willing to believe that he may have some way of explaining the passages referred to so as to reconcile them with the other doctrines which he so strenuously advocates. We do not the less believe, however, that the sentiments which they contain are both erroneous and dangerous.

The ecclesiastical principles of this discourse we regard as in direct conflict with the standards of the Presbyterian church. It is the leading doctrine of this sermon that no man is to be regarded and treated as a Christian who does not adopt the standards of the Presbyterian church, or some formula of doctrine of like import. The exclusive principle of Christianity, the writer teaches, is faith in the doctrine of Christ according to our standards; all who do not adopt that doctrine as thus set forth, we are bound to denounce, and to have no communion with them as Christians. He censures the church for having "intermingled in religious correspondence with Arminians, Methodists, and Pelagians." He sneers repeatedly at the expression "Sister churches." He exclaims, "We turn the new school presbyterians out of our house, because we say they deny our faith, our gospel; and avowed Arminians are invited into it, welcomed and embraced as Christian brethren." This idea pervades the whole discourse, and unless we are prepared to maintain this exlusive principle, all talk of reform, he calls, mere vapouring.

Now we confidently affirm, that this is not the doctrine of the Presbyterian church, but, on the contrary, is in direct opposition to her spirit and principles. The first proof of the correctness of this declaration, though negative, is conclusive. The fact that our church no where enjoins the adoption of the Confession of Faith as a term of Christian communion is proof positive that she does not consider it necessary. She wisely demands the adoption of that Confession of all who are admitted to the office of bishop, or ruling elder, or deacon, but she has never required it of the private members of the church. Many of our new school brethren went to the extreme of asserting that our church required of her ministers nothing but what was essential to the Christian character; and now it seems that some are for going to the opposite extreme; and teach that the Confession of Faith is the test not only of ministerial, but of Christian communion. These extremes are equally dangerous and equally opposed to our standards.

It is not however by merely abstaining from requiring the adoption of the Confession of Faith by private members, that our church teaches that such adoption is not necessary to Christian communion, but by expressly teaching the contrary doctrine. Our standards from beginning to end teach that we are bound to regard and treat as Christians, and to receive to our communion as such, all who give credible evidence of being true Christians; and she no where prescribes, as part of that evidence, the adoption of the whole system of doctrine contained in our Confession of Faith. "The Catholic church," our Confession teaches, "hath been sometimes more, and sometimes less visible. And particular churches, which are members thereof, are more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed more or less purely in them. The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error: and some have so degenerated, as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan."* In describing those who ought not to be admitted to Christian communion, the Confession says, "All ignorant and ungodly persons, as they are unfit to enjoy communion with him, so are they unworthy of the Lord's table."† It is here plainly taught that those who are fit for communion with the Lord, should be admitted to his table. And what a monstrous doctrine is the opposite assumption! Who are

* Confession, ch. 25. §. 4, 5. † Con. 29. 8.

we, that we should refuse communion with those with whom Christ and the Holy Ghost commune? We devoutly thank God, that no such anti-Christian doctrine is countenanced by our church. In the Larger Catechism, in answer to the question, May one who doubteth of his being in Christ, or of his due preparation, come to the Lord's supper? it is said, "One who doubteth of his being in Christ, or of his due preparation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, may have true interest in Christ, though he be not assured thereof, and in God's account hath it, if he be duly affected with the apprehension of the want of it, and unfeignly desires to be found in Christ, and to depart from iniquity, in which case, (because promises are made, and this sacrament is appointed for the relief of even weak and doubting Christians) he is to bewail his unbelief, and labour to have his doubts resolved; and so doing, he may and ought to come to the Lord's supper, that he may be further strengthened." And in the immediately following answer, we are taught that it is only "the ignorant and scandalous," whom we are authorized to debar from communion. The qualifications for the Lord's supper, as laid down in the Shorter Catechism, are knowledge to discern the Lord's body, faith to feed upon him, repentance, love and new obedience. In the Directory, chapter 8, we are told that "the ignorant and scandalous are not to be admitted to the Lord's supper." And in the following chapter, in reference to the young, it is said, "When they come to years of discretion, if they be free from scandal, appear sober and steady, and have sufficient knowledge to discern the Lord's body, they ought to be informed, it is their duty and privilege to come to the Lord's supper." And on the same page it is said, "Those who are to be admitted to sealing ordinances, shall be examined as to their knowledge and piety."

Nothing, therefore, can be plainer than that our church requires nothing more than credible evidence of Christian character, as the condition of Christian communion. Of that evidence the church officers are to judge. Not one word is said of the adoption of the Confession of Faith, or of any thing but the evidences of piety. Any man therefore who gives evidence of being a Christian, we are bound by the rules of our church to admit to our communion. And so far from there being the slightest intimation that the adoption of the whole system of doctrine contained in our standards, is necessary to a man's being a Christian, there is the strongest evidence to the contrary. This evidence is to be found in

the omission of any mention of the standards in those passages which speak of the communion of saints; in the mention of other terms than those of subscription to a formula of doctrine; and in the admission that true churches may be impure both as to doctrine and practice, that is, may reject what we hold to be truth without forfeiting their Christian character.

The doctrine here contended for has been repeatedly recognized by the General Assembly. So recently as May, 1839, in their letter to the churches, the Assembly said, "We have ever admitted to our communion all those who, in the judgment of charity, were the sincere disciples of Jesus Christ." They add, however, that "this has no reference to the admission of men to offices in the house of God." With regard to all office-bearers, they say: "The founders of our church, and all who have entered it with enlightened views and honest intentions, have declared to the world and to all other Christian churches that the system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, is that sound doctrine, which we are to require of all those who seek the office of a bishop." "Such are the principles," add the General Assembly, "on which our church was founded, and on which for more than a century it was faithfully administered. It is believed, that during all this period no one was ever debarred from the communion of saints, who was regarded as a sincere disciple of Christ, and that no one was admitted to any office in the church, or, if admitted, was allowed to retain his standing, who dissented in any material point from the system of doctrine contained in our standards."

There is one monstrous assertion relating to this subject involved in one of the passages quoted above from Mr. Coit's sermon, which we cannot pass unnoticed. He virtually asserts that the new school party were cut off as unfit for Christian communion. This assertion is in the very face of the solemn declaration of the Assembly, that they had no intention of affecting either the ministerial standing, or the church relations of any one in the four synods. They declared that it is because of their irregular organization, that the act of dissolution was passed, and that any who chose might organise themselves agreeably to the constitution, and thus their connexion with the church be preserved. This is the very view of the case which Mr. Coit gives, in the body of his sermon, of the acts of the Assembly of 1837. "As to the clamour," he says, "which has been made about 'cutting

off five hundred ministers and sixty thousand communicants' by the Assembly's edict of 1837, the truth is, not one person was cut off, unless he exscinded himself upon the voluntary principle, as every one will see who can read and will look at the enactment. The effect of the act was to abolish an anomalous ecclesiastical connection of four Synods with the General Assembly; a connection which had grown up out of a temporary missionary arrangement, (made when the country covered by these synods was mostly a wilderness,) operating most perniciously upon the 'truth, peace, and purity of the churches,' and all the reasons for which had long ceased to exist." This representation is undoubtedly correct. The acts of 1837 deposed no minister and excommunicated no church member. They declared no man and no set of men unworthy of Christian communion. It would indeed have been a monstrous iniquity for the Assembly to excommunicate thousands of Christians of whom they knew nothing, and who had been neither accused nor convicted of any offence. The imputation of any such purpose to the General Assembly is a gross calumny against that venerable body.

The doctrine so plainly taught in our standards, that Christian fellowship should be extended to all who exhibit the Christian character, is no less plainly taught in the word of God. We are there commanded to receive all those whom God has received. In the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, it is in various forms enjoined on Christians not to reject any who live on Christain principles. True religion consists in "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he who in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God and approved of men." And surely those who are acceptable to God may well be acceptable to his church.

There is no duty more frequently or pointedly enjoined in the New Testament, than love of the brethren It is made the badge of discipleship. "Hereby" says Christ "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen. We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. This duty involves of course the recognition as brethren of all those who are really such, and the exercise of cordial affection and confidence towards them. It matters not by what name they may be called, whether they follow with us or

not; if they bear the image of Christ, those who fail to recognise and honour it, fail to love the brethren; they reject and despise those whom Christ has received, and have reason to consider seriously lest Christ should say unto them, In as much as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me. It would avail us little in such a case to say, We did not regard him as a brother; for this is the very heart of the offence. If a man is a brother and gives the scriptural evidence of the fact, not to see and recognise that evidence is an indication of that very state of mind which is so offensive to our Divine Master. Will it avail us in that day, to say, We did not think any man could be a Christian who sang Watts's Psalms, or who did not wear plain clothes, or who refused to give a pledge of total abstinence, or who declined to join an abolition society, or who denied the authority of the pope or of prelates, or who did not adopt the same standard of doctrine that we did? The question will be, Did you refuse to recognise those as Christians who were really such, and who gave scriptural evidence of their being the disciples of Christ? What that evidence is, is recorded in the word of God, and every man and every church must apply it upon their own responsibility. One thing, however, is plain, viz. that we are bound to receive all those whom God has received; and are forbidden to require more for communion with us, than he requires for communion with him.

There is a prevalent misconception on this subject, which ought to be corrected. It is said that by communing with any church we recognise or sanction their errors. This is not so. We recognise them as Christians, and nothing more. If a Presbyterian commune in a Congregational or Episcopal church, no man regards him as sanctioning their distinctive views of church government. It is simply in their character of fellow Christians that he sits with them at the table of the Lord, to which they have a common right. And great is the guilt of those who refuse that right to any to whom it properly belongs.

Our standards tell us that particular churches "may err in making the terms of communion too lax or too narrow." No one, it is presumed, can accuse our church of going to either extreme, in requiring, as the condition of Christian communion, nothing more and nothing less than Christian character. And no individual congregation or presbytery in our connexion has a right to alter those terms. In applying the rule the responsibility rests upon the officers of

each particular church, and no doubt errors in this matter are often committed. The Bible contains a perfect rule of faith and practice; and we are bound to believe all the Bible teaches, and to do all that it commands. But perfect faith is no more necessary to true discipleship, than perfect conduct. There are some things which, if a man does, would afford decisive evidence that he is not a Christian; and there are some truths the rejection of which affords no less decisive evidence of the same fact. But as there are infirmities of temper and behaviour, so are there errors in doctrine, which are consistent with true religion, and we have no more right to exact a strict conformity to our own belief of the true import of the rule of faith, than we have to demand perfect conformity to the rule of duty. "Those who are to be admitted to sealing ordinances," says our Directory, "shall be examined as to their knowledge and piety." Beyond this no church session has a right to go.

We have ever regarded the erroneous views and practice of the churches in relation to Christian communion as one of the greatest evils of the Christian world. It is not the existence of sects, for that perhaps is unavoidable, but it is the refusal to recognise as brethren those who really love and serve Christ, that is to be condemned and deplored. It is this that has turned the ancient eulogium: See how these Christians love one another, into the condemning testimony: See how these Christians hate one another. It is our presumptuously declaring that to be common, which God has cleansed, which has arrayed the different parts of the church against each other. There is such a thing as a faithful adherence to the truth, without anathematizing all who differ from us. We may guard our ministry and admit none to the office of teacher in our churches, who do not hold that system of doctrine which we believe God has revealed, and which cannot be rejected in any of its parts without evil to the souls of men; but we may still recognise as Christian brethren all who hold the essential doctrines of the gospel, and who love the Lord Jesus Christ.

The grave error into which Mr. Coit has fallen of demanding the same conditions, as far as orthodoxy is concerned, for Christian, as for ministerial communion, we suspect is a remnant of his former Congregationalism. As under that system the governing authority is placed in the hands of the church members, there is a constant temptation either to reduce the ministerial, or to elevate the Christain standard of

communion, in derogation of the scriptural rule. In our system there is no such necessity. Of church officers, our church requires the adoption of the Confession of Faith, of church members, knowledge and piety. And we hope that when Mr. Coit becomes better acquainted with the principles of the church, which he pronounces "faithless, treacherous and rebellious," he will change both his opinions and practice on this subject.

The second leading error which pervades this discourse, seems to us to have had a similar origin. It also is a remnant of Congregationalism. The writer does not seem able to elevate his conception of the church, above the idea of a single worshipping assembly, or at most of a single presbytery. He therefore pronounces the resolution of the South Carolina presbytery in favour of the Boards of Missions, &c., and declaring their belief of the insufficiency of individual churches or presbyteries to carry on the great enterprises of benevolence, to be a formal renunciation of Presbyterianism. His fundamental principle seems to be, that nothing can be said to be done by the church, which is not done by individual congregations; and he talks of the Boards as something extraneous to the church, as usurping power over the church, as being a bench of Cardinals, as degrading the churches into mere tax gatherers or tax payers, &c. &c. All this is very well, if a church is a worshipping assembly and nothing more. But according to our standards, the church, in one sense, is the whole body of believers throughout the world together with their children; and in another sense, all those believers who are united in communion, and under the same organized government, are a church. "The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" therefore is one body; and may act as a whole. It has agreed thus to act through the General Assembly; which is the representative of all its constituent parts. What therefore is done by the Assembly, is as much done by the church, as what is done by a synod, presbytery, or church session. A church session is composed of ministers and elders; a presbytery is composed of ministers and elders; so is a synod, and so is the General Assembly, and we should like to know how the action of ministers and elders in a session, is better entitled to be considered church action, than that of the same class of men in the General Assembly, regularly convened under the same general constitution. This union of many congregations in one church is a radical principle of Presbyterianism. It is

that which mainly distinguishes it from Congregationalism. Yet it is a principle of which Mr. Coit seems to have little or no idea. This principle lies at the foundation of our whole system, and justifies the exercise of ecclesiastical authority by the General Assembly, over the remotest parts of our union. We are all one body, one church; and we meet and act as such. To deny this, is to deny the main doctrine of our standards, as to church government. It is to break up our union, and establish congregational independency.

Mr. Coit's doctrine on this subject is in such violent opposition, not only to our standards, but to the professions of the whole old school party, that we must believe that he stands very much alone, as far as this point is concerned. What have we been contending for these many years? Was not the right and duty of the whole church in its ecclesiastical organization, and acting through its own officers and assemblies, to carry on the work of missions, and other enterprises of evangelical benevolence, one of the main topics of dispute? Did not our new school brethren deny this, and assert that the individual churches associated in voluntary societies, were the proper organizations for this purpose? Must we then admit that after all they were right? Must we give up all we have been contending for, and go back to the plan of each congregation acting for itself, or in voluntary union with other congregations? This, if we understand him, is Mr. Coit's doctrine; and this we affirm is the very spirit of Congregationalism. The work of missions and religious education was assiduously prosecuted by the original presbytery of Philadelphia; by the venerable synod of that name; by the synod of New York and Philadelphia, and by the General Assembly ever since its formation. To be now told that this is an assumption of illegitimate power, an usurpation of the rights of the churches, and a formal rejection of Presbyterianism, may well make us doubt our own identity. Mr. Coit may rest assured that the church will require something more than confident assertion, to induce her to give up a principle coeval with her existence and inwrought into her whole ecclesiastical system.

The only objection, beyond that already considered, even hinted at against the Boards, is the undue power which is attributed to them. There is no doubt power committed to their hands. They have power to employ agents, to collect money, to appoint and sustain missionaries and candidates for the ministry, selected or ordained by the presbyteries.

But whose power is this? It is the legitimate power of the church, which it has ever exercised, for the good of men and for the glory of God, exerted through her own officers and entirely under her own control. It is precisely the power, which Presbyterians have ever contended belongs to the ecclesiastical organizations of the church, and which the opposers of Presbyterianism maintain belongs to single congregations or voluntary societies. These Boards are the mere agents of the church, acting under her direction and responsible to her for every step they take. To complain of the existence of this power, is to complain of Presbyterianism; and to complain of Presbyterianism is to complain of what we profess to believe has the sanction of the word of God. This power of the General Assembly to conduct missions in the name of the church, is analogous to that by which it exercises discipline, or performs the various executive acts which pertain to its jurisdiction. It is the whole church acting through its constitutional representatives. If Mr. Coit has any complaint to make about the abuse of the power in question, the church will no doubt listen to him; but it is rather too late to complain of its existence. To be consistent, he should complain of our having a General Assembly at all.

It may be that the objection against the Boards, contemplates the undue influence of their members in the conduct of the general affairs of the church. Viewed in this aspect, it assumes the form of mere unreasonable jealousy. That Mr. Lowrie or Dr. M'Farland has any undue influence in our church judicatories in the decision of matters of discipline or policy, is so violent an assumption that it need not be discussed. The great safe-guard against the abuse of power, is to have it confined to constitutional forms and committed to hands responsible to those in whose behalf it is exercised. The men who aspire to undue influence always begin by declaiming against power, and by endeavouring to sweep away all its legitimate forms. Take away that bauble, said Cromwell, when he abolished the Parliament, to make room for the dominion of his single will. And tyranny, in many other cases, has been built on the denuded foundations of constitutional authority. We do not make these remarks with any reference to Mr. Coit. We are not aware that he has a particle of the demagogue in his whole constitution. But we are fully satisfied that if the principles of his discourse were carried out, we should not only see the

union and harmony of our churches destroyed, but the dominant influence of irresponsible societies and individuals established throughout our land. We have only to choose between those forms which our fathers have established, and which give to every individual his full influence in the church, by enabling him to act in constitutional union with all his brethren, and nominal independency with real subjection to the power of the few.

QUARTERLY LIST

OF

NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

An Exposition of some of the Doctrines of the Latin Grammar. By Gessner Harrison, M. D., Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia. Part I. Charlottesville: Printed by James Alexander. 1839. 8vo. pp. xx, 119.

Under a very modest title, we have here a learned and elaborate production, such as only a few scholars, we suppose, in America are competent entirely to appreciate. To such a competency of etymological and ethnographical lore, we will not offer a claim; but we perceive enough to convince us that in this beginning—for it is no more—Professor Harrison has broken ground in a work which must assume a great place, as leisure, and wealth, and the rewards of learning increase, among American scholars. Comparative Grammar, in its connexion with Ethnography, has been touched in one or two "monographs" of our distinguished professors Anthon and Gibbs. Besides these, and the book before us, there have been few intrusions of Cisatlantic scholars into this field.

The aspect of the work is decidedly German. If it were less so, in regard to the partition and notation of the chapters and lesser divisions, it would be more comely and more useful in the esteem of English and American scholars: in matters of taste we are less ready to admire the Germans, than in matters of research. Professor Harrison shews himself familiar with the works of Bopp, Pott, and Grotefend, Ramshorn, Billroth, as well as those of the more common grammarians of Europe. But the etymological inquiries here presented are plainly conducted upon an original plan, and by means of an analysis which cannot rest satisfied with any thing short of elementary principles. Some of these, Professor Harrison has sought for with extraordinary research, and presented with satisfactory clearness. To express our frank opinion respecting this truly remarkable volume, we regard it as establishing, by a single successful effort, the position of its author as one of the most accomplished philologists of our country; but, at the same time, as strikingly defective in regard to those little palliations and embellishments of a peculiarly dry and, except to the initiated, uninviting study, of which it is

the interest of Etymologists to avail themselves. Hence it will not be read by those who are not previously enamoured of the subject: by such it will be placed on the shelf of great standard works. We think the country has a right to look for a treatise from Professor Harrison, on the structure of the Latin, and its Indo-Germanic correlates, such as has not yet appeared in the English tongue. As it is, we commend the instructive brochure to all who aim higher than the mark of our trivial, catch-penny school-grammars.

Lectures upon the History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By the Rev. Henry Blunt, A. M., Rector of Upper Chelsea; late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge; and Chaplain to his Grace, the Duke of Richmond. Second American Edition. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker, Northwest corner of Chestnut and Fifth streets. 1840. 12mo. pp. 462.

The circulation of Mr. Blunt's writings is the best proof of their adaptation to the popular taste; and we rejoice that such is the character of all his productions that they instruct the common mind without tasking it. In an age of hurry, when hard study is becoming rare, and when the author who seeks public favour must triturate his doctrine down to the capacity of undisciplined thinkers, such a talent as that of Mr. Blunt is invaluable. The subject of the volume is most precious—the history of our Lord—and it is treated in an evangelical and pleasing manner. If there is nothing great, there is much that is delightful in this neat and convenient volume. The American publisher, who, as our readers may know, is a gentleman of piety and education, has conferred many favours on the Christian public, by the good books which he has sent forth in an agreeable form. We respect his undertakings, and cordially wish him success.

A Catechism of the Rudiments of Music: Designed for the Assistance of Teachers. By C. F. Worrell, Resident Licentiate of Princeton Theological Seminary, and Teacher of Music. Second Edition Enlarged. Princeton: John Bogart. 1840, 18mo. pp. 114.

The judgment of all nations has been in favour of Catechisms, as a mode of conveying elementary instruction; or of lodging in the pupil's memory correct and comprehensive formulas. After all the pretences of rival school-books and contending boarding-schools, and the *crambe recocta* of grammars and other helps on the 'productive system,' the 'inductive system,' the 'analytic system,' and all the other systems which it is the interest of book-makers and book-pedlers to invent,—we say, after all these pretences, we speak advisedly our conviction, as having laboured many years at this oar, that the true, natural, philosophical, and only successful method of beginning any art or science with children and other learners, is to *charge their memories with the elements*. The question whether they understand the terms in the first instance is in our view a question *de lana caprina*; we leave it to be discussed by amateur menders of education. Now Music, like other Arts, connected with

Science, is to be taught in this way, and we think Mr. Worrell has hit the nail on the head, as to plan. We will not applaud all the details of the book: while we perceive in it every thing that is essential and much that is new, and consider it the basis of an excellent manual. Musicians must give an opinion as to the particulars. It is evidently a work of great care, and we know it to be the production of one who can verify all he says by the best of all vouchers in education—experience.

Introduction to Ethics, including a critical survey of Moral Systems, Translated from the French of Jouffroy. By William H. Channing. In two volumes. Boston: Hilliard, Gray and Co. 1840.

This work forms the sixth volume of "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature, edited by George Ripley." The design of Mr. Ripley to render more generally accessible foreign works of established reputation, is entitled to general support. The Lectures of Jouffroy on Ethics contained in the volumes before us, are replete with discriminating and judicious criticisms on the various popular systems of morals, and give a general survey of ethical writers, which is both interesting and instructive. We regret being obliged to dismiss a work of so much importance, with so slight a notice.

A Narrative of the Difficulties in the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, N. Y., in the years 1838, 1839 and 1840. pp. 38.

The first Presbyterian church in Brooklyn was organized in 1822 under the pastoral charge of the late Rev. Mr. Sanford. At the time of its formation, it consisted of only ten members, and though two churches had subsequently been formed from it, in the beginning of 1838 it embraced five hundred communicants. Its property was worth probably from forty to fifty thousand dollars. Soon after the settlement of Dr. Cox, as the pastor of the church, four new members were added to the session, a majority of which was thus secured in favour of the contemplated course of the pastor. On the 21st of July 1838, it was proposed in this recently modified session "to separate the church from its connexion with the Presbytery of New York by declaring it an independent body." This proposition was adopted by a vote of seven to two. When however it was laid before the congregation, it was first postponed and then withdrawn. After Dr. Cox and his friends had consummated their secession from the Presbytery of New York, two of the elders, Messrs. Van Sinderen and Colt, three trustees and about a hundred members determined to remain faithful to their ecclesiastical connexion. An application on their behalf to the trustees, for the use either of the church or lecture room as a place of worship, when not otherwise occupied, was promptly refused them.

The Presbytery of New York, as a matter of course, decided that as Dr. Cox and seven of the elders had irregularly withdrawn from their jurisdiction, the pulpit of the first Presbyterian church was thereby rendered vacant, and

recognised the three adhering elders as the session of that church. These proceedings of the presbytery called forth an "Explanation and Reply," signed by Dr. Cox and the seven elders who acted with him. In this document those gentlemen made the following declaration respecting those members of the congregation who differed from them, viz. "To accept the full value of their pews and all they personally owned, though this was offered amply and promptly, they would not; theirs was the whole of the establishment, and we must recognise their claims, and come to their terms, or all negociation was vain. How was it reasonable or possible, for men in their senses to offer more than we did; while they retained their high assumptions, and would take all or nothing." This declaration filled the opposite party with astonishment. They had never heard of such an offer, and being perfectly willing to accede to it, they addressed a polite note by their committee to David Leavitt, Esq. one of the signers of the above mentioned Explanation and Reply, offering to accept of the terms alleged to have been offered to them. Mr. Leavitt replyed that as a private individual he could do nothing, but that if they would address the session or Board of Trustees of the First Presbyterian church of Brooklyn, he had no doubt their application would receive due consideration and respect. Baffled in this attempt at an amicable and equitable accommodation, the congregation determined to address themselves to Dr. Cox and his elders who had signed the Explanation and Reply. In neither of these communications did those who differed from Dr. Cox assume the style and title of the First Presbyterian church of Brooklyn, they simply refrained from giving that title to the opposite party. To their last communication they received from Dr. Cox a flippant and insolent reply in which he says, "The First Pesbyterian church of Brooklyn, is, and long has been recognised and identified by the laws of our country, and its Session and Board of Trustees are easily accessible. If any technical, or other reasons prevent you from addressing either body, we have only to say your wisdom is peculiar, and that you are fairly entitled to all its occurring privileges." He concludes by wishing them "much of the *wisdom that is from above*, and the spirit of uniform obedience to its influence." Now it is perfectly evident that neither party could, consistently with their principles or their legal claims, recognise the other as the true First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn; and that any proposition from either side which proposed an accommodation on the ground of such an acknowledgement from the other, was mere mockery. Aware of this, those who adhered to the Presbytery of New York demanded no such suicidal acknowledgement from the opposite side, they urged that the matter might be settled without such concession. The last mentioned attempt at a compromise was made in February, 1839. Another abortive attempt was made in June 1839, and finally another in December of the same year. This last attempt was made in such a form as was supposed must put all chicanery at defiance. The gentlemen who acted in the business, called themselves a committee "of the congregation under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Jacobus," and addressed themselves "to those representing the congregation under the like care of the

Rev. Dr. Cox." They declared themselves authorized to consent to any agreement calculated to give each division of the congregation a just proportion of the funds, and in case of difference between the parties, to refer the points of difference to the decision of arbitrators. This communication met with the old response, that the persons addressed could not act as individuals, but any communication, "if addressed to the Trustees of the First Presbyterian church of Brooklyn, will be laid before the congregation for disposition by them."—And there the matter now rests.

We believe no unprejudiced man can fail to regard this Narrative as being as highly honourable to the one party, as it is derogatory to the character of the other. And we hope the same dignity and forbearance which have hitherto marked the proceedings of our friends in Brooklyn, may characterize all their future measures, knowing that it is often better to suffer wrong and to be defrauded than to assert even our most obvious rights, with the hazard of compromising the honour of the gospel. The more extended circulation of this Narrative, though it must prove very unfavourable to the waning reputation of Dr. Cox, is due to truth and to the exemplary conduct of the minority of the congregation.

A Discourse delivered before the General Association of Connecticut, at its Annual Meeting, New Haven, June 1840. By Nathaniel Hewit, D. D. Hartford, 1840. pp. 26.

The points discussed in this sermon are 1. The religion of Christians, being divine, is one and the same in all of them. 2. It is by means of their union in faith and obedience, that Christians are united with each other. 3. When united in faith, and submitting to the authority of Christ and his Apostles according to the written word, differences in other respects appear among Christians, they are to be borne with reciprocal meekness, always keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

The most interesting feature of this sermon is its bold defence of the Saybook Platform as the bond of union among the Connecticut churches. As that Patform is, as to doctrines, in almost verbal agreement with the Westminster Confession, it is a cheering indication to find its authority advocated before the General Association of that state. This circumstance gives the sermon a claim to attention, which is well sustained by its intrinsic value. And we doubt not that Dr. Hewit will find that his able and uncompromising advocacy of the Puritan standard of doctrine, has strengthened the hands and encouraged the hearts of the friends of truth in all parts of our land.

Salvation by Grace. A Sermon, delivered at the Funeral of the Rev. John Hubbard Church, D. D., who died at Pelham, N. H. June 12, 1840, aged 68. By Leonard Woods, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Andover. New York: 1840. pp. 16.

Dr. Woods had for almost fifty years enjoyed the intimate friendship of the venerable man over whose grave he was called upon to minister. He wisely

supposed he could not more appropriately discharge the duty assigned him, than by exhibiting the doctrine of salvation by grace, as it was the object of the faith of his departed friend, the matter of his inward experience, and the spring of his pious and useful life. In describing this doctrine, Dr. Woods dwells on the lost state of man by nature, and on the method which God has revealed for his recovery. In reference to this latter point, he says, "The merit of Christ's obedience and sufferings, the whole merit of his mediatorial character and work, is imputed to believers,—is so made over to them—so reckoned to their account that it avails to their benefit, and they receive the blessings of it as really as though they themselves were righteous. They are justified by faith,—a faith which falls in with the scheme of grace revealed in the gospel, and receives Christ as the only Saviour, and the blessings of salvation as a free gift. Thus the whole of salvation comes from our God and Saviour, and will be for ever to the praise of the glory of his grace." We cannot refrain from expressing the great gratification with which we read this language from the pen of the first living theologian of New England. On this ground we hope to see the friends of the Redeemer, of every name and of every denomination, rejoicing together as a band of brethren.

William Tell, and other Poems, from the German of Schiller. By William Peter, A. M., Ch: Ch: Oxford. A New Edition. Philadelphia: H. Perkins. 1840. 18mo. pp. 234.

As it has become common in schools to use the simpler dramas of Germany as class-books, we think the William Tell of Schiller more suitable for this purpose than any other; and it strikes us that this, which is a very good translation, might be advantageously read in connexion with the original. It is no disparagement to any man who is not himself a Schiller, to say that his version falls below the original; and it is no small praise to add, that on a collation with the German, the work of Mr. Peter will appear to advantage. Some of the minor versions, at the close, are really surprising. The musician, however, will not thank the translator for rendering the noble "Mit dem Pfeil dem Bogen," in a measure which precludes the incomparable Alpine air to which it has become wedded in the associations of the Mountaineer.

The Principles of English Grammar: with copious Exercises in Parsing and Syntax. Arranged on the Basis of Lennie's Grammar. By Joab Brace, Jun. 1839. 18mo. pp. 144. A Key to Brace's Principles of English Grammar: containing the Corrected Exercises, and a full account of the method of teaching the Grammar. By Joab Brace, Jun. Philadelphia: H. Perkins. 1840. pp. 108.

The former of these two little books is a modification of Lennie's Grammar, a work of very great value. What Lennie did for Murray, Mr. Brace has done for Lennie; i. e. he has condensed his work. We like the Grammar all the better for being short; and, where the author agrees with Lennie, we

think him generally right. The Grammar is better than the Key, which, in some respects perhaps not material, is too much in the spirit of the prevailing modern American method, which pretends to explain every thing, at an infant stage of discipline, where explanation is useless and impertinent. The Grammar may be safely recommended, as being like that of Dr. Bullion's, a great improvement on those which have preceded it. This observation must not, however, be applied to the lists of Americanisms and obsolete words, which have a strong smack of the raciest New England errors in regard to English usage; and are discreditable to the book.

The Sacred Lyre, a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, and Set Pieces; compiled and composed under the Patronage of the New York Academy of Sacred Music, &c. &c. &c. By Thomas Hastings, Professor of Sacred Music, Author of Dissertation on Musical Taste, Manhattan Collection, &c. &c. &c. New York: D. Fanshaw. 1840. pp. 352.

It is enough to say that Mr. Hastings is the Author of this new Music-Book, to ensure for it the respect of all the friends of psalmody who may read our brief notice. It is entirely distinct from the "Manhattan Collection," with which it might easily be confounded. Two leading objects seem to be kept in view: the one, that of presenting, in connexion with modern music, the best old standard tunes, arranged in accordance with the best principles of modern composition; the other, that of furnishing additional anthems, sentences, and the like. We do not obtrude ourselves into the place of the musical critic: we venture, however, to say, that, so far as we have examined this work, it appears eminently suited to subserve the interests of spiritual worship: and we need not add, that it bears on every page the musical characteristics of its tasteful and distinguished author.