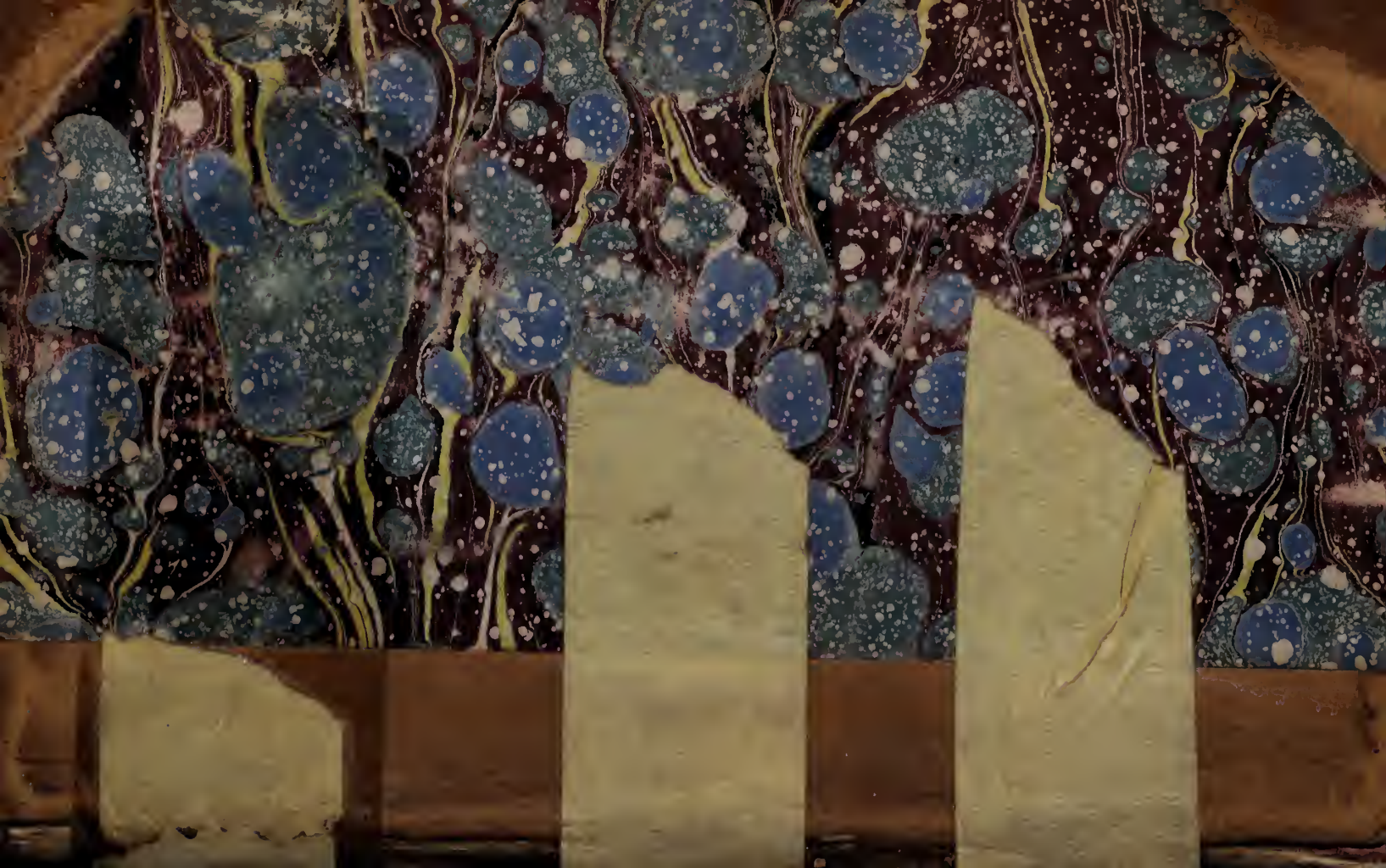

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THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1844.

No. I.

ART. I.—*An Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship, of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ; faithfully collected out of the Fathers and extant writings of those ages.* By Peter King, Lord High Chancellor of England. With an introduction, by the American Editor. New York. Published by G. Lane and P. P. Sandford, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 200 Mulberry street.

THE republication of this rare and valuable work, which has given us much satisfaction, is but a natural consequence, of the revival of the conflict, between free ecclesiastical principles and the exclusive claims of prelacy. Though it was hardly to be expected that such a book should owe its republication and introduction to the American churches to the publishing office of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here is surely a verification of Samson's riddle: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." But the gift is no less acceptable for the seeming incongruity of the hand that conveys it. Indeed, this incongruity of the publication, is itself congruous with the authorship of the book. And we have in it not only a book against episcopacy, published by the Methodist Episcopal church, but also a book against episcopacy, written by a member of the English Episcopal church. We know,

indeed, that the Methodist church is happily precluded, by its origin, from the assertion of the divine right and exclusive validity of episcopal forms. We do not therefore mean to intimate that there is anything inconsistent with their avowed principles in the publication of this work, which is peculiarly seasonable: and its extensive circulation would, we believe, do much to counteract the unchristian tendency to high church principles which has of late so alarmingly manifested itself both in this country and in Europe.

The present age has many reasons for seeking acquaintance with the primitive ages. If the names of the primitive fathers are so much pressed into the service of error, we need to know them better, as the first step towards rectifying the abuse. Though scarce a smattering of patristic reading is needful to refute the papists and semi-papists in their attempt to substitute the figment of a unanimous consent of the fathers, in the place of the divine authority and supremacy of the scriptures, and yet no man can be thoroughly furnished for that last conflict, which is already begun, between a religion of forms, and a religion of substance, without a good acquaintance with the ecclesiastical institutions and usages of the three first centuries of the Christian era. And this acquaintance is best facilitated by such a classification of facts and quotations as the work before us presents—sustaining a distinct inquiry, as to what were the usages and expressed opinions of the primitive churches, as to this and that item of ecclesiastical constitutions.

It is not our purpose now to examine the work before us, in respect to that part of its contents for which it is mainly valuable. For the work itself ought, and for a small price may be, in the hands of every reader of these pages. Our design is rather to collect, and chiefly from other sources, such information as we can, touching a branch of the subject, upon which the author throws but a few incidental glances—that is the subject of sacred science, as cultivated in the Primitive church.

There seems to be a vague impression abroad, that aside from the formal preaching of the gospel, and the carrying of this preaching from house to house, the business of teaching and learning had little place among the labours of the first Christians; that the apparatus of science, and even theological science, must, like Saul's armour, have been an encumbrance, rather than a help to the champions of heavenly

truth, in combat with the intellectual giants of their day. But whether this conceit be based on the fact of the unsettled state of the church, or of the migratory condition of her ministers, unsuitable to study and teaching, or on an impression that such employment must have been too secular and profane for apostles, evangelists and their successors, or that they sympathized with modern contemners of "book-learning," disdaining all helps, short of immediate inspiration, or that the inspiration, such as they had, excluded the need of books and study, and gave them all needed knowledge without toil or spinning. Whatever be the foundation of the conceit, it is a mistaken one. And though our means of information, as to the facts in the case, and the state of sacred learning in the first churches, are not as ample as could be desired, yet, such as they are, they are worth our examination and use.

In the first place, the Christian fathers were, in general, whatever may be said of here and there an individual, no despisers of learning. To this point the following paragraphs from our author will suffice:

"As for the understanding of the person to be ordained, he was to be of good capacity, fit and able duly to teach others. This is also another of the apostolic canons, in 2 Tim. ii. 15: 'Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.' And in 1 Tim. iii. 2. 'A bishop must be apt to teach;' which implies an ability of teaching, and a capacity of rightly understanding, apprehending and applying the word of God; to which end human learning was so conducive, as that Origen pleads, not only for its usefulness, but also for its necessity, (especially for that part of it which we call logic) to find out the true sense and meaning of scripture; as appears from the following digression, which he makes, concerning it in one of his commentaries: 'How is it possible,' saith he, 'that a question, either in ethics, physics, or divinity should be understood, as it ought, without logic? You shall hear no absurdity from those who are skilled in logic, and diligently search out the signification of words; whereas many times through our ignorance in logic, we greatly err, not distinguishing homonomies, amphibolies, the different usages, properties and distinctions of words; as some from ignorance of the homonomy of the word, *world*, have fell into wicked opinions, touching its maker, not discerning what that signifies in

1 John v. 19: 'The world lieth in wickedness,'' where they, understanding by the *world*, the frame of heaven and earth, and all creatures therein, blaspheme the Creator thereof, by affirming that the sun, moon and stars, which move in so exact order, lie in wickedness. So also, through the same ignorance, they know not the true sense of that text John i. 29: 'This is the lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' Neither of that in 2 Cor. v. 19: 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.' Wherefore, if we would not err about the true sense of the holy scripture, it is necessary that we understand logic.' Which art, logic, the aforesaid father thinks is recommended to us by Solomon, Prov. x. 17: 'He that refuseth reproof [logic, as he renders it,] erreth.'

"Clemens Alexandrinus also stiffly asserts the utility of human learning, where he says that it is profitable to Christianity, for the clear and distinct demonstrations of its doctrines, in that it helps us to the more evident understanding of the truth. And in particular for logic, he gives it high encomiums, as that it is 'a hedge to defend the truth from being trod down by sophisters;' that 'it gives us great light, duly to understand the holy scriptures;' that it is necessary to confute the sophisms of heretics. And in general for all sorts of learning, he tells us, that 'it keeps the way of life, that we be not deceived or circumvented, by those that endeavour to draw us into the way of sin.' So that he thinks philosophy and the liberal arts, 'came down from heaven to men.' But should I produce all the passages in this father, concerning the utility and excellency of human learning, I must transcribe several pages in folio; which, if the reader have a curiosity to view, he may especially take notice of these places; Stromat. lib. i., p.209—215, and Stromat. lib. vi., p. 471—477.

"It is true there were some in those days, of whom Clemens Alexandrinus complains, 'who dreaded philosophy, lest it should deceive them; as much as children did hobgoblins;' because they saw by lamentable experience, that many learned men's brains were so charmed, or intoxicated with philosophical notions, that they laboured to transform them into Christian verities, and so thereby became authors of most pestilent and damnable heresies; which is particularly observed by Tertullian, with respect to the heretics of his time, who, on this account calls the philosophers the patriarchs of heretics. Therefore they accused philosophy

itself as 'the production of some evil inventor, introduced into the world for the ruin of mankind.' Even Tertullian himself, for this reason violently decried it, especially logic, as inconsistent with true Christianity.

"But to this objection Clemens Alexandrinus replies, that if any man had been deceived, and misled by philosophy: 'that proceeded not from philosophy, but from the wickedness of his nature. For whosoever has wisdom enough to use it, he is able thereby to make a larger and more demonstrative defence of the faith, than others.' And as concerning logic in particular, he tells them, that as for eristic, jangling logic, for impertinent and contentious sophisms, which he elegantly calls 'the shadows of reason,' he disliked it as much as they, and frequently inveighs against it. But as for the solid part of it, he could not but deem it profitable and advantageous, since 'it helps us find out the truth,' 'enables us better to understand the scriptures,' and shows us how to repel the sophisms and cunning arguments of heretics."

"But besides this sort of objectors, there were others of whom Clemens Alexandrinus speaks, who condemned learning on this account, because it was *human;* to whom that father answers, that 'it was most unreasonable, that philosophy only should be contemned on this account; and that the meanest arts besides, even those of a smith and shipwright, which are as much human, should be commended and approved;' that 'they did not rest here, and go no further; but having got what was useful and profitable from it, they ascended higher, unto the true philosophy,' making this human philosophy a guide to the true philosophy."

Hence it will appear that human learning was generally appreciated in the primitive church, as an instrument of acquiring divine knowledge. Though eccentric individuals, like Tertullian predisposed to fanaticism, had views similar to those of some modern fanatics, the general sentiment of the primitive church, and its leading minds, were in favour of the cultivation of science.

In the next place, no precept or principle of the New Testament, either forbade or discouraged the policy of securing for the ministry all means of instruction within their reach. When Christ told his apostles not to premeditate the replies which they should make, when brought before governors and kings as criminals, he was not understood to forbid, their giving themselves to reading and

study or meditation, to furnish them for their work. for Paul expressly charged Timothy to do this. The genius of the gospel indeed forbade its ministers to rely on the excellency of speech, as a substitute for the Spirit's renewing power; it required them to renounce the hidden things of dishonesty, and not to walk in craftiness, nor handle the word of God deceitfully. But it did not forbid the use of any, and every aid of literature and eloquence, as the example of Paul may assure us. It forbade the placing the main expectation of success on having the learned and the noble of the earth, to come forth as champions, and told them that not many wise men after the flesh, would give them countenance. But it discountenanced no effort of theirs to gain any species of wisdom, that could aid their work; and enjoined it upon them, to be wise as serpents. It condemned the philosophy falsely so called, saying: Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit. But it did not forbid Christian ministers to give themselves to reading and meditation, so as to be able to refute the systems of Epicurean, and Stoical philosophy as did Paul in his speech at Athens.

Nor did the nature and exigencies of the missionary work of the first Christians, exclude the work of instruction. For a work of Christian missions is of the necessity of its own nature, a work of instruction. It endeavours to awaken the heathen mind, to the perception of great and powerful principles. It is a battle of mind with mind, putting in requisition all possible mental resources. And especially was it so, when the pioneers in the Christian cause went forth, against systems of idolatry enshrined in all the splendours and fascinations of classical genius; and against systems of philosophy defended by Grecian and Roman masters. True, the weapons of their warfare were not carnal—they were not the sophistry and cunning of the schools. It was by manifestation of gospel truth, that they commended themselves to every man's conscience. And yet when Paul entered the lists with such men, he disdained not to draw from the resources of his classic lore, and to extract from their own favourite poets sentences of condemnation to their systems. When we see the great apostle of the Gentiles, the happiest exemplar and embodiment of all the sublime qualities that should blend in the character of a Christian missionary—when we see him actually using, and using to such good account, the result of a finished education, we are not to understand any expression of his, as intended to fix

a condemnation upon such results, as if they were by any necessity carnal and forbidden weapons. The very fact, that the wisdom of divine Providence should have selected Paul, the most learned of apostles, to be the very chiefest of apostles, the one to spread the most enduring influence over the broadest field, and the one to labour more abundantly than they all, is but a part of that divine policy, which has ever given to sound learning, the honour of a distinguished place, among the secondary means of the conversion of the world. Amid the galaxy of sanctified minds, which then arose upon the darkness of the age in obedience to the call, Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, none emitted so benign a radiance, as that one, which came forth enriched with the collected treasures of Greek and Hebrew schools. This fact, of itself so prominent and impressive, must have had a vast influence, to put the rising ministry in search of acquisitions which they saw telling to such good account. Wherever Paul's influence was felt, (and where was it not) there was a living illustration of the advantages of learning to the ministry, and a powerful stimulus to the cultivation of sacred literature.

Nor was the cultivation of sacred science effectually hindered by the persecutions and agitations of the times. It is a mistake, and against all experience, to suppose that a calm of the elements, social and moral, is most favourable to the development of mental power. Sacred learning has had her richest accumulations, in days of storm and tempest. For instance, the age of the reformation, more like the primitive ages than any other, in respect to social convulsions and religious persecutions, was the era of life from the dead to sacred literature. The Luthers and Melancthons, were compelled to be scholars. The sword at their breast, and Papal thunder in their ears, drove them to the vigorous use of every means that learning offered, to give point, edge and keenness to the sword of the Spirit, by which they conquered. So also the age of the Puritans was at once an age of dangers and an age of scholars. That age, alternating between the pressure of a relentless persecution, and the agitations of a kingdom dissolving, and then, after an interval, re-appearing, was an age of intellectual giants. The master minds of the Huguenots of France, were in like manner nursed in tempests.

And the like may be said of that invincible legion of reformers, who gave to Scotland its character and renown;

and whose operations for more than a century, beginning from the days of Knox, made Scotland the scene of mental and moral sublimities. These giants in that land, had earthquakes to rock the cradle of their greatness. And it is reasonable to suppose, that the persecutions and distress of nations, amid which the primitive church lived and moved, elicited, rather than suppressed, mental effort. And though the primitive ages cannot compare with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in point of mind and scholarship, yet there is no necessity of believing that they excluded the cultivation of letters.

Nor did the gift of tongues serve, to any considerable extent, as a substitute for the labour of study. Its leading object seems to have been, to impress as a miracle, rather than to impart qualifications for the ministry. We have no evidence of its continuance beyond the first or second generation from the time of Christ. Nor does it appear that a large portion of the preachers of those generations, took their qualifications from this species of miracle.

Nor was there in the church-constitution any lack of provision for the work of instruction. The plurality of teaching elders in all or most of the parishes, which first appears as a matter of fact in the elders of the church at Ephesus, and which was continued even after the progress of corruption had exalted one of the number to be bishop over the rest, leading in the elements of diocesan episcopacy, seems to have been a provision to sustain a work of instruction, more comprehensive than what the church now does, by direct action as a church. If the primitive ministry were required only to fill what is the sphere of our modern preaching and pastoral labour, having no other kinds of instruction to perform, there would hardly have been occasion for so many clergymen, as there were wont to be in every parish. But if the clergy were charged to carry forward the work of education, in all its branches, and to see that the whole Christian population, under them, were instructed in all branches of knowledge needful, to give the church her best efficiency, and that books were written out or otherwise provided as the apparatus of this instruction—and this, in addition to the extraordinary cares and duties, which the infancy of the church, and the extremity of the times devolved on the ministry, we see ample reason, why such a numerous clergy were brought into the work. Lord King, in giving the

reasons why there were several clergymen in each church, enumerates among others—"the breeding of young ministers, who might succeed the bishops as they died." He says, "Wherefore the bishops of every church took care to instruct and elevate some young men, who might be prepared to come in their place, when they were dead and gone. And thus for these and for like reasons, most churches were furnished with a competent number of presbyters, who helped the bishops, while living, and were prepared to succeed them when dead." We see then, from every view of the case, that there was no cause, hindering the first members of Christianity, from an energetic application of such means of education as were within their reach.

Let us now see, what facts we can gather from the scriptures and history, bearing on the question of the actual state of education, among the primitive Christians. In the first place, the first preachers of the gospel were Jews; with habits of mind adjusted to institutions, which used sacred science as a means of qualifying the priesthood for its duties. And we know, that Christianity availed itself of existing institutions and customs, so far as to preserve for its own use, whatever of value belonged to them, and was compatible with its own policy and spirit. And its policy was quite as congenial, with the use of science, as was that of the Hebrews, which maintained a whole tribe for the sake of cultivating letters, in connexion with religious ministrations. And when Christianity sprang forth from the bosom of Judaism, the Jews had their regular schools of science and theology; and a class of professional teachers. Paul, after having received a regular education, under Grecian masters, went to the school of Gamaliel for theological instruction. That such schools existed in Jerusalem, appears from Josephus. He mentions a distinguished school, kept by two celebrated teachers, Judas and Matthias, that was attended by a great number of young men, to whom was taught the law of God; and whose zeal for God broke forth in destroying the golden Eagle, which Herod had profanely affixed to the gate of the temple—in which enterprise the teachers and forty pupils lost their lives. (Vide Jud. Bell. lib. i., c. 33.)

The synagogues were also places for teaching science, as well as for religious worship. And when it is said (Acts 6,) that men of the synagogue, of the libertines, &c,

disputed with Stephen, these synagogues appear to be named as the different schools, to which the disputants were attached. And that teaching was a regular profession, appears from the fact that doctor, or teacher, was a current name, designating such a class. This term as much implies that teaching was a regular business with the Jews, as our word, physician, used in history, would imply that the healing art is a regular profession with us. Whether all to whom these terms applied, had regular schools, or whether they received pupils for instruction in other forms does not appear. Gamaliel, one of the class, seems to have been at the head of a school, the same was true of the two spoken of by Josephus. In this sense, too, both John the Baptist and Christ were teachers; both had a class of pupils, or constant disciples under them. They were teachers, much in the same sense, with those ministers, who combine the preaching of the gospel, with the instruction of pupils, for the purpose of preaching it. And when Christ says the disciple is not above his teacher, nor the servant above his master; one pair of these correlatives, seems to indicate a relation as common as the other—the relation of teacher and pupil, was as common, and as much a part of the settled institutions of society, as that of master and servant.

A class of men going forth from the Jewish nation, to promulgate a new form of religion, and found a new set of institutions, would naturally adopt like modes of preparing teachers of their religion. For it is not to be supposed that they would reject any advantage of existing institutions, which was in harmony with their own design. And we find, in fact, that this way of instruction had the highest of all Christian sanctions. Christ himself opened his ministry, by gathering under his own personal instruction, a class in theology, whom he fitted for preaching the gospel. If he used no books, it was because he needed them not; having the contents of all books in his mind, and thus having more than the command of all the resources of all libraries. He was their daily teacher, in all matters needful to make them good ministers of his gospel. He established the relation of teacher and pupil, and commenced the practice of giving instruction, different in form from that of ordinary preaching, or pastoral instruction.

His pupils attended him as pupils, or disciples, to receive not only the instructions needful to make them Chris-

tians, but also to make them ministers of Christianity. Nor were they less under instruction for that purpose, by reason of their being constantly travelling from place to place. By this means they were effectually detached from ordinary secular employment, and this was the only way in which they could be wholly under the teaching of their master, and see his miracles, while he had other and higher purposes to accomplish. So that the founding of a school of sacred learning, was coeval with the founding of Christianity; and it was the work of Christ himself.

And his policy thus indicated, was carried out by his apostles. For as the Jewish church had a distinct order of teachers, so had the Christian church under the administration of the apostles. Paul, in enumerating the different classes of servants of the church, said that Christ gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and *teachers*. Here, as some suppose, teachers are spoken of as if there was a work of teaching, separate from the forms of teaching appropriate to evangelists and pastors. The work of a teacher is made to be a work distinct from that of a pastor, though both might be done by the same person. Paul sometimes spoke as a prophet, yet the office of a prophet was distinct from that of an apostle. And if he sometimes acted as a theological teacher, he in that performed still another distinct office. The same distinction in the work of the ministry is recognized in these words of Paul: "Or ministering let us wait on our ministry, or he that teacheth on teaching." Thus it seems, that as early as the date of Paul's epistles, the office of teaching had become as distinct as that of ministering. God had set some in the church, first, apostles, secondarily, prophets, thirdly, teachers.

As to the question, how the Christian schools originated? our information is limited. When a great number of leading Jews embraced Christianity, the school attached to their synagogue, would naturally become a Christian school. The heathen also had their schools, which in similar circumstances would undergo a like conversion. In Acts xix. it is said that Paul, after he had been virtually driven from a synagogue, separated the disciples, and disputed in the school of one Tyrannus. The word rendered disputing is διαλεγομενος, literally, *held dialogues*, or taught in conversational form. He used the school then, not for preaching merely, but for another form of teaching. Tyrannus, evi-

dently the proprietor of a heathen school, had now given his school into Christian hands, and Paul had assumed the teacher's place in that school, connecting with it probably, as many of its former pupils as had embraced Christianity; and all others, who sought instruction from him—having no doubt, the especial design of instructing and sending out preachers, into the neighbouring regions. Accordingly we read, that as the result of his teaching, for the space of two years, all that dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord.

When Paul speaks of a church in a private house, there seems to be reference to a Christian school, rather than to an organization for Christian ordinances. The Christian name church would naturally take the place of the Jewish name synagogue; and so be used in the sense of school as well as in its more prevailing sense. Paul speaks of a church in the house of Aquila and Priscilla. And we read that into this house Apollos was taken, and instructed in the way of God more perfectly, i. e. had his theological education completed. And Paul's address, in the opening of his epistle to Philemon, is better understood if we give this sense to the term, "church in thy house." In that case we may understand Archippus there addressed, as resident in his house, to be there as an instructor of a Christian school.

That Paul had under his own instruction students for the ministry, appears from his allusion to his having been Timothy's theological teacher. He says, but thou hast known my teaching, and my course of instruction. And again, continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, knowing of whom thou hast learned them. And again —The things which thou hast heard of me, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also. Here Paul commands Timothy to select suitable men and instruct them for the ministry, just as Paul had instructed him. The command is not to ordain others, that they might teach, but to commit the gospel to them by teaching and ordaining as Paul had done to him. Here it is expressly made one of the duties of the ministry to sustain a course of teaching students for the ministry.

Thus did the Christian church, in its infancy, sustain the work of teaching, especially in sacred literature. Nothing is said in the New Testament of their gathering libraries for the purpose, except that Paul, in one instance, speaks of his books and parchments, which he needed to have sent to

him. But the first preachers of the gospel were of a nation, that had kept with great care and exactness, the sacred books, and they would naturally show no less care, in preserving the Christian and Hebrew scriptures, which must have been the nucleus of every Christian library. It is evident from 1 Cor. xiv. that the prophetic books were read by the church at Corinth. And since the writings of the evangelists were accustomed to be read in churches, it is natural to conclude, that they were also with care preserved in libraries. And Eusebius relates, that Bartholomew preached the gospel in India, and that he left there the gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew. But of necessity the libraries of the Christian churches must have been very limited, in the first century. But in the second century, it is natural to expect, that they would be more considerable. Then there is good reason to believe, that the principal churches had their libraries. Honorius speaks of the burning of a capitol, in this century by lightning, which occasioned the loss of a library collected with great care and expense of the pious. Here is proof, that Christians at so early a day bestowed great care in collecting libraries. This work must have been superintended by the Christian ministers, who were most interested to keep and use the books. And it required, when all books were in manuscript, the most careful dilligence in selecting books, the authentic from the spurious. The materials existing for Christian libraries, in the second century and immediately after—in addition to those standard works of philosophy, poetry, history and general literature, written by heathen authors but indispensable in a Christian education, were the books of the Old and New Testaments, the Jewish writings then extant, and the works of Clement, Justin, Hegesippus and Irenaeus. The case of Pantenus shows, that learned men of that time were eager in the search after books. He brought from India to Alexandria the copy of Matthew in Hebrew, which the apostle Bartholomew left in India. Mileto brought copies of the Old Testament from the East. The expense of collecting and writing out books for church libraries, was borne probably by donations of the rich, and partly by funds from the common treasury of the church.

But to return to the subject of schools. We have seen that the Jews had their schools for sacred literature. And the Gentiles had their academies, in which philosophy was taught. And Paul it seems himself was an instructor of

theological students, and the office of teacher, as some suppose, was as distinct in the apostolic church as that of pastor. And Eusebius informs us, that when the evangelist Mark collected a church at Alexandria of converted Jews and heathen; the heathen school at that place was converted to a Christian school. And this became afterwards a distinguished seat of Christian science. The first Christians, of necessity, were compelled to sustain schools, for training men for the ministry; for they had no sympathy with those fanatics, that despise learning. The schools sustained by Christian ministers, in different places, seem to have combined the double object of instructing catechumens, and training men for preaching. Eusebius tells us, John commended to ministers the work of instructing youth for the church. Nicephones tells us, that Anthia committed Eleutherius her son to Anicetus, who taught him in sacred letters and admitted him to the sacred number of clerical students. And Irenaeus testifies, that in his youth he was instructed by Polycarp, who got his theological education from the apostle John. In what Irenaeus says of this, he shows that Polycarp both addressed sermons to the multitude, and also sat and taught as in a school or lecture room.

It appears also, that some of the heathen teachers being converted, opened schools in which they taught in Christian literature. Quadratus and Aristides, philosophers at Athens, who wrote to Adrian apologies for Christians, taught Christian schools in that place. Jerome says, that Justin held disputations, and refuted Crescent. Clement informs us, that he had attended the lectures of many blessed men, who were held in high estimation as teachers. Of these he says, one was from Greece, others from Magna Grecia, another from Cœlo Syria, others from Egypt, others from the East; one was an Assyrian and one a Hebrew of high family. Here is conclusive proof, that the custom of sustaining such teachers prevailed in many countries. Speaking of this Hebrew teacher, he says, "When I last met him, he was in great authority in Egypt, and there he was hunting the hidden treasures—a true Sicilian bee, gathering from the flowers in prophetic and apostolic meadows, and he filled with sincere and uncorrupt knowledge those who enjoyed his instructions." Hence it appears, that there were in the second century schools or academies, in which lectures were given, and among other useful studies, the writings of the prophets and apostles were studied.

Among these, the school at Alexandria was especially celebrated. It was the successor of a heathen school, which had existed there even from the time of the Ptolemies. In the reign of Commodus, this school had for its principal teacher Pantenus, a distinguished scholar; he was succeeded by Clement, and he by Origen. The bishops seem to have had a sort of supervision of the schools. But how many teachers were employed, and how they were supported, and what was taught in the schools, whether the course of instruction embraced the liberal arts, with sacred literature and who were the hearers or pupils, we are not very definitely informed. It seems probable, that these schools, being sustained by the church, not only afforded instruction suited to students for the ministry, and perhaps by other teachers instruction suited to catechumens, but also, that all their lectures and exercises, were open to the hearing of all, who were disposed to attend. Tatian writes that—"with Christians, all ages and classes of people philosophize, also virgins, while spinning, will discourse of divine things." Hence we may conclude, that every age and sex were admitted to these Christian schools.

Heathen schools were also sustained in the second century, as a measure of defence against the spread of Christianity. And whether for want of Christian schools in their own neighborhood, Christians sometimes sent their children to heathen schools to learn grammar and logic, so early as this does not appear. Heretics also sustained their schools, as the necessary means of propagating their tenets. It is said by an ancient historian, that Basilides and Saturninus opened schools that were hateful to God. Clement mentions schools of the Valentinians. The fact that heretics were oblige to resort to schools, as an instrument of propagating heresy itself, shows that the system of propagating the truth by schools, had become the settled policy of the church.

As we come down to the third century, the first inquiry respects the libraries then existing. This century affords two examples of ministers, who bestowed distinguished care in the collection and preservation of libraries; the one of Alexander, a celebrated Bishop of Jerusalem, and the other of Pamphilius, a presbyter of Cesarea. The first collected a noble library at Jerusalem, as Eusebius informs us, (book vi. c. 21,) from which he derived important aid in writing his history. It was customary, in this

century, to keep the libraries in the oratories or in the churches. It appears also, that bishops sometimes employed penmen constantly, in the service of writing out books for their libraries. And females were often employed in this work.

As we come into the third century, our information respecting schools is somewhat more definite. Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, appointed Origen to the presidency of the school at Alexandria, showing that the bishop then had the control of the school. Whether the school of theology was separate from that of science, is not told us with certainty. Eusebius (book vi. c. 3) informs us that Origen, at Alexandria, first taught in the department of grammar. But that after other teachers had fled, through fear of persecution, he also took the charge of catechizing, still continuing his teaching in grammar. And (book vi. c. 18) he says that Origen's disciples were instructed by him, not only in divine things, but also in philosophy; that he brought to exercises in philosophy, such as he saw had an aptness for it; that he taught them geometry, arithmetic and other liberal arts; and whatever he judged to be helpful to their sacred studies. And Eusebius (book vii. c. 32) tells us, that Anitolius was made president of the Aristotelian school, by the citizens of Alexandria, on account of his eloquence and philosophy, and that he held the first place among the most distinguished in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, logic, natural philosophy, speculative philosophy, and rhetoric. And it is, therefore, not to be doubted, that there were well appointed schools in all these departments.

Tertullian also mentions schoolmasters; and blames them, that they make so much use of heathen mythology in their course of instruction. And he shows, that in his time, Christian children, when necessity compelled it, were wont to be instructed in heathen schools. The school at Alexandria may be regarded as in a sense the leading, the model school for the Christian world. It was founded, as a Christian school; it numbered among its teachers some of the most distinguished names of primitive times. The history of this school shows that this term, catechist, was applied to those who, in these schools, taught the principles of Christianity; either to the youth or to heathen, or to recovered heretics. These catechists were learned men, in great authority, and often preferred to vacant bishoprics, as in the case of Heracles and Dyonisius.

They were often sent out into other countries to propagate the gospel, as in case of Origen, sent into Arabia.

Before Origen, we read nothing of a plurality of teachers in one school. But as he could not satisfy the multitude that flocked to his instructions from morning till night, he divided his school, and committed those who had recently commenced study to Heracles; and himself retained the more advanced.

As we come down to the fourth century, we find the resources of the church increased, and her libraries and schools the more ample. All such methods of propagating Christianity were vigorously promoted by Constantine, the Emperor. He brought the imperial treasures into the work. The persecuting Emperors, that had preceded him, had commanded all Christian books, and especially the scriptures, to be burnt. But Constantine commanded them to be multiplied at the public expense. There is now extant an order, written by him to Eusebius of Cesarea, to procure parchment and the writing of books for the church. Athanasius in his account of the Arian persecutions, shows that libraries were preserved with great care in Christian temples. And he accuses the Arians of impiety in plundering and burning those books. And history makes express mention of a burning of a library in the Church of Antioch, by the command of Jovinian, at the instigation of his wife. In this burning, many books of great value, together with the temple were destroyed. Hieronymus also speaks, in several places, of libraries in the churches. And from the acts of the council of Rome, held under Sylvester, it appears that the church at Rome employed writers, to write out the histories of different martyrs.

As to schools in this century, in all the more important churches, two kinds of schools were sustained; one for teaching science and philosophy; and the other for sacred literature. Nazianzen mentions a school in Palestine, in which he himself learned rhetoric. Sozomen mentions a school of which Sopater, a Greek philosopher, had the charge. Epiphanius had a school at Laodicea. Lactantius taught rhetoric in a school at Nicomedia. But the ancient and distinguished school in Alexandria, maintained its pre-eminence in the fourth century. Basil speaks of it as the centre of universal learning. There was also a school at Athens, which Julian attended at the same time with Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. There was another at Rome,

in which Victorinus taught rhetoric. And even in Britain, in the time of Constantine, there was a college in which more than two thousand students were supported in the study of Christian literature.

The pupils in these schools were first instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; and then committed to teachers, to be taught in heathen literature. That children were allowed to be fully instructed in classic and heathen authors, is evident from various facts, that might be quoted. Let this suffice, that Julian, the apostate, in his efforts to crush the Christian religion, prohibited Christian youth from being taught either in the schools or in the books of the Pagans. There would have been no occasion for such a prohibition if Christians had not been in a habit of cultivating classic learning. And when Jovian, a Christian emperor, came into power, he issued an edict, requiring Christian youth to be instructed in heathen literature. Basil and Gregory, in their youth, attended the instruction of two heathen sophists at Athens, Numericus and Prohalresius, who, after the edict of Julian, left their school, lest Christians should learn from them, and teach the liberal arts. There is extant, in the works of Basil, an admonition to youth, designed to guide them to make the best use of heathen learning, in which he advises that the writings of heathen historians and poets should be thoroughly read. He says that they should use the poets and orators, and all from whom any advantage is to be derived, towards the furnishing of the mind. He advises them to select those poets, who relate the words and deeds of good men, and he names, of this class, Hesiod and Homer; and he advises them to shun the drunken, the lascivious and the satirical poets. He gives similar advice respecting the reading of heathen orators and philosophers; and names some that he will have them read, such as Pericles, Euclid, Socrates, and others.

It was not lawful for every one to teach in public schools. Teachers must first be approved by the judgment of their order; and have the sanction of the magistrates. The school at Rome, in this century, had three professors of oratory, ten of grammar, five of logic, one of philosophy and two of law; each of whom taught in separate apartments.

The above facts, touching the state and means of learning in the primitive church, may be useful for some pur-

poses. But they are insufficient to exalt primitive traditions to the dignity of a coördinate rule of faith. They exhibit the genius of Christianity, contending with great obstacles, in its proper work of diffusing knowledge. It is its nature, wherever it goes, to kindle up a light around itself; and enlighten all that come within its sphere. But do they show the primitive ages to have been to such an extent enlightened, as to entitle them to give law to all succeeding ages? What were the superior sources of light, open to the primitive fathers, that such deference of all succeeding generations, should be challenged for them? We have laboured to present the state of learning in their day, in the most favourable light, consistent with truth; and what have we shown? We have shown, that amid the difficulties incident to an infant church, recently converted from heathenism, and but half delivered from the bondage of heathen prescriptions and superstitions—a church gathered mainly from the humbler classes—the means of instruction by great efforts and sacrifices were secured in some tolerable degree—but barely tolerable, compared with what are now enjoyed by the church. And if the leading Christian writers of that age are to be rated according to their relative advantages, for the study of theology, they will take a very humble rank. And if rated according to their actual talents and acquirements, they will stand no higher. They had one advantage over us. To them, or some of them, the language of the New Testament was vernacular; so that what they read with the naked eye, we read through spectacles. But when we come to examine some specimens of their exegesis, we are led to think that they too had need of spectacles. Such puerilities and absurdities mar the pages of the writings of the best of the fathers, as put our candour and charity, severely to the test. We have need to make large allowances for the disadvantages under which they laboured to save them from absolute contempt. Such allowances are justly their due. Though Christianity had been revealed to them in as full perfection as it has been to us, they were not brought by it up to the stature of perfect men. Though the Christian revelation was completed, and no more gospel was left to be revealed by after developments, or drawn out by the progress of science, yet the impression made by the gospel, on minds so under the influence of heathenism, or so recent from it, was not so full as that made on

those wholly removed from such debasing influences. Neither converted heathen nor their grandchildren, can be expected to exhibit the best specimens of the character, which the gospel forms. Nor must we look to the infancy of the church for the best developments of character, and the richest emissions of light. It will do for abettors of error to appeal to the fathers, and bolster up their systems by the frivolities of writers, whose names have acquired additional weight, by being seen through the magnifying glass of antiquity. But the truth and its friends are interested to maintain the supremacy of the scriptures, and the fallacy of tradition.

John Matthews

ART. II.—*Essays on the Church of God.* By John M. Mason, D. D. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia: 1843.

THAT the details of church government are not found explicitly stated in the New Testament is readily admitted; it is believed, however, that fundamental principles are there found, which, if combined in a system, will naturally lead to these details. These elementary principles are;—Union; Parity; Representation. These stand out, with great prominence, in the divine record; and no system of ecclesiastical government, from which either of these is excluded, can have the authority of Jesus Christ and his apostles for its support. This will appear with convincing clearness, by a reference to the truth itself.

I. Union.—At the commencement of the Christian dispensation the members of each individual church were required to be united. This is manifest from the statements, instructions, and exhortations of the apostles. The disciples, having witnessed the ascension of their divine master, furnish the most amiable example of this union. From Mount Olivet they returned to Jerusalem; "and there all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication." Shortly after this, on the day of Pentecost, "they were all with one accord in one place." Paul, writing to the saints which are in Christ Jesus, at Philippi, gives this affectionate exhortation: "Fulfil ye my joy, that ye be like-minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind."

To the Corinthians: "Be ye perfectly joined together in the same mind, and. in the same judgment." The same thing appears from the cautions, reproofs, and rebukes of the apostle against the very first and slightest appearance of division amongst the disciples. The churches had scarcely been organized, when the seeds of division were sown among the members. To prevent these seeds from taking root, or crush them in the bud, was the determined effort of Paul. This was especially the case in the Corinthian church. Some of the members preferred one, and some another of the ministers of the gospel; and some, on the same principle, that is, for the sake of distinction, were of Christ. However plausible these preferences might appear; and however little the dangers to be apprehended from them, in the estimation of men; yet, as they had already produced contentions, the discerning eye of Paul saw in them a tendency, which, unless effectually checked, would interrupt the harmony and destroy the unity of the church. Therefore, although he himself was the favourite of some, he directs the whole force of his rebuke against these preferences. "Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" then beseeches them, with much tenderness, that "there be no divisions among you." To the Romans he writes with the same view; "mark them who cause divisions, and avoid them." The earnest prayer of Paul, for all the members of all the churches, was that their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love. Such, also was the prayer of the Saviour, "That they all may be one as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." The bonds of this union are distinctly stated.

1. Faith; that is the knowledge and belief of the truth; the truth which is the word of God. Union is a oneness. All associations of men are characterized by this oneness. The members of all organized societies, while they retain their individual rights and distinct personality, in some respects are all one. Such is the Christian church; her members are all united by the bond of Faith.

One man searches the scriptures for the purpose of ascertaining the doctrines therein contained, the belief of which is essential to salvation. After prayerful inquiry, he finds, to give one instance, that the sinner is not justified in the sight of God, neither in whole nor in part, on the ground of good works; but exclusively on the ground of

the atonement made by the death of Christ, the merit of which is made his own by the gift and the act of God, the Judge, and received, on his part, by faith. He states his views to another, who assures him that such, precisely, are his own views and belief respecting this doctrine. Here is a oneness of faith; these two are united by their belief in this vital doctrine. If this statement is made in writing the union is not thereby strengthened; nor is it, in the least weakened, if made verbally. It is the same truth, and not the manner of making it known, which forms the bond of union. We will suppose, however, that, for the sake of accuracy, the statement is made in writing, and submitted to the consideration, not of one only, but of hundreds and thousands, who all receive it as an expression of their own faith. We will suppose, again, that the statement contains, not one doctrine only, but all the important doctrines of the Bible, and that all these thousands cordially adopt it; here then, is a bond embracing and uniting in one body all who adopt it. This is the creed, the confession of faith, of all these thousands. Nor can it affect this union in the least, whether this form of sound words was prepared by one individual, or by many; or whether it was drawn up in the present, or in some previous, and even remote age; it contains, as is supposed, after much careful and prayerful inquiry, the doctrines of the Bible, which, like its divine Author, is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. This faith unites together the children of God in every age of the world, from the first to the last, and in every region of the earth. The same faith, which unites them to each other, unites them all to Christ, the great Head, who imparts to every member, the same blessings of spiritual life. They may differ from each other in a thousand circumstances and conditions in life; but they are "all one in Christ." In him "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarians, Scythians, bond nor free;—there is neither male nor female." As there is "one Lord," so there is one faith." When the church shall extend over the whole earth, and embrace all nations, there will still be one, and but one faith, one system of divine truth, the same unity of the faith. Men may be mistaken respecting the meaning of the scriptures; but the truth of God does not change and accommodate itself to the mistakes of men. They may put darkness for light, and light for darkness; but no ingenuity and efforts of man can ever

make darkness and light the same. Men may believe error instead of truth; but this belief, however sincere, cannot change error into truth, nor truth into error, nor cause the one to produce the appropriate effects of the other.

The creed, above mentioned, will contain only the important doctines of the Bible. There are other doctrines, of minor importance, which are not essential to spiritual life. These if not stated in the scriptures, may be fairly inferred from those of primary importance. Here, however, there is need for the greatest caution, prudence, and wisdom. The honest inquirer will find this general rule a safe guide in this matter: That inference, however fairly it may appear to flow from one doctrine, yet if it is inconsistent with any of the other acknowledged doctrines of the system, cannot be true; and is not, for a moment, to be admitted; for truth, and especially the truth of God, is always in harmony with itself.

This union will be more or less complete, in proportion to the points of doctrine respecting which this agreement is found; and in proportion to the extent and accuracy with which they are perceived. Hence the numerous precepts, and earnest exhortations of the scriptures: "Receive knowledge rather than choice gold; grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, in all wisdom; add to virtue, knowledge;" &c. &c. And hence the importance of studying, with deep and prayerful attention, the sacred volume, the only infallible source, from which this knowledge can be obtained.

2. The family of heaven are united in spirit. These are one because they are all partakers of the Holy Spirit. All who are joined to the Lord are one spirit. There is the unity of the Spirit as well as of faith. As they all partake of the same Spirit they have the same affections of the heart. If these affections are easily excited, and exert a controlling influence over the mind and the life, the Christian is said to have the spirit of these affections. If in the midst of provocations his mind remains calm, without anger, without irritation, he has the spirit of meekness. If, when he receives an injury, he neither desires nor attempts to avenge himself, he has the spirit of forbearance, of forgiveness. If, in humble and importunate prayer he takes delight, and is frequently engaged in it, he has the spirit of prayer. Thus, there is the spirit of love, of brotherly kindness, of humility,

of repentance, of zeal. It is, at once, the duty, the privilege and the happiness of all true disciples to cherish this spirit; for it was, in a pre-eminent degree, the spirit of their divine Saviour; and "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his."

These devout and spiritual affections are in a great degree, the essence of true religion, of vital piety; of course, they are the same in every heart. They are the work and the fruit of the same agent, the Holy Spirit of God, produced and cherished by the same truth, received by faith. The structure of our bodies, and operation of our senses, do not more certainly prove the identity of the human race than do these affections prove the identity, the oneness of the universal family of the pious. From the first to the last age of the world, and over the whole earth, they are the same, produced by the same agency, and leading to the same results. They may, and do exist in different degrees; but they have all the same properties and the same tendencies. The repentance of the royal Psalmist was as bitter as that which melted the heart of his lowest subject. The poor have the same joy and peace in believing with the rich. "My joy," says Paul to the Corinthians, "is the joy of you all." The most obscure are warmed, and elevated, and purified by the same love, with the great and the noble. One hope cheers and sustains the learned and the unlearned. Two men may meet from remote and opposite ends of the earth; they understand not each other's language; but if, by any means they discover that they are both disciples in the school of Christ, their hearts immediately flow together; the one understands the feelings of the other, by the consciousness of the same feelings in his own bosom: they embrace each other with brotherly love; they are united with all the tenderness of mutual and Christian sympathies. This union is the same, whether it embraces but two individuals, or a great multitude which no man can number. It associates the family of God, yet on earth, with the spirits of just men made perfect. With the exception of sorrow, these affections will exist in the New Jerusalem, and forever unite the redeemed of the Lord, in one glorious church triumphant. Believers have even now access, in a measure to the joys of heaven, of which they have received an earnest and a foretaste. With faltering tongues, but with sincere devotion, they strike the first notes of that song, which fills the upper sanctuary

with its loudest and sweetest melody; "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen."

3. Another bond by which the members of the Christian church are united is the rules by which they are governed. It is essential to all communities to have some rules for the regulation of conduct; and these rules must be known to all the members. When the association is formed, these rules are adopted by consent. When the society is organized, and its rules are made known, all who become members, of course, adopt these regulations, and pledge themselves to respect and obey them. These rules, then, whatever they may be, are a bond of union embracing all the members of the same community. They are all one, by the adoption of these precepts. They pledge themselves to practice the same things, to avoid the same things.

To God we sustain the relation of moral agents; we are subjects of his moral government; and as such we need for our direction a system of moral laws. Membership with the church is not intended to dissolve, but to confirm this relation: and to enforce, by additional motives, all the duties and responsibilities connected with it. As members we come under a system of rules adapted to this relation; which, for the sake of distinction, may be called ecclesiastical. These are embodied in the form of church government; and are to be ascertained and adopted, in the manner above mentioned, respecting the Creed, or Confession of Faith. As it is intended, in the sequel, to illustrate this part of the subject still farther, it is, for the present, dismissed.

II. Parity, is another important principle in ecclesiastical polity: parity, not of offices, but of those in the same office, and of course of those who are in the ministerial office. There is a subordination of offices from that of the apostles, which is the highest, down to that of the elders, which seems to be the lowest, connected with the government of the church. Between the apostles, as such, there does not appear to be the least difference. Their call is the same; the power given to them, and the duties required of them, when sent out to preach, are the same; the instructions of their Master are the same to all; they are alike invested with that authority, whatever it may be, signified

by the emblem of the keys; on the day of Pentecost they receive the same gifts; and at the very last interview with the Saviour on earth, they all receive the same commission and the same promise. Now, if any one claimed superiority over the others, it must have been by usurpation; for it is certain his Lord never gave such distinction. When the desire for such distinction was manifested by two of them, these desires were instantly checked, by kind rebuke. But, as far as we have the history of the apostles, no such claim was ever presented; those, therefore, who now give Peter this superiority, slander the apostle, and draw on themselves the just rebuke of Christ.

The prophets of the New Testament seem to have been an order of men inferior to the apostles, but above the evangelists and pastors. The qualifications, duties, &c., of these two orders—viz: prophets and evangelists, we propose to consider hereafter, and will therefore now dismiss them, with the remark, that they appear to have been perfectly equal in their respective orders.

Christ appointed the office of pastor in the church. Those who fill this office are called pastors, sometimes bishops, but more frequently in the New Testament, presbyters. It was the duty and the privilege of these to preach the word, to administer the ordinances of the gospel, and to govern the church. These were equal in their duties, their rights and privileges. Whatever duties could be discharged by the elders at Ephesus, could be discharged by those at Antioch. Whatever privileges were enjoyed by those at Jerusalem, were enjoyed in all the churches. If it was the duty of the elders at Ephesus to "feed the church of God," the same duty was incumbent on those at Rome and at Corinth. Some of these elders, it appears, did not "labour in word and doctrine;" but were helps to the pastors in governing the church. These, if they ruled well, though they did not preach the gospel, were to be counted worthy of double honours. These elders in one church, exercised the same rights, and performed the same duties in all the churches. In governing, the pastor will frequently need assistance, more than in public preaching. These elders are therefore properly called helps.

The members of the church are all equal; we mean those who are such from choice, and are recognized as such on the ground of their profession of faith. These all have the same right to the ordinances of the house of God; to

the kind instructions, attentions and sympathies of the pastor; and to the benefit of that discipline which Christ has ordained. They may differ widely from each other in wealth, in talents, in learning, in wisdom, in age. But they are not received into the church because they are wealthy, or learned, or great in the world's estimation; but because they trust in Christ alone for pardon and eternal salvation; because they have taken his yoke upon them, and are meek and lowly; because they are fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. If any matter is to be decided by the voice of the society, the vote of the poor man is equal to that of the rich, of the unlearned, to that of the learned. If, to maintain the honour and purity of the church, censure should be required, it is to be dispensed without partiality, and without preferring one before another; to the rich with equal justice as to the poor: to both, in proportion to their criminal delinquencies. The church is a communion of saints; of course, the members have fellowship in the gifts, graces and attainments of each other. If one, from a long course of experience, having passed through many severe and diversified trials, has acquired greater wisdom than others, this wisdom is to be employed for the benefit of all; in lessons of advice and instruction to the less informed, to babes in Christ; in supporting the weak; in upholding those who are ready to fall; in giving encouragement to the trembling and the timid; in cheering the heart of the desponding and the sorrowful. If one possesses more wealth than others, this gift is to be used for the good of all; that he may "distribute to the necessity of saints, give to him that needeth, feed the hungry, and clothe the naked;" that he may sustain the cause of Christ in his own church, and in the world. This wisdom, and this wealth, when thus faithfully employed, will be the property of the whole community; each member will be, nearly, if not quite as much benefited by them, as if he possessed them himself.

The members of the church sustain the same relations to God. He gave them to Christ before the foundation of the world. They are all his beloved children; for whom he feels the most tender affection. He watches over them and provides for them with unceasing vigilance. For their sakes the world is sustained, and all the events of providence guided with unerring control. At the hour, and by the means selected by infinite wisdom, he will call them home to his own bosom. They sustain the same relations

to Christ. They were given to him by the Father as the reward of his sufferings, and he has redeemed them with his blood. They were in his heart, during the sorrows of the garden, and agonies of the cross, with a knowledge of each individual, and all his numerous wants, as clear and distinct as if that individual was the only object of his attention. He claims them as his right, has taken possession of them, holds them in his hand, and they shall never perish, but finally and forever be with him to behold his glory. They are equal in partaking of all the fruits of the Holy Spirit. This divine agent has begun a good work in them, and will carry it on till they are perfect in holiness. If there is a spirit now working in the children of disobedience, there is a spirit working in the children of obedience. He is their comforter in the hour of sorrow, their monitor in the prospect of danger, their guide and supporter in the path of duty.

Such, then, is the parity of the New Testament, which must be an elementary principle in that system of ecclesiastical polity which is in accordance with the scriptures.

III. Representation, as a fundamental principle, must be incorporated in the form of church government. This, indeed, pervades and characterizes the whole plan of redemption, from Christ, the great Mediator, down to the lowest agent, who labours for the good of the church. A representative is one appointed by competent authority to act in the room of another. His power, so far as it is delegated, is limited to the particular object or objects to be accomplished. If he should act strictly within the limits of his commission, those for whom he acts are bound by his actions; but if he should transcend those limits, they are not bound; the agent had no more authority to act in the premises than any other man.

According to this view of the subject, Christ is the representative of God the Father. "I am come," says he "in my Father's name." His works were done "in the Father's name." Frequently, especially as recorded by John, he speaks of being "sent by the Father." His words, actions and death are referred to "the commandment received from the Father." In this sense, and in this alone, he is inferior to the Father; as he who appoints is, officially, greater than he who is appointed. In essence, and all the divine attributes, he is equal with the Father, yet, for the accomplishment of man's redemption, he obeys the will of

the Father, by acting as his representative. This work was no less his own will than that of the Father. In reference to this will he says,—"I delight to do thy will, O my God: yea thy law is within my heart." That Christ was the representative of his people, is a truth as frequently, and as clearly taught as any other in the sacred pages. They deserved death on account of their guilt. He died for them; he died in their stead, so as fully to satisfy, in behalf of all who believe in him, the claims of both the law and the justice of God. The law, thus highly honoured, no longer condemns; justice no longer calls for death, being satisfied with the death of Christ, their surety. Human laws cease to condemn, when guilt is no longer found. The justice of man will never inflict punishment twice for the same offence. "There is, therefore, no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus." But Christ not only redeems his people from the guilt and punishment, but also from the power and pollution of sin. God, out of Christ, sustains to his rebellious subjects no other relation than that of an inflexible judge; his holiness and his justice utterly forbid any friendly intercourse with them. The purifying influence of the Holy Spirit, but for the mediation of Christ, would never have touched the heart of man. By his obedience and death, Christ made the holiness of his people no less certain than their pardon. By the same atonement he secured the agency of the Spirit, by which they are rendered "meet for the inheritance of the saints in light."

The apostles were the special representatives of Christ. Commissioned by him, they were to go out into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; to make disciples of all nations; to administer the ordinances in the house of God; to complete the volume of inspiration, and establish permanently the doctrine and order of the church. In his name, they were to do many wonderful works, in confirmation of the doctrines they delivered. Accordingly, we find them in the midst of perils by land and by sea, at the hazard of death, devoting their lives to the great work assigned them, not conferring with flesh and blood, but carefully observing as their guide, all that the Lord had commanded them. Those who fill any office appointed by Christ, are his servants, in discharging the duties of that office. Hence, prophets and evangelists, whatever their duties might be, were the representatives of Christ; in his name, labouring to promote the interests of

the church. But the pastors of the church are now, pre-eminently the representatives of Christ. The volume of revelation being completed, needing and admitting of no addition, inspired men have long since, been called away, leaving no successors behind them. The labours of faithful pastors will be required in all ages. The pastoral office is explicitly appointed by Christ; by him ministers are commissioned, and in his name, in his stead, they perform their ministerial functions. Whatever they do, within the limits of their commission, is sanctioned by him; he considers it as done by himself. They are, therefore, the most immediate and the most important representatives of Christ upon earth. If their responsibilities are great, so are their encouragements: "Lo I am with you always, even to the end of the world." Such, and such only, are the pastors whom the churches desire and call to labour among them; pastors, who furnish proof that their commission is from heaven, and not from the mere appointment of men.

While these pastors are the immediate representatives of Christ, they are, at the same time, the representatives of the people, who have called them to labour among them. Although the members of the church cannot give the authority to preach the gospel, they can call, and thus authorize them to perform pastoral duties for the promotion of their spiritual interests. It is in the name of the people they offer up prayer and thanksgiving unto God. The administration of baptism is a pastoral duty; when, therefore, a member is received by the administration of this ordinance, it is the church which receives the member, by their authorized agent, the pastor. Ruling elders are also the representatives of the people, by whom they are elected, and authorized to act in this office. Whatever is done by these elders, provided they do not exceed their delegated power, is considered as done by the people.

The members of the church, in a very important sense, are the representatives of their Saviour. They have been called into his kingdom; have, in his providence, pointed out to them their field of labour; have an important trust committed to them, for the improvement or neglect of which they are accountable. Thus they are the light of the world; the salt of the earth. In becoming members of the church, they voluntarily assume the responsibilities of servants of their divine Master. From his hands, rewards or punishments await them. The interest of his kingdom,

in no small degree, is committed to them. If their example is like the path of the just, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day; if the spirit which they cherish, and breathe around them is that of the Saviour; then will the cause of Christ advance, and rejoicing bless the sanctuary of God. But if the light of their example is obscure, and their hearts are lukewarm; then, the ways of Zion will mourn; then iniquity will abound, because their love is waxed cold. He has died for them, that they might live for him, under the constraining influence of his love.

Here, then, are three principles, viz: Unity Parity, and Representation, which, when combined, form the basis of ecclesiastical polity. If these three are embraced, the system of government will be wise, salutary, and efficient; but if either be excluded, the operation of the system will be injurious.

The officers of the church, or the ministers of the gospel, have an important connexion with our general subject; we will, therefore, now consider more distinctly

The Ministerial Office.

The term minister is applied to all those persons, or things, employed in accomplishing the will of God. Flames of fire are sometimes made his ministers. The civil magistrate is the minister of God for good. But the term is especially applied to those who are employed in advancing the mediatorial kingdom, in carrying out the plan of redemption. Christ himself was a minister of the circumcision,—a minister of the sanctuary,—which the Lord pitched. The angels are ministering spirits sent forth, &c. It is applied to all those who fill any office in the church; they are all the ministers of Christ. The officers appointed by Christ are found in Eph. iv. 11. "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers;"—also in 1. Cor. xii. 28. "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers,—helps, governments." Of these offices, there is an obvious division; some are extraordinary, and some ordinary; some temporary, and some permanent. Those which are only temporary, are, we suppose, apostles and prophets, and, in a certain sense, evangelists; those which are permanent are pastors, teachers and rulers. While the apostles possessed the qualifications and discharged the duties of the subordinate ministers. There were' qualifications and duties peculiar to the apostles. In like

manner the prophets were above the evangelists, and the evangelists above the pastors. What were the peculiarities of these temporary officers? This subject will now be considered.

(1.) It is essential that the apostles be called to their office by Christ himself. In this manner the twelve were appointed. "He called unto him his disciples; and of them he chose twelve, whom he also named apostles." On this ground Paul asserts his right to the office. "Paul an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ." The appointment of Matthias, respecting this qualification may be defended; though into the details of that defence we do not now enter. (2.) Another requisite was, to have seen the Lord after his resurrection. This we learn from what was deemed necessary in the man who was to fill the place of Judas. Paul admits the necessity of this qualification in defending his own apostleship. "Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen the Lord?" (3.) Another peculiarity of the apostles was; they were to be authorized witnesses of the resurrection of Christ. He was seen, indeed, by above five hundred brethren at once; yet some of these might never have seen him, during his life; others were but slightly acquainted with him; some might have seen him, after his resurrection, only on this occasion. Their testimony, therefore, would not be worthy of the same credit, as that of the apostles. They had been, for several years, his constant companions, his intimate friends and pupils; they were familiar with his features, tone of voice, and manners. During forty days after his resurrection, he met with them frequently, and conversed with them in the most familiar manner. They had, therefore, reasons for the utmost assurance that he was the very same person with whom they had been associated, during his life. Their number, too, is amply sufficient. Those who will reject the testimony of twelve men, qualified as these are to bear witness to a fact, will reject that of five hundred. The apostles frequently claim this as their exclusive prerogative and duty; to bear witness to the resurrection of Christ. In proof of this, without quoting the words, we refer to the following passages:—Acts, i. 8, 21—ii. 32—iii. 15—v. 32. But especially to x. 41, 42. "Him God raised up the third day, and showed him openly; not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to us who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead." In proof

that Paul was one of those authorized witnesses, see Acts xxii. 15—xxvi. 16. (4.) The apostles also, bestowed on others the power of working miracles. Acts viii. 17. "Then laid they their hands on them and they received the Holy Ghost:"—xix. 6. "And when Paul laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied." (5.) The apostles alone were authorized to complete the volume of inspiration; and thus to establish, permanently, the doctrine and order of the church. This may be signified by the promise that they should "sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." The throne is the symbol of supreme authority and power; with which they are invested, and which they are to exercise, not in judging, not in passing sentence in a criminal case; but in deciding, with supreme authority, in all matters relating to faith and practice, for the church, here represented by the twelve tribes. They were to take possession of this kingdom, to occupy these thrones, "when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory." But of that throne he took possession when he ascended into heaven. From that day the apostles have exercised this supreme authority in the church. They have completed the volume of inspiration. No man can take from it a single sentence; no man can add a single sentence, claiming divine authority, but at the peril of life.

From this view of the subject, it is certain that the apostles, as such, can have no successors. Those who claim this succession, must perform the same works, and discharge the same duties, which the apostles did. This would require the same qualifications which the apostles possessed; for without these qualifications, these duties could not be discharged. These duties are peculiar to the apostles; which neither prophets, nor evangelists, nor pastors could perform. Any other succession than to the duties of the office, would be merely nominal, not real. The successors of General Washington were not merely nominal Presidents; they were real, active, and efficient agents of the government, discharging the duties of the offices which they filled, and for which, it was believed by those who elected them, they possessed all the requisite qualifications. To suppose, then, that the apostles have successors, is to suppose a constant series of miracles; for the qualifications of the apostles were chiefly miraculous.

2. Prophets are second in order to the apostles. Whatever their duties might be, and however useful in the church, it is certain that the office was but temporary. On two occasions we find future events predicted by the prophet Agabus: Acts xi. 28, and xxi. 11. Prediction, however, does not appear to have been the chief or most useful employment of the prophets of the New Testament; but in giving, by immediate inspiration, instruction, or exhortation to the comfort and edification of the church. Their word was quick and powerful, attended with great efficiency. No shield of unbelief or ignorance could secure the conscience from the searching, penetrating energy of their message. "One that believeth not, or one unlearned, is convinced of all, he is judged of all; and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest." Judging from the remarks of Paul, in reference to these prophets, their language was very plain; their words were easy to be understood; of course more efficient. The chief peculiarity of these prophets, however, seems to have been, that, occasionally at least, and to answer special purposes, they taught and exhorted under the guidance of inspiration. Among the gifts of the Spirit, prophecy is one. From what is stated in 1 Cor. xiv. 30, it seems evident that revelations were sometimes made to the prophets. "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge: if anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." The case seems to be this:—In a worshipping assembly, there are present several prophets, one of whom is speaking; to another, a revelation is made, which he is to deliver. But he is not to interrupt the speaker, but wait till his message is delivered. They may all speak, but it must be one by one. The impulse of inspiration is no excuse for disorder; "for the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets."

3. The next office in order is that of the evangelist. In Acts xxi. 8, Philip is designated by that title; Timothy is exhorted to discharge the duty of that office, 2 Tim. iv. 5, and in Eph. iv. 11, Christ is said to have given to his church evangelists. If by an evangelist we understand a deputy of the apostles, a man acting as Timothy did, under the immediate control of an inspired man, then, since there are no longer apostles there can be no longer evangelists. But this is not the meaning of the word, which signifies a preacher of the gospel; nor is it the scriptural usage of the

term, since it was applied to Philip, who was not the deputy of an apostle in the sense Timothy was, and in Eph. iv. 11, it is used to designate a whole class of officers, viz., those who were called to preach the gospel, without being fixed to any one place or made the pastor of any one church. This class seems to have been very large. It is doubtful whether the name of a single pastor is mentioned in the New Testament. Timothy, Titus, Apollos, Barnabas, Silvanus, Mark, Luke, and a multitude of others were all evangelists in the sense of preachers of the gospel bound to no one church. In this sense, it is obvious, the office must continue, until the church covers the whole earth, and every congregation has its own pastor, and there remains no more ground to be possessed. When the church lost her spirit of diffusion, when she began to stagnate, and to be satisfied with her acquisitions, and when the jealousy of the clergy led them to fear being disturbed in the quiet enjoyment of their parishes, they began to doubt the importance of this office, and to make canons against ordinations *sine titulo;* till at last, they came to the preposterous conclusion that there could not be a minister without a particular church, any more than there can be a husband without a wife. It was very natural for men who confined their view to their own country, to conclude that the office of evangelist was a temporary one, when they saw every parish occupied by a pastor, and more applicants than there were churches. Under such circumstances the multiplication of ministers without charges was a serious evil. The feeling against such ordinations had so long prevailed in the church, that our fathers brought it with them to this country, where the circumstances were entirely different. We find, therefore, in our early records, a great deal of difficulty made about ordinations without charge. But the people gradually got their eyes open to the fact that in the early age of the church, almost all the ministers of the gospel were evangelists, and that as long as the church is in a diffusive state, as long as she is a missionary church, as long as she fulfils her vocation to preach the gospel to every creature, she must have evangelists.

4. "And he gave some pastors and teachers." The arrangements and provisions for the perfecting of the saints, —for the edifying of the body of Christ, would not be complete without the pastoral office. That this office is permanent, we have abundant reasons to believe. (1.) The

qualifications for this office are not miraculous. That ardent, scriptural piety, with all that it includes, which is the chief and most essential qualification, is not, strictly speaking, miraculous. It is, indeed, the work of the Holy Spirit; but the Spirit accomplishes this work by the use of means, by the instrumentality of ordinances of divine appointment. Those mental faculties, which, in some good degree, are essentially necessary, are the gift of God. The cultivation of these faculties, is the result of study, of reading, of meditation. The knowledge, requisite for the office, is acquired by the patient and persevering application of the mind to those sources, from whence this knowledge can be obtained. (2.) The duties of the pastoral office will always be required for edifying the body of Christ. By far the most important of these duties is to preach the word; to explain the doctrines of the Bible, in all their harmony and connexion, as worthy of all acceptation; to explain the precepts of the gospel as the rule of life to every man. For, although some have become, and others may become sincerely pious, without hearing the voice of the living preacher; yet it pleases God "by the foolishness of preaching to save those who believe. How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" No church will long remain in a flourishing state without the faithful preaching of the gospel. The burden of the Saviour's commission is, "preach the gospel to every creature." Another pastoral duty is, the administration of ordinances, especially the two sacraments. This duty will be necessary in all ages. Indeed, the church as a community, could not long exist, without the administration of baptism, by which membership is recognized. The Lord's Supper ever has been, and ever will be, delightful and edifying to the disciples of Christ, and the more so as they advance in deep and scriptural piety. Governments are set in the church by divine ordination. Another duty of the pastor will, therefore, be the administration of government, in which he will ever be called to have an important part. Thus, it is plain from the scriptures, that the pastoral office is permanent, and will remain in the church till the end of time.

5. The office of ruling elder is now to be considered. This is the more necessary, because some, who admit that the pastoral office is *jure divino*, deny that there is the same authority for the office of ruling elder. By *jure divino*, we

suppose, is to be understood that which has the authority of scripture, either in plain, explicit terms, or in examples, or which is a fair and necessary inference from such statements and examples. Is there scriptural authority, then, for the office of ruling elder? 1 Tim. v. 17: "Let the elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in word and doctrine." The force of the word, in the original, (malista) ascribes something to a part, which does not belong to the whole. All the elders rule well; but, in addition to ruling, part of them labour in word and doctrine; that is, preach the gospel. Here, then, is a real difference, and a real distinction, founded on that difference. That this is the meaning and force of the word, will appear from a reference to a few other passages, in which the word occurs. Gal. vi. 10: "Let us do good unto all men, especially (malista) unto them who are of the household of faith." No person, we suppose, will deny that the word here, does not mark a distinction between the household of faith and other men. Phil. iv. 22: "All the saints salute you, chiefly (malista) they that are of Cesar's household." Were all these saints of Cesar's household? or only a part? and was not that part, by this relation, distinguished from the others? 1 Tim. iv. 10: "God is the Saviour of all men, especially, (malista) of those who believe." If all men, preserved by the care of God, believed; or if a part of them did not believe, the word would not here be used to mark the difference. From these, and other passages which might be quoted, it is plain that the word, (malista) is intended to distinguish one part from the other. Of course in the church, as organized by the apostles, there were elders who ruled, but who did not labour in word or doctrine, or, in other words, there is scriptural authority for the office of ruling elders. Thus, as before observed, they are helps, or as the word might be rendered, helpers to the pastor in the government of the church.

6. The office of deacon must not be passed over without notice. In Acts vi. 1–6, we have a plain account of the appointment of the deacons, and of the special work to which they were set apart; that was, to serve tables. So far from their having any connexion with preaching the gospel, or governing the church, the great design of their appointment was, that the business assigned them, might not divide the time and attention of those whose duty it was

to preach the word. "It is not reason," said they, "that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables." Had they been ordained ministers of the gospel, they would have been required to give themselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word. We find, indeed, that Philip, one of the seven, was afterwards an evangelist. But this does not prove that the office of deacon included that of evangelist. After filling the office of deacon for a time, he might have been, and probably was ordained to the work of the ministry. Because the Governor of a State is elected President of the United States, it does not follow, that all Governors are Presidents; or that the office of Governor includes that of President. A ruling elder is sometimes ordained to the gospel ministry; but all elders are not, therefore, ministers; nor does the office of ruling elder include that of the ministry. From the directions given to Timothy respecting the qualifications and character of deacons; and from their being addressed, with the bishops, in the church at Philippi, the office appears to be permanent. They may render services, useful to the church, in all ages.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

To constitute, and to organize a church, are not the same, though the words are frequently used, the one for the other. To constitute is, to select and bring together the materials of which the community is to consist; to ascertain the individuals who, on acknowledged and approved principles, are willing to associate for the purposes of social worship and mutual edification. To organize, is to elect and ordain the organs, the representatives, the agents, who, in the name, and for the interests of the church, are to discharge the duties peculiar to their respective offices. Hence, a church must be constituted, and of course, exist, before it is organized. The Saviour did not organize the church; but he prepared his disciples for this purpose. He laid down, with great clearness and authority, the qualifications and character of those who should enter into the kingdom of God, or be admitted as members of the visible church. But the apostles, exercising supreme authority, and in the name of Christ, as his representatives, performed this work, either by their own agency, or by the evangelists, according to their especial direction. That which is explicitly stated respecting the organization of a part of the churches, may be considered as indicating the common mode of proceeding. We have no account of the organization of the church at Jerusalem,

Antioch or Ephesus; but we have the assurance that there was an organized church in each of these cities. We have this account, however, respecting the churches in Crete, and part of those in Asia Minor. What, then, was the order, what was the form of government, given to the churches by inspired apostles? Let us inquire. Tit. i. 5. "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee." There were, it seems in the cities of Crete, a number of persons, converted to the Christian faith, anxious to enjoy the privileges, and willing to assume the responsibilities of members of the church. But there is no order, no established rules of conduct; some things are still wanting. This order is completed; these wants are supplied by ordaining elders in every city. The church is now prepared, with her authorized, officers, her pastors and her elders, to enjoy the ordinances of the gospel, to "grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Acts xiv. 23. "And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed." This account is given of Paul and Barnabas, on a missionary tour in Asia Minor. The apostle did not think proper to leave these churches to be organized by an evangelist; but performed this work himself, before he commended them to the Lord and left them. This account is the same with that given in Titus. Elders are ordained in every church; invested with the same authority, bound to discharge the same duties. We read of elders, men filling the same office, ordained in the same manner, in the church at Jerusalem, at Antioch, at Ephesus, and in the churches addressed in the first epistle of Peter. We find, then, the ordination and existence of elders in so many of the churches, that we have reason to believe, on the testimony of clear and explicit passages of scripture, of obvious meaning, not hard to be understood, that this order was universal in all the churches, without exception, organized by the apostles, or by their special direction. And further, that there are no officers in these churches of a higher grade, or above the elders. None such are mentioned in the churches organized by Titus, or by Paul himself. The directions given to Timothy and Titus, relate exclusively to the ordination of elders. If a higher grade had been necessary to complete the order of the church, the apostle

would certainly have mentioned the qualifications and character of the men who were to fill that superior office. But not a word, not even a hint on this subject is found. We are justified, therefore, in the belief that no such office exists in the church.

Here it is proper to mention that the terms bishop, and presbyter or pastor, do not mean two different officers; but are different titles given to the same officer. Every minister is a bishop, and every bishop is a minister. Such is the plain meaning of these words in the New Testament. Paul, Acts xx. 17, "from Miletes sent to Ephesus and called the elders of the church;" when he dismisses them, he calls them overseers, that is, bishops. In the passage above quoted from Titus, he was to ordain elders. Paul describing the character of these elders, adds; "for a bishop must be blameless."

That the church is under a government, of some form or other, is as certain as that there is a church. No community, especially of imperfect men, can exist, without a system of rules, for the regulation of their conduct. Every wise man has a plan, or system of rules; by which his efforts are directed; the only wise God himself exerts his energy according to a plan, previously existing in his infinite mind. The church is not left without government; without a system of rules wisely adapted to edify the body of Christ. But a system of rules will be useless unless carried into effect, unless they are faithfully executed. Hence the necessity for governors, or rulers, whose peculiar duty it is to execute the laws given to the church by her exalted Head. We find, therefore, that, in the church, as organized by the apostles, there is a class of men called rulers, distinct from the other members. It is the duty of the one class to rule, it is the duty of the other class, that is the members, to submit and obey. Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24: "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God.—Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.—Salute all them that have the rule over you. If there is not a class called rulers, distinct from the other members; or if the members jointly are to govern themselves, without representatives acting for them, and in their name, then, the meaning of the apostle will be, remember yourselves; obey yourselves; salute yourselves. It is certain that there are some to be remembered, obeyed and saluted; equally certain it is that there are some who are to

remember, obey and salute. 1 Thess. v. 12, 13: "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish; and to esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake." Here the two classes are distinctly mentioned. The brethren, the members of the church, are addressed; and their duty to the other class, those who are over them in the Lord, is earnestly enjoined. They are over you in the Lord, that is, by divine appointment, or *jure divino*.

The next inquiry is, who are these rulers? Can it be ascertained on clear scriptural testimony, in whom the right and power of governing the church is vested? We suppose this point is not less clearly established, than that there are rulers in the church. These rulers are the elders, bishops, pastors, or by whatever name those are called who fill the highest permanent office in the church, aided by those called helpers, or ruling elders; that is, elders who assist in ruling, but not in preaching the word. In 1 Tim. v. 17, elders are the only rulers mentioned, part of whom labour in word and doctrine; that is, preach the gospel, as well as rule in the church. In 1 Tim. iii. 1, 7, the character and qualifications of a bishop or pastor, are mentioned. With other things, he is to be one that ruleth well his own house; and the reason assigned for this is, that he is to be a ruler in the church. "For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" In Heb. xiii. 7, those who are to be remembered as rulers, are those "who have spoken to you the word of God;" that is, have preached to you the gospel. In 1 Thess. v. 13, those whom the brethren are to know and esteem as rulers, are those who admonish them, as their pastors in the name of Christ. The term bishop, one of the titles given to the pastor, means an overseer; one who exercises a friendly supervision over the flock, not only that he may rightly divide the word of truth, as each one may need, but also that he may know whom to admonish, reprove or rebuke, which he is to do with all long-suffering and doctrine. From these passages it is evident that the pastoral office includes that of ruler; and that the pastor is *ex officio* a ruler, who, with his helpers, the ruling elders, is accountable for the state of the church. If they suffer such error in doctrine, or immorality in practice, as would bring a reproach on religion, for this criminal negligence they subject themselves to the just rebuke of Christ, whose representatives they are. Hence, it

is their imperative duty to watch over the flock as they that must give an account. If milder measures fail, they are to cast the incorrigible offender out of the church, cut him off from the body of Christ, as the gangrened limb is cut off from the human body.

The promise of Christ, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," implies the continuance of the ministry through all ages; and as there is no office higher than that of bishops, pastors, or elders, these elders are invested with the right and power to ordain their successors. As inspired men have, long since, been removed, if this right is not in the pastors, there is no such right in the church. The letters to Timothy and Titus are the pastors' directory on this subject; containing an account of the character and qualifications requisite for the office; the various trials to which the candidate for ordination must submit; the cautions and warnings against hasty admissions of unqualified men to that sacred trust. These letters were not written exclusively for the benefit of Timothy and Titus, but also for the direction of pastors in all ages, that "they might know how they ought to behave themselves in the house of God." If the pastors honestly adhere to the directions contained in these letters, they act in the name and by the authority of Christ, their ordination of successors is as valid as if done by an apostle; for they act in obedience to the voice of inspiration. The ordination of elders by Titus was as valid as the ordination of Paul himself. The only difference between Titus and the pastors, in subsequent ages is this: Titus received verbal, the pastors written instructions from the same inspired apostle. The written instructions do not impart less authority than the verbal. If we admit the validity of the ordinations performed by Titus, we must admit, for the very same reasons, the validity of those performed by the pastors. We see no escape, therefore, from the conclusion, that the pastors, bishops, elders, or by whatever name soever they may be called, are authorized and required to ordain their successors; and further, as there is no higher offices in the church, they alone are authorized to perform this sacred rite.

As the church is thus organized by inspired apostles, we clearly perceive the operation of the three fundamental principles above mentioned,—Union, Parity, and Representation.

The bond of union, as stated before, is principally the

truth, and the possession of the same Spirit in virtue of a common union with the same Lord. This union, however, should, also, be visible, consisting in a recognition of all Christians, as Christians, and of all churches, as churches, and in the discharge of the reciprocal duties which flow from the spiritual union which exists between them. It is, also, incumbent on all churches to adhere, as near as may be, to the form of government laid down in the scriptures; and those whose geographical position admit of it, should associate for their mutual edification and government.

Parity is also a principle of that ecclesiastical polity ordained by the apostles. The extraordinary offices, being temporary, have ceased; the inquiry is, therefore, limited to those that are permanent. The question, then, is;—did the apostles ordain a permanent order of men, in the churches, above the pastors, bishops or elders? if so, what are the duties peculiar to this higher grade? The pastors are to preach the word, administer the sacraments, and rule in the house of God. Unless there are duties peculiar to this superior office, it is a mere nominal thing. But, although the members of the church need no other than pastoral duties for their edification, yet, perhaps, the pastors, being fallible men, will need overseers; an order of ministers to exercise over them a paternal and directing influence. Be it so; who then, is to oversee these overseers? For, if the pastors need this oversight because they are imperfect, for the very same reason these overseers will need it also. If it be replied, that these overseers will watch over each other;—we say, let the pastors do the same. Let them, by mutual agreement, become accountable to each other; and, if need be, admonish, reprove and rebuke each other. There is, therefore, no need of a superior order of men to perform a duty which can be done as well, if not better, by the pastors themselves. It may be supposed that ordination requires a higher order. If so, the same question occurs; who is to ordain these ordainers? If the reply is, they ordain each other—we again say, let the pastors or bishops do the same; let them, as it is both their right and their duty to do, ordain their successors. We cannot, therefore, perceive, from the scriptures, or from the wants of the church, any duties to be discharged by a superior order, which are not discharged by the bishops or elders. Such an order, then, does not exist; for if it did, it would be useless; and Christ employs no useless labourers in his vineyard.

The principle of representation is so obviously incorporated in the plan of government, laid down in the New Testament, that it cannot escape the notice of the attentive reader. The pastors and rulers of the churches are, at once the representatives of Christ, in whose name and by whose authority they act, and of the people, by whom they are elected. When these delegates meet, the members of the church are gathered together in them, for the transaction of business. In this respect our civil government is the same with that polity, established by the apostles. The wisdom of this plan is obvious to every reflecting mind. Instead of five hundred, or a thousand members coming together, and each individual taking a part in the business, a few judicious men, chosen for this special purpose, can much better accomplish this object.

ART. III.—*Commentary upon the Psalms:* By E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor and Professor of Theology at Berlin. Volume First. Berlin: 1842. pp. 475. 8vo.

James W. Alexander

A work, from such a hand, on such a subject, cannot but be welcome; and we take pleasure in saying that a translation of it is now in progress in this place. Meanwhile, it may be useful to offer some statements in regard to what may be expected. There is no part of scripture on which a work of thorough interpretation is more needed, than the book of Psalms. The books which commonly stand on the shelves of our clergy are insufficient. The great work of Venema is voluminous and rare; that of Bishop Horne, though both ingenious and pious, is uncritical and fanciful; and the neological commentaries of the Germans are not once to be named. As the chief inspired record of religious experience, and the only extended and authoritative directory of our prayers, as well as a fund of prediction concerning the Son of David who was to come, the Psalms must continue to the end of time to be the delightful study of the private Christian. For the same reason they will always furnish a large proportion of topics for pulpit exposition. Preachers need a work which shall be a comprehensive and sufficient interpretation of these sacred hymns; a work which shall concentrate on the text

all the lights of modern learning, and which shall answer the objections of modern infidels. From no man living do we suppose that such a work can be more confidently expected than from Professor Hengstenberg. His qualifications for the task are known and read of all men, being sufficiently evinced by his Christology, and other researches in the same field. He is second to no biblical scholar, for accuracy of acquaintance with the original text and all the necessary helps. He has been trained to the work in all the varied and profound learning of the age. His studies for years have lain precisely in this field, and he has year after year delivered lectures on this very subject, in the first universities of Germany. He is familiar, as a champion, with the persons, the works, and the strategics of all the neological host. He is in the very prime of life, at the very focus of continental civilization and learning; and, best of all, having once been a rationalist, he is now an humble, affectionate disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ.

There is every thing in the character of Hengstenberg's mind, to make him both acceptable and useful to the English and American public. Here and there, in his copious productions, we meet with a pardonable vagary, which savours of his nation, but in every good sense, he may be said to be the least German of the Germans. As he sees nothing dimly, he expresses nothing obscurely. In his teachings there is nothing doubtful, ambiguous or transcendental; there is no lurking in the shade of mere diction, nor any vapouring about wonders half-revealed, and to be confided only to the initiated. The moment you open his volume, you find yourself in commerce with a mighty understanding; with a master who knows his own mind and takes the briefest, directest, strongest way of uttering it, with a decision and fearlessness, which scorn all reserve, delay and equivocation. It is needless to say to any one who is acquainted with the rationalistic controversy of the last fourteen years, that Hengstenberg is a man of singular courage. His intrepidity is, however, serene and collected, and manifests itself without transport and without noise.

No writer of our day more reminds us of Calvin. Like the great reformer, Hengstenberg sees all things at once in their logical connexion, and in their immediate relation to the religion of the heart. But, like Calvin again, he rejects all those aids which a pious fancy is ready to deduce from doubtful sources. Determined to find Christ in the Old

Testament, he dares not, for an instant, sacrifice to this intention the strictest canons of interpretation. He is a cool, a rigid, and, therefore, a safe interpreter. For the same reason, he is admirably fitted to correct the errors of those fastidious minds which revolt against the Cocceian and other similar methods, and to bring back rationalists, by the way in which he was himself brought back, to the acknowledgment of the truth. Many in our own country need just such a monitor, and are less reluctant to follow a foreign guide. They will see with surprise, one of the most learned and independent of transatlantic scholars, exploding those bubbles which here attract the admiring gaze of the novice, and ascertaining with invincible logic those foundations of exegesis which bore the structure of the Reformation.

The course of this exposition necessarily leads the author to discuss some of the most important Old Testament prophecies of Christ. In what manner he may be expected to do this, may be satisfactorily gathered from his treatment of the Messianic Psalms, in the Christology. To those among ourselves who have adopted rationalistic principles of interpretation, who have derived nothing from Germany but the art of disbelief, who acknowledge no type in the Old Testament but that which is cited as such in the New, who are jealous of any finding of Messias in the prophecies, and who attribute the imprecatory passages of the psalms to the unsanctified ire of the psalmist, the conclusions of Hengstenberg may be both startling and unwelcome. A larger class, we trust, of biblical students, will hail them, as stopping the mouths of adversaries, and erecting a new trophy upon the triumphal way of evangelical opinions.

One great advantage possessed by the readers of these volumes is the satisfaction of knowing that they bring down the literature of the subject to the very latest date, so as to render unnecessary any recourse to the numerous critical commentaries of Germany. The opinions of these scholars are taken up and sifted, and all that is valuable is retained. They are here examined by one who knows them all, and sees through them all. Their authors are confronted by one who is their equal in sacred learning, and more than their equal in diligence, in argument, and in that peculiar trenchant wit which has a sisterhood with argument. In regard to the intentions of the author, we may let him speak for himself.

"The author was possessed with a serious purpose of writing a commentary on the Psalms, a number of years ago, when his eyes were first opened to their depth of meaning. As early as 1830, he was desirous to undertake it, but then, and whenever afterwards the determination was awakened, other labours pressed into the foreground. After completing the former part of the exposition of the most important and difficult portions of the Pentateuch, the inclination to this work revived with such strength, that the author was no longer able to resist it. He feels the greater freedom in deferring the work already commenced, as the former part of it was expressly announced as a special treatise.

"What the author has essayed, and what he has actually accomplished, may be best learned by the reader from the book itself. With all its imperfections, he trusts it will commend itself as one upon which he has long been engaged with zeal and affection.

"The whole will be completed in three volumes. But lest the fulness of exposition in the first volume should mislead any as to the probable extent of the whole, the reader is desired to compare the labours of his predecessors, as for example the first volume of Rosenmüller, which contains only the first twenty Psalms. Of the Psalms, more than of any other work, it may be said, that it demands fulness in the beginning, and brevity in the sequel, from the very nature of the subject.

"The third volume, besides the completion of the Commentary, will contain a series of treatises on the Psalms, which will discuss the topics usually comprised in Introduction, as well as a particular examination of the doctrinal and moral instructions of this part of scripture.

"The author foresees, that the practical character which pervades the whole commentary will give occasion to many objections. Without the hope of fully averting such objections, he observes, that these practical remarks have their origin, not in any intent foreign to that of the work, but in the essential interest of the interpretation. The psalms are products of holy experience, and can be understood by those only in whom the same has a living existence. To labour in this direction, is therefore the proper province of the Expositor. And especially, if any are disposed to complain that the citations from Luther's commentary, which so remarkably subserve this end, are too numerous, they may take satisfaction in considering, that these will in a great measure end with the present volume, as the larger work of Luther comprises only the first twenty-two psalms. The author believed himself to be justified in being less sparing of this sterling matter, by the consideration that the work, as a whole, is in some degree unattractive.

"However the labour may be received, the author has found in it a rich reward for himself, and hopes to look back upon it with joy from the eternal world. For which reason he must surely wish, that it may be blessed to others also, and especially that, of the multitude who are now fainting in the desert, it may bring back here and there one, to the green pastures and still waters of the divine word."

The sprrit of the sentences last quoted will find a cer-

tain response in the heart of every Christian reader; they indicate the temper of the work. The copious citations of Luther and Calvin are in a great degree introduced with a similar feeling, and these add a new value to the composition.

The most that we can do, in the way of specimen, is to exhibit by extracts, the judgment of the author on a few passages, taken without anxious selection. And we cannot make a better beginning, than with the second psalm. This, as might be expected, the author applies immediately to Christ. The psalmist beholds with amazement numerous nations and their kings set in array against Jehovah and his Anointed, their rightful king: v. 1—3. He then depicts the relation of Jehovah to these attempts: v. 4—6. He first derides, then terrifies them in wrathful discourse, and pronounces their endeavours vain, because they rise against him whom God has made king. He then announces the Anointed, declaring to the revolters, that the Lord has given Him, as his Son, all people and lands as a possession, and also right and power to execute vengeance: v. 7—9. The psalmist finally turns to the kings, and exhorts them to humble subjection to God's Son and Messiah. There are few psalms, according to our author, in which the division into strophes is so discernible. At first view, it falls into strophes of three members. The verses are further of two members each, except that the last completes the full cadence of four members.

"It appears upon sufficient grounds, that by the King, the Anointed, and the Son of God, none other than the Messiah can be understood. It is commonly admitted that this interpretation was the *predominant* one among the ancient Jews, and that only polemical considerations in regard to Christians have induced the modern ones to depart from it. This is confirmed, not only by the distinct exposition of Jarchi, and a considerable number of passages from ancient Jewish writings, in which the Messianic interpretation is extant, as may be found among the citations in Venema's Introduction to the Psalms, but also by the fact, the two names of Messias which were current at the time of Christ, the very name Messiah, Anointed, and the name Son of God, used by Nathanael in discourse with Christ, John i. 50, and by the high priest, Matt. xxvi. 63, are derived from the Messianic interpretation of this psalm. The former is applied to the coming Saviour only in Dan. ix. 25; the latter not at all. Now although this fact is certainly remarkable, we will not ascribe to it the significancy of a proper proof. Nor will we rest on the fact, that in a number of New Testament passages, this psalm is applied to Christ; that it is thus interpreted by the assembled apostles, Acts iv. 25—26, and by Paul, Acts xiii. 33; and in Heb. i. 5—v. 5, and that the Messianic interpretation is the basis of the distinct allusions

in Rev. ii. 27, xii. 15, xix. 5. As in the New Testament typical Messianic psalms are frequently referred to Christ, and as this psalm actually contains an indirect prediction of Christ, even if the primary application is to an individual living under the Old Testament, thus making the two opposite interpretations less far asunder than might seem at first view, it would be unfair to build upon those declarations. Yet the fact that the New Testament writers follow the direct Messianic interpretation, makes it very probable that this was absolutely prevalent among their contemporaries. The proper proof we found solely upon internal reasons, in regard to which we observe in the outset, that we can have no interest in mistaking their import, as the Messianic kernel of the psalm, and its validity for the matter in hand, remain unimpaired, even if the internal reasons should fix a reference to David or any other individual. That which gave him security of the fruitlessness of revolt among the people subjected to him by God, namely his divine appointment, and the nearness of his relation to God, must have the same import in a still higher degree as applied to Christ in reference to his insurgent subjects. But the internal reasons for a direct Messianic interpretation speak a voice so loud and decisive, that opposition to it must be ascribed to a like interest on the other side, and derived from causes from which we are very remote. There are traits in this psalm which agree with no subject except Messiah. Superhuman majesty is ascribed to the subject of the psalm, in verse 12, where the revolters are admonished to submit themselves to their king, with fear and trembling, because his enemies should be destroyed by his heavy wrath, while on the other hand it should be well with those who trust in him. The futile attempt of those who deny the Messianic view, to apply what is said of the Anointed, to the Lord himself, only shows how impregnable is the position of Venema: Ira regis eo modo metuenda proponitur, v. 12, qui creaturae minus convenit et fiducia in eo ponenda commendatur ibidem, quae a creatura abhorret. Against a reference to any other subject than Messiah, stand also verse 12, where the king is called absolutely the Son of God, and verses 6 and 7, where he is called His King, and His Son, in such sense that with this relation lordship over the whole earth is immediately attributed to him. Against a reference to any earthly king, v. 1—3 and v. 8—10 are decisive, in which the people and kings of the whole earth are given to him, and shall seek in vain to cast off his yoke. Here the extent of his kingdom is defined, in terms every where else applied to the extent of Messiah's kingdom, in passages of which the Messianic character is generally admitted; as Zech. ix. 10, Isaiah ii. 2, Micah iv. 1. De Wette here tries to escape by appealing to the alleged 'tendency of the Hebrew poets to hyperbole, and the susceptibility among theocratic enthusiasts of high-flying hopes.' But hyperbole, under all circumstances, has its bounds; and the exaggeration must here be applied not to a picture of the present, but to promises of the future. Hoffman (die Weiss. u. ihre Erfüllung, S. 180.) maintains that in v. 8, the words, 'Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession,' means no more than this: 'As many people as he desires for a possession, as many distant lands as he desires for a dominion, so many will Jehovah subject to him.' Of a truth, David's desires were moderate enough, for he asked no more

than a little domain in the neighbourhood of Canaan. But it is forgotten here, that this divine appointment and authority are set in opposition to the *kings of the earth*, who had risen up against the king, their rightful lord, v. 2; and that, in consideration of this, the *judges of the earth*, are warned, v. 10, to return to their allegiance. And then, where does there appear a sign in history, of king David's having offered, or had it in his power, to become the conqueror of the whole world? He never undertook a war of invasion: his warfare was always defensive. It is moreover against the idea of an earthly king, that this revolt against the Anointed and Son of Jehovah is represented throughout as a revolt against Jehovah himself, and that the nations are warned to submit themselves to him, in humility and reverence. It would be entirely a different case, if the reference were to such enemies as plotted the destruction of God's kingdom; the enemies here represented have no intention but to free themselves from the yoke of the king. Though we would not absolutely assert the impossibility of such a representation, there is a total absence of parallel places, in which such a design as a revolt against God is represented. The significancy of this argument, as given in the Christology, I. 1. p. 102, is acknowledged by Hitzig. He denies, even more positively than we could do, that heathen nations who were subjected to God's people could thereby be treated as subjects of Jehovah, and that every attempt to regain their freedom would be revolt against the Lord. To serve any deity, he says, either means to profess a religion, or at least involves or presupposes this: the Moabites served David, 2 Sam. viii. 2, not Jehovah. Now, as he rejects the Messianic interpretation, which removes every difficulty, he is thereby forced to refer the composition to the time of the Maccabees, in which we first meet with an attempt to embody vanquished gentiles among the people of God, by circumcision; an assumption in which certainly no one will follow him. Finally the Messianic interpretation is sustained by the same proofs which establish a similar application of the 45th, the 72d and the 110th psalms, all which so remarkably accord with this, that, in regard to their Messianic character, they must stand or fall together. These reasons are so stringent, that we find among the defenders of the Messianic interpretation a number of writers whose theological tendencies are by no means in this direction, especially Eichhorn, Bertholdt, whose very decided expositions are given in the Christology, I, 1. p. 104, Rosenmüller, and Koster. Of the same judgment also are Sack, (Apol. 2 Aufl. S. 282 ff.) and Umbreit, (Erbauung a. d. Psalter S. 141. ff.)

The further exposition of this psalm contains particulars which vary from the received orthodox interpretation, especially as regards the seventh verse. Which leads us to observe that in recommending this work, we do not wish to be understood as assenting to every statement. Nor is such exception surprising, nor of such moment as it would be in a systematic view of truth. An expositor may sacredly hold a given doctrine, and at the same time deny the pertinency of many passages familiarly cited as proving it. Thus Hengstenberg denies any primary view to the Mes-

siah in certain psalms of which such reference has been confidently predicated by the older interpreters. Yet all who know his works, know also that it is the darling object of his life, to bring to view this very character of the Old Testament oracles; which is the more remarkable, when we revert to the fact, that in the days of his youthful neology, his first academical performance was a defence of the thesis, that it is vain to look for Christ in the Old Testament. We have never seen, we expect not to see, a commentary on any one book of Scripture, to which we could subscribe in every particular.

It will serve to show how Hengstenberg deals with difficult points, if we produce some of his opinions upon the Hebrew terms in the titles of the Psalms. The full discussion of many questions connected with this subject, he has doubtless reserved for his last volume; but he does not omit the particular titles as they occur. If the private Christian finds himself stumbling at these hard words, it may console him to observe, that the most learned students of the original have had scarcely less trouble than himself. Yet it is only from the sources of Hebrew erudition that any light is to be expected.

The title of the fourth Psalm is, 'To the chief musician on Neginoth.' The former part of it is prefixed to no less than fifty-three Psalms. Some render it, "for singing," others, "for singing throughout," i. e. to the same tune. Hengstenberg considers both as inadmissible, on grammatical grounds. The radix of the word occurs in Chronicles and Ezra in the sense of "overseeing," and only as a technical and Levitical term. In 1 Chron. xv. 2, it is specially applied to musical direction. Nothing comports better with the inscription of a sacred song. The term implies that the psalms to which it is prefixed were designed for public performance in the temple. '*To* the chief musician,' affords the sense that it was consigned to him to be sung. The word *Neginoth* is the name of stringed instruments in general. So that the whole title may be thus understood: A Psalm of David, to be committed to the chief musician, that he may direct the performance of the same, with the accompaniment of stringed instruments.

In the fifth psalm, the same title is varied thus: 'Upon Nehiloth.' There have been three interpretations. 1. The Chaldee and other interpreters understand certain instruments, particularly flutes. But there is no trace of etymo-

logical proof. The preposition employed is never prefixed to the names of instruments. Flutes, though occurring in the schools of the prophets, 1 Sam. x. 5, formed no part of the temple music. We read of stringed instruments and trumpets, but never of flutes, in enumeration of instruments: Ps. cl. 2. Others suppose that the words refer to another hymn, the melody of which was to be applied to this. So Aben-Ezra, and Hitzig. But this is a violent assumption, supported by no analogy. 3. The third opinion is that the words refer to the subject of the psalm. This is the view expressed by the Septuagint and the Vulgate. So Luther renders it, 'For the inheritance.' Hengstenberg regards it as favourable to this view, that a critical examination of the most obscure and difficult titles, reveals an enigmatic allusion to the contents of the psalms which follow them respectively. The only other connexion in which this preposition appears in a title, Ps. lxxx. justifies this opinion. *Nehiloth* properly means that which is obtained, or possessed, and here, in the plural, possessions, lots. See Job vii. 3. Now the whole psalm is occupied in representing the two-fold lot of the righteous and the wicked.

The word 'Sheminith,' in the title of the sixth psalm, has been taken to denote an instrument, and particularly an eight-stringed instrument. But even if we translate 'the eighth,' it can scarcely mean an instrument of eight strings. Hengstenberg understands it to denote some specific intonation, unknown to us from our ignorance of Hebrew music.

In the seventh psalm, we have the word 'Shiggaion.' The translation 'Elegy,' or lamentation, by no means suits the predominant subject, here and in Habakkuk, chap. iii. where it also occurs. The rendering *carmen*, adopted by some, after the Syriac, agrees as little with the latter place. That it is a musical direction, seems improbable, from its being prefixed to this psalm only. The radix means 'to wander:' the word itself 'wandering.' As applied to this psalm, it very naturally indicates the wanderings of the ungodly. This applies as well to the passage in Habakkuk.

'Upon Gittith,' in the title of the eighth psalm, means upon the Gittite harp, a harp of Gath. This may have been either an instrument invented in that city of the Philistines, or a mode of singing derived thence. All the psalms so marked are of a joyful character. 'Muthlabben,'

Ps. ix. has vexed the grammarians. Winer and de Wette, by their mode of punctuation read 'Alamoth,' as in Ps. xlvi. and understand it of a melody. 'Labben,' they render, 'for Ben, or the Benites.' There is a Ben named in 1 Chron. xv. 18, among the singers. This is specious; but all external evidence is for the received division and punctuation. The grammatical difficulties of this interpretation are also great. Others take it to be the title of another psalm, of which the melody was to be used for this; but without the semblance of a parallel. Grotius surmised such a transposition of letters in 'Labben' as would read 'Nabal,' and took it accordingly as referring to the death of Nabal. Hengstenberg admits the probability of such a transposition, but translates the word, which gives the meaning, 'Upon the fool's death;' which is actually the subject of the composition.—'Michtam' in the sixteenth psalm has given occasion to wonderful discussion, and the reader will find here the opinions of Aben-Ezra, Luther, Vorstman, Gesenius, Hitzig, and others. Hengstenberg interprets it 'Secret or mysterous;' as pointing out the profundity of the subject, a *procul profani* to irreverent readers.

We must take leave to close this portion of our remarks by presenting the opinions of our author on that little stumbling-block, which from its frequent occurrence has impeded so many devout readers, we mean the word 'Selah,' which first appears in the third psalm. This word occurs seventy-three times in the Psalms and three times in Habakkuk. It is best deduced, says Hengstenberg, not from the Syriac, but from the Hebrew root 'to rest.' It may be taken either as a noun, 'rest, pause,' or with Gesenius, as an imperative, 'pause.' It is primarily a musical direction. But inasmuch as the musical pause always occurs where the feelings demand some rest, it is not less important for the sense; and those who omit it, as our author justly observes, take an unwarrantable liberty with the inspired word. This interpretation is confirmed by an examination of the passages in which the term occurs. It almost always follows just where a pause is in place. As some have supposed it to mark a change of strophe, it may be observed that this is always a proper site of a pause, but that such was its specific design, is disproved by the fact that it frequently occurs in the midst of strophes. The passage of Habakkuk where it occurs, is constructed in several respects upon the

plan of the psalms. Another confirmation of this view, is the concurrence of Selah in the ninth psalm, with 'Higgaion,' meditation. The unaided feeling of pious readers has often brought them to the same conclusion, and left them with the right impression, even when they did not understand the word. Such was the sentiment no doubt which led to what is perhaps the only introduction of the term into an uninspired work; we mean the dying expressions of Bunyan's pilgrim, in the waters of Jordan. "Selah," says Luther, "sheweth, that one must hold still, and diligently ponder the words of the psalm; for they demand a quiet and still-keeping soul, which may thus conceive and comprehend what the Holy Ghost here sets forth and represents."

Although it may be regarded as a sample-brick from the building, we nevertheless deem it proper to subjoin an extract for the purpose of shewing Hengstenberg's manner of treating the details of a passage. For this, we select the seventh verse of the fourteenth Psalm.

"The Psalmist concludes with an expression of his longing for the salvation promised in the preceding verses, to be accomplished in God's destruction of those who oppressed his church. *O that the salvation of God were come out of Zion, and that the Lord would return to the captivity of his people! Then exult Jacob, and rejoice Israel!* The former clause is literally, *Who will give out of Zion the salvation of Israel?* The phrase 'who will give,' as is well known, is used in Hebrew to mark the optative, being equivalent to 'O that it were!'—'Out of Zion,' because there, as in the sanctuary of his people, the Lord is enthroned. De Wette, very unjustly, would represent the Psalmist as absent from his native land and looking back to it. The expectation of help from Zion is found throughout those psalms which are clearly by David, or at any rate earlier than the captivity; such as Ps. iii. 4. 'He heard me out of his holy hill;' xxviii. 2, xx. 2, cxxviii. 5, cxxxiv. 3. In expressing this expectation, the sacred psalmists remind God, that it is his province to help, because as the Head of the divine kingdom he cannot abandon it to the desolations of the wicked. If the psalm belonged to the time of the captivity, the writer could not expect help out of Zion. For this, since the destruction of the temple, was no longer the central point of the kingdom of God, as appears from Ezek. xi. 22, where the Shekinah, or visible symbol of the divine presence is solemnly lifted up from the temple. And though, after the destruction of the temple, Daniel turns his face in prayer towards Jerusalem, he does this out of regard to what had been there, and what was to be there again. He did not expect help out of Zion, but directed his face thitherward, because he accounted the place holy, where the temple had once stood, and where a temple was yet to stand. The only passage which De Wette makes available, to show that even during the captivity, help was expected from Zion, namely Ps. cxxi.

1, derives all its seeming pertinency from the arbitrary assumption that it belongs to the time of the captivity; a supposition, of which the unreasonableness is sufficiently apparent from the opening words, 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.' The words before us therefore prove, that the psalm was not composed, as recent interpreters allege, during the captivity, and so render that interpretation of the sequel, which is founded on this supposition, inadmissible.

"The 'return to the captivity of his people,' presents more distinctly the mode in which Israel's help should come out of Zion. It comes thence, because the Lord, enthroned on Zion, pities the wretchedness of his people, and returns to them in the demonstrations of his grace. The recent interpretations generally give; 'when the Lord brings back the captives of his people.' From this they derive a proof that the psalm was not written by David, and not before the Babylonish captivity. Others, attributing the psalm to David, are thereby led to consider this verse as a subsequent addition; as did the author himself at a former period; a supposition which is the more hazardous, as the verse recurs in the fifty-third psalm, and as the seven-fold repetition of the divine names, above-mentioned, is thus disturbed. But the whole exposition is clearly wrong; for 1. The verb here used never has the meaning 'to bring back,' transitively, but always 'to return.' 2. It is asserted altogether without proof, that the noun signifies 'captives,' as it rather signifies in all cases where it occurs independent of the present phrase, 'the captivity'—*status captivitatis*. 3. The whole phrase demonstrably means in many passages, gracious commiseration in general. Captivity is a figure of misery, as are often the prison, Ps. cxlii. 7, and bonds, Isa. xlii. 7, xlix. 9, etc. So Job xlii. 10, 'God turned him to the captivity of Job,' though Job had not been a captive. In Jer. xxx. 18, 'I will turn me to the captivity of Jacob's tents,' is used for their lamentable situation, because the tents cannot be regarded as captive. Ezek. xvi. 53, 'I will return to their captivity, the captivity of Sodom and her daughters,' &c., means, I will have compassion on their misery; inasmuch as Sodom and the other cities of the plain were not carried into captivity, but were totally destroyed. On the other hand, there is not a single place to be found, in which this phrase can be proved to be used of exiles. 4. The origin of all the passages, where this phrase occurs, is to be found in Deut. xxx. 3, 'And the Lord thy God will turn back to thy captivity.' That the verb 'turn' is there used in its usual intransitive sense, with the object to which the return is made in the accusative, is undeniable. In the first six verses alone this verb occurs six times, and in five of these is taken in the sense 'to return to'; why should it in the sixth have the other meaning? If, further, regard be had to the special reasons, in respect to this very passage, against a reference to restoration from exile, such as the longing for help out of Zion, the entire contents of the psalm, which has not the slightest allusion to the captivity, but rather concerns itself with a general relation pervading all times, and finally the inscription, no doubt will remain that the only true interpretation is: 'when the Lord returns to the captivity,' i. e. to the misery. The accusative is here used, as with verbs of motion; compare Ex. iv. 19,20, Num. x. 36, Is. lxxxv. 5, Isa. lii. 8, Hab. ii.

3. But David had occasion the rather to wish that the Lord should have mercy on the misery of his church, in a psalm designed for the general use of the pious in all ages, from the peculiar greatness of the troubles of which he had himself been a witness in the times of Saul and Absalom.

"The wish here expressed received its highest accomplishment only in Christ, and of this the highest point is yet in the future, when instead of a militant, shall be a triumphal church. Till then, we have abundant cause to make the wish of the pious psalmist our own. Our joy over the inferior fulfilment can never prevent our longing for that last and greatest consummation."

Our author vindicates the title of the third psalm, against the objections of De Wette and others; shewing in an admirable manner the conformity of its contents with the circumstances of David during the revolt of Absalom. He argues at some length for the reference of the fourth psalm to the same period. He objects, however, to any such special application in regard to the fifth. The seventh he places, after a rigid examination of contrary opinions, in the period of Saul's persecution. In the eighth psalm he recognises no direct Messianic character. In regard to the eighteenth, he dissents from Venema, who supposes it certain that it was composed at an earlier period than the mournful events which gave occasion to the fifty-first; and, on the authority of the books of Samuel, assigns it to the closing period of David's life. We have particularized these, as the only portions comprised in this volume, of which it has been attempted to assign the period.

In reading the admirable works of such a writer as Hengstenberg, one who seems to be set for the defence of the gospel amidst a host of unbelievers, we have sometimes been disposed to wish that he had chosen to write in the Latin tongue; that so his labours might be accessible to all educated theologians of other countries. And we have mourned over that decay of Latin learning which has confined the theology of recent times to the countries in which the several works have appeared. But when we consider that of late years no country of the European continent, except Germany, has produced any considerable amount of valuable matter, and that in that country, since the irruption of neology, the chaff has been a hundred fold greater than the wheat, we are ready to reconsider our lamentation. It may be in mercy, that Providence has locked out from English readers a multitude of insidious works, by keeping them in an unknown tongue. It is matter of thankfulness that the worst productions of the German press

have never been translated into English. Now and then a great but pestilent work, like that of De Wette, appears in a version, but, most happily, the demand, in England and America, has been for such as those of Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Neander and Krummacher. Not long ago we met with a proposal to give to American readers, Rosenmüller's Commentary on the Psalms. Most cordially do we hope, that since the appearance of the book we have here noticed, the labours of that singularly cold and incredulous Rationalist will be allowed to sleep. With such a guide as Hengstenberg, the most critical student may be satisfied; assured that he will be led to the results of the most accomplished modern exegesis, and to a sufficient acquaintance with all the recent literature of the subject; so that all resort to the multitudinous and chaotic mass of conflicting expositions may well be spared.

ART. IV.—*Report of Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, from the Committee of Commerce of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the memorial of the Friends of Colonization assembled in convention in the city of Washington, May,* 1842. *To which is appended a collection of the most interesting papers on the subject of African Colonization, &c., &c.* Feb. 28, 1843. Printed by order of the House of Representatives.

THE American Colonization Society have, since their first organization, presented several memorials to Congress, soliciting their aid, and co-operation, in carrying into effect the plan which they had adopted for planting a Colony on the Western coast of Africa, composed of such free people of colour in these United States, as might be willing to engage in the enterprise, and should be judged suitable by the agents of the Society. In every instance, a favourable and respectful attention has been given by Congress to these memorials, and the Committees to whom they were referred, have uniformly reported favourably, as to the objects of the Society, But there has been very little efficient action based on these reports. Sometimes the subject has been laid over for want of time to consider it; but principally, it is presumed, from the inherent difficulties of maturing any

plan of rendering any effectual aid, which would be free from constitutional objections. In the law passed in the year 1819, for the suppression of the slave trade, there was a provision, that such slaves as should be found on vessels pursuing this nefarious traffic should be sent back to their own country. In virtue of this provision, President Monroe considered himself authorized to send an agent to reside on the western coast of Africa, to take charge of such re-captured negroes, as might be sent back by the government. Besides this, the government have done nothing to favour the colony, except to send, occasionally, a vessel of war to cruise on that coast, to interrupt slavers, and also to protect the lawful commerce of our merchants, trading with the natives of that country. In regard to the disposal of re-captured slaves, for many years very few have been taken by our armed vessels; so that the residence of an agent to attend to that object, has been found unnecessary. In the late treaty with England, concluded by our government with Lord Ashburton, there has been inserted a provision of no small importance to the colony of Liberia. By this article, the American government agrees to keep on that coast a force, of not less than eighty guns. This will afford to the colony that protection which it greatly needs, and for the want of which the colonists have been exposed to numerous injuries and indignities, from British traders and others.

The affairs of the colony having come into a very critical state, it was deemed expedient by the friends of colonization, to hold a convention at the city of Washington, in the month of May 1842; which was attended by a number of ardent friends of the cause. In the course of the meeting, much useful information was received, especially from Dr. Hall, whose knowledge of all that relates to the condition of the settlements in Liberia, and that of the commerce of the western coast of Africa, is superior to that of any other person in this country.* The convention, moreover,

* Dr. Hall went to Liberia as early as 1831, and was the agent by whom the money to pay for the territory of Bassa Cove was sent out. He afterwards became the leader of the colony from the Maryland Society, to Cape Palmas. By him the territory of Maryland was purchased from the natives; and upon the settlement of the colony, he continued with them until their affairs were brought into a comfortable state. After he resigned the office of governor of this colony, he was engaged in the African trade; and is now understood to be the secretary of the Maryland Colonization Society, and the editor of their periodical.

directed a memorial to be laid before Congress, then in session, stating important reasons, why Congress should, without delay, act on this subject. The first consideration is, that several hundreds of those now constituting the colony, were re-captured Africans, sent there by the American government, who ought therefore to be the special object of their care. It would be cruel to place such persons in a part of the country distant from their native place, and then leave them to their fate. But the two principal considerations, which are urged upon congress, in this memorial, are,

I. The suppression of the slave trade, and

II. The protection of the American commerce in that country, and in those seas.

This last, as appears from the information communicated by Dr. Hall, has become a matter of great importance to this country. It being found, that the rich commerce of Africa is nearly monopolized by the British, for want of suitable exertions on the part of our government. But obstructed as the trade is to American merchants, it has been calculated, that it does not fall short of a million of dollars in the year; and is capable of a large and indefinite increase.

And in regard to the suppression of the slave trade, it is known to all, that our government has gone before all others in legislating on this subject, and denouncing heavy penalties on any of its citizens who should be convicted of participating in this inhuman traffic. But it is now very clearly ascertained, that no plan of putting a stop to this trade has been found so effectual, as planting Christian colonies along the coast where the evil is perpetrated, and promoting commercial intercourse with the inhabitants. On this ground, the memorialists argue with great force, that the American government is under obligations to foster and protect the existing colony of Liberia, which has suppressed the slave trade in all places to which its jurisdiction extends. And if they had a more extensive jurisdiction along the coast, this horrible iniquity could be done away, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas; a distance of about three hundred miles. Although the British government have kept a large naval force on that coast, for the very purpose of seizing every vessel which should be found engaged in this traffic; yet with all their vigilance, aided too by American vessels, sent on the same errand; the result, as stated in the memo-

rial, is most appalling. This inhuman traffic instead of being suppressed by all these expensive and vigorous exertions, has gone on regularly increasing, until the calculation is, that not less than *half a million* of human beings are, in one year carried away from the coasts of Africa into slavery, nearly all of whom find a market in Cuba or Brazil. And not only has the evil gone on increasing until it has arrived at this appalling result, as to the numbers captured; but the cruelties practised, and the loss of life in consequence, and to avoid capture, are also greatly increased beyond all former experience. The truth is, that there is but a small probability of capturing those vessels which are built expressly on purpose to carry on the slave trade. They are commonly fast sailing schooners, which draw little water, and can enter into creeks and rivers where armed vessels cannot follow them, and they ply off and on the coast, until they see an opportunity of taking in their cargo, which is often completed in two or three hours; for the slaves are kept chained in a baracoon near the coast, and can be conveyed on board in a very short time. And when they are chased if they cannot escape by fast sailing, there is every reason to believe that they get clear of the unhappy slaves, in the shortest way possible.

The memorialists, to fortify the opinion which had been expressed, of the inefficiency of the means used for suppressing the slave trade, introduce a quotation from the recent work of Sir F. Buxton, a gentleman who has been long conspicuous as the friend of Africa, and the zealous enemy of this detestable traffic; and whose opportunities of information are unsurpassed. "It is but too evident," says he, "that under the mode we have taken for the suppression of the slave trade, it has increased. It has been proved by documents that cannot be controverted, that for every village fired, and every drove of human beings marched in former times, there are now double. For every cargo then at sea, two cargos, or twice the number in one cargo, wedged together in a mass of living corruption, are now borne on the waves of the Atlantic. But whilst the number who suffer have increased, there is no reason to believe that the sufferings of each have been abated; on the contrary we know, that in some particulars, these have increased; so that the sum total of misery swells in both ways. Each individual has more to endure, and the number of ndividuals is twice what it was."

"I do not see how we can escape from the conviction that such is the result of our efforts, unless by giving way to a vague and undefined hope, with no evidence to support it, that the facts I have collected, though true at the time, are no longer a true exemplification of the existing state of things. In the most recent documents relating to the slave trade, I find no ground for any such consolatory surmise; on the contrary, I am driven by them to the sorrowful conviction, that the year, from September 1837 to September 1838, is distinguished beyond all preceding years for the extent of the trade, for the intensity of its miseries, and for the unusual havoc it makes of human life. Once more then, I must declare my conviction, that the trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued. You will be defeated by its enormous gains. You may throw impediments in the way of these miscreants, you may augment their peril, you may reduce their profits, but enough, and more than enough, will remain to baffle all your efforts. Better to do nothing, than to go on year after year at a great cost, adding to the disasters, and inflaming the wounds of Africa."

It is well known that these views and facts led to the formation of a society in England for the civilization of Africa; and that at great expense, an expedition was fitted out under the authority of government, to make an establishment on the river Niger; but that, through the deleterious effects of the climate, the whole scheme was rendered abortive, and has been abandoned by the government. The remedy which the memorialists propose for this great evil, is "the lawful commerce of Africa." "Already," say they "is this remedy in operation, already producing its humanizing results upon the shores of Africa. This commerce has begun and is rapidly increasing. Our citizens, with their characteristic enterprize, have successfully embarked in it; and all that need be asked for it from the government, is the same protection and encouragement that are extended to our commerce with other countries." . . "It is by the substitution of a lawful commerce with Africa, that the slave trade is to be abolished."

The memorialists, therefore, do not ask Congress to take the colony under their government; or to appropriate funds for its support, but only to afford efficient protection to American commerce with Africa; and this, they think, will accomplish for Liberia all which she absolutely needs.

But, in the report of Mr. Kennedy from the committee of

commerce, there is a hint thrown out, that it would be good policy for the American government, to take the colony of Liberia under its immediate protection, and to appropriate a sum sufficient to purchase all the remaining territory on the coast, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas. After taking a general survey of the origin and progress of the colony, and the former acts of the government in relation to it, the report goes on to say :

"It is vitally important that the territory of the colony should be enlarged, and that their jurisdiction should become clear and incontestible over the whole line of coast, between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles, and that, in case of hostilities between this and any European country, their rights as neutrals should be recognized and respected. The increase of legitimate commerce on the western coast of Africa, is already strongly tempting the enterprise of English merchants; and serious difficulties have arisen betweeu British traders, claiming rights, independent of the government of Liberia and Maryland, within their territorial limits. Naval officers of Great Britain have been called on by British subjects, to interpose and defend them against the revenue laws of the colonies; and the French, the committee are informed, have sought to obtain a cession of lands, within the limits of Liberia, just referred to, and to which the people of that colouy have a presumptive right.

"As neither Great Britain nor any European Goyernmeut has, to the knowledge of the committee, claimed political jurisdiction, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas; as such claim if by possibility it exists, has arisen long since the colonies were founded; as those who have gone thither, to establish for themselves, their posterity, and multitudes who may follow them, a republican commouwealth, capable of indefinite enlargement, it is essential that they be not disturbed in the exercise of rights already acquired, or precluded from extending their authority over the entire line of coast (from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas) generally known as Liberia. An appropriation of a few thousand dollars, to euable the colonists to effect negotiations with the native chiefs, by which their titles to this region of Africa should be extinguished, aud the jurisdiction of their government over it rendered unquestionable, would, in the judgment of your committee, whether regarded as a measure auxiliary to the suppression of the slave trade, or to the interests of American commerce, be highly expedient. In all treaties for the purchase of lands, it might be stipulated, that, on the part of the African chiefs, the slave trade should be forever abandoned, and their attention directed to the more gainful pursuits of agricultural industry, and to the exchange of the rich products of the country for those of the manufacturing skill of this and other civilized nations. The people of the colonies, thus encouraged, would co-operate most effectually with our naval squadron in carrying out the humane and philanthropic purpose of the recent treaty for the overthrow of the slave trade, and become factors and agents to increase and extend American commerce in that quarer of the world. It is believed that 20,000 dollars thus expended,

would effect more for the furtherance of both these objects, than $100,000 expended in any other way."

"The committee have evidence, to which they refer in the documents accompanying this report, to show the increase of lawful commerce on the African coast, and that, for want of adequate protection, and the due attention of our government to the subject, it has been prosecuted by our own citizens under great disadvantages. . . . . The annual imports from western Africa into this country, probably exceeds a million of dollars: and into Great Britain are about four millions. The palm oil trade, now becoming of great value, had hardly an existence twelve years ago, is rapidly increasing, and may be increased to an almost indefinite extent.

"The time has arrived, in the opinion of the committee, when this subject of African colonization has become sufficiently important to attract the attention of the people, in its connexion with the question of the political relations which these colonies are to hold with our government. Founded, partly by the enterprise of American citizens, and partly by the aid of the Federal and State authorities, recognized as political communities by our laws, and even owing their regulation in some degree to a state of this Union, (as in the case of Maryland) they have obtained a position in which obviously, they must become objects of consideration to the world, both for the commerce which may lie under their control, and for the agency which they are likely to exercise in the disenthralment of the continent to which they belong. It may speedily become apparent to the observation of Christendom, that the slave trade may more certainly, effectually and cheaply be destroyed by the colonial power on shore, than by all the squadrons of Europe and America afloat. The growth of such a conviction will inevitably draw an anxious and a friendly eye to the American colonies, from every power which sincerely pursues the charitable work of relieving Africa from her horrible traffic, and mankind ;rom the reproach of permitting it. The influence of such a sentiment, we may conceive, will greatly advance the interests, and magnify the value of the colonies. It would appear to be our duty, before such conflicting interests arise, to take such steps towards the recognition of our appropriate relations to these communities, as may hereafter secure to them the protection of this government, and to our citizens the advantages of commercial intercourse with them.

"The idea of an American colony is a new one. It is manifestly worthy of the highest consideration. The committee see nothing in our constitution to forbid it. We have establishments of this nature but somewhat anomalous in the character of their dependence on our government, in the Indian tribes which have been placed beyond the limits of the States, on the purchased territory of the Union. The African settlements would require much less exercise of political jurisdiction, much less territorial supervision, than is presented in the case of these tribes, They would require aid towards the enlargement of territory, occasional visitation and protection by our naval armaments, a guarantee, perhaps, to be secured to them by the influence of our government of the right of neutrality in the wars that may arise between European or American states. They would stand in need of the highest commercial privileges in their intercourse with the mother country; and the reciprocation of such

privileges, on the part of the colonies to our own citizens, would doubtless be an object to be secured on our side."

At the close of their able and interesting report, the committee submitted to the House of Representatives, the two following resolutions as proper to be adopted by Congress; but, as in some former cases, they were not taken up for want of time.

"1. *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, that the increasing importance of the colonies on the western coast of Africa, both in regard to the commerce of that coast and their influence in suppressing the slave trade renders it expedient that an agent should be appointed by the government, to protect and advance the interests of American trade in that region: that said agent should reside at some convenient place in the said colonies; and that he should be empowered to form treaties or connexions with the native tribes on the coast of Africa, for the advancement of American trade, and for the suppression of the traffic in slaves.

"2. *And be it further resolved*, that the subject of settling the political relations proper to be adopted and maintained between this government and the colonies now established, or which may hereafter be established, on the coast of Africa, by the citizens or public authorities of the United States, or any of the States, be referred to the Secretary of State, with a direction that he report thereon to the next Congress."

Here the matter for the present rests, and whether the subject will be taken up by the present Congress, is altogether uncertain; but we expect very little from them except the expression of a favourable opinion. Strong opposition would be made to Congress assuming on themselves the government of these colonies. This opposition would arise from two opposite quarters, from the abolitionists, and from the pro-slavery men. It would come down with violence from the north, and would come up with equal violence from the south. And upon the whole, we are of opinion, that it would not be for the benefit of Liberia to become a colony of the United States. Such a political connexion would, no doubt, give great enlargement to these infant colonies, but their character would be changed, and soon the lively interest of those philanthropic individuals, who have hitherto sustained this cause, would be lessened. Establishments of this kind never will succeed so well in the hands of political agents, as of those selected by a voluntary association, such as the American Colonization Society. If our Government should assume the direction of the affairs of Liberia, the inhabitants would no

longer be actuated by the same spirit of enterprise and independence, which has characterized them in time past. No idea is dearer to them than that of becoming an independent nation. And we acknowlege, that it is our earnest wish, that Liberia may never become dependent on any nation. Let it under Providence, become a great and virtuous republic. No nation, in its beginning, ever had a brighter prospect before it. Let the American Government become the ally and protector of these colonies. Let them assist them to complete the purchase of those portions of territory, the title of which has not yet heen acquired from the natives. Let them avail themselves of the advantages which these colonies present, for prosecuting that valuable commerce, which is now opening to the world. And let them combine their efforts with those of other nations, in untiring efforts to suppress the slave trade; in which benevolent enterprise, they will find the Liberians their most efficient coadjutors. BUT LET LIBERIA FOR EVER BE FREE. The greatest difficulties attending the establishment of a colony are already overcome. We do entertain the confident and pleasing expectation, that Liberia is destined to be a grand republic, which shall extend its benign influence into the very centre of the dark continent of Africa. And we do believe that it is the design of a wise and benignant Providence, to make Liberia, the asylum of the whole African race, now dispersed over a large part of this continent, and the West India Islands. In our view, there is no spot on the globe better calculated to interest the Christian and the philanthropist, than this little republic on the Western coast of Africa. When the future historian shall survey the events and revolutions of the first half of the nineteenth century, we are of opinion, that his eye will fix with intense interest on the bold, but benevolent enterprise, of colonizing the free people of colour on the coast of Africa. And that such an enterprise should have been undertaken by a voluntary association, without the co-operation of the Government; and that it should have been successful, will be a subject of wonder to future ages. It is our sincere persuasion, that no event which has occurred in the world since the commencement of the nineteenth century is at all equal, in real importance, to the successful establishment of this little colony. We do not think that the history of the world can furnish a parallel to the accomplishment of this work by a voluntary association of benevo

lent men. And yet the work has not been effected without great sacrifices, on the part of a number of persons, whose inextinguishable zeal in this cause made them willing to lay down their lives in attempring the establishment of this colony. Great praise is undoubtedly due to the pious and venerable Finley, who first formed the plan of the African Colonization Society, and to such men as Caldwell and Key, the ardent and able advocates of the cause; but more praise is due to those devoted and self-sacrificing men, who offered themselves to go to Africa, and who actually became a kind of martyrs to the cause of African Colonization. Foremost among these should be mentioned Samuel J. Mills, because he was the first who fell in the glorious enterprise. Seldom has a man lived upon earth, whose whole soul was so absorbed with schemes of benevolence. Having taken an exploring missionary tour through the western and southern states, he became deeply interested in the degraded condition of the African race. He found that a number of pious people in those regions, who were slave-holders, only wanted to see some feasible plan by which the real welfare of their slaves could be promoted, to induce them at once to emancipate them. He set his mind to work, therefore, to devise some plan by which the pious wishes of these persons could be realized. And he fell upon the scheme of colonizing them in some portion of the vacant territory in the west. But while he was pondering and consulting about this matter, the scheme of African colonization was proposed by Dr. Finley, into which he entered at once with all his soul; and when exploring agents were wanted to visit Africa, and ascertain the practicability of planting a colony on that coast, he offered his services, and with the Rev. Mr. Burgess, went, and examined the country, conferred with the chiefs, and learned the state of things among the savage tribes along the coast, of all which a journal was carefully kept; but when he had accomplished this important work, he was called to his reward. He died on the passage home. His body lies deep under the waves of the Atlantic, until the sea shall be required to give up its dead.

If our limits permitted, we should be pleased to speak particularly of other devoted and excellent men, who sacrificed their lives in promoting the cause of African Colonization. Among these Ashmun holds a pre-eminent place; but a full account of his self-denying, and heroic labours in

this cause, has been given to the public by the Rev. Mr. Gurley. The late Governor Buchanan, at once judicious, energetic, and indefatigable, deserves a lasting memorial from the friends of Colonization. But our present object is not to eulogize the benefactors of Liberia; but to present to our readers a concise view of these colonies, and the cogent reasons which should induce the friends of Africa to come forward, without delay, with liberal contributions, to enable the Society to secure territory, which if not soon possessed, will be forever out of their reach.

The whole extent of the coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, has received the name of LIBERIA This tract of coutry lies between 4° 30′ and 6° 35′ north latitude. But the whole of this coast is not possessed by the colonies. Many places are occupied by British and American factories; and very recently an important station has been taken possession of by the French. No part of the African coast was more visited by slave dealers than this; but now, as far as the jurisdiction of the colonies extends, the slave trade is extinguished: but in some places on this coast, without the jurisdiction of the colonies, this detestable traffic is still carried on. The first colonists were sent out by the society before they had secured any territory for their residence; and were subjected to many hardships and impositions; so that some of them in disgust and discouragement, separated themselves from their brethren, and went to Sierra Leone. At length, a purchase of a territory, including Cape Mesurado, was made by Dr. Ayres, and Captain Stockton of the United States Navy. This negociation was effected with great difficulty, and had it not been for the address and heroic courage of Captain Stockton, would have utterly failed. After the treaty for the land was made and was confirmed by the signature of all the chiefs who had any claims to the country, great dissatisfaction was manifested by the natives; and it was not long before they entered into a general combination to extirpate the colonists, by violence. And accordingly they made an attack on the infant settlement of Monrovia, and came near possessing themselves of the place, but by the invincible courage of Ashmun and a little band of not more than thirty men, the place was successfully defended against a large body of ferocious savages. Chagrined at their disappointment and defeat, the native chiefs collected an army of more than a thousand warriors, and made a second assault on this little band of

colonists. Their attack was made with desperate resolution, but again they were repulsed with very great loss. Since that time, there has been no attempt to destroy the colony. And long since they have been in a situation to bid defiance to any hostile attack from the natives.

The town of Monrovia (for so the place on Cape Mesurado is called) contains about 1200 inhabitants. Its situation on the elevated land of the Cape, is very conspicuous from the sea, and exhibits, to vessels approaching the bay, a very beautiful spectacle. In this town there are three churches, an Episcopal Methodist, a Baptist, and a Presbyterian, all substantial stone buildings; and out of 1200 inhabitants there are about 600 communicants, which must be three-fourths of the adult population. Of these, however, much the largest number is in the Methodist connexion, who have not only a numerous church, but a high school, for the accommodation of which a handsome building has lately been completed. The public buildings worthy of notice are, a fort well supplied with artillery, a light-house lately erected, and a new court-house for the accommodation of the Legislative Council, and other public bodies. The inhabitants of Monrovia live chiefly by commerce. Some of the merchants have carried on so successful a trade as to have become wealthy, and live in as decent a style as gentlemen in our cities. Indeed, the complaint has been, that too many persons engage in commerce, while the labours of agriculture have been too much neglected. There, as here, a rage for commercial speculation ends in the disappointment and bankruptcy of those who imprudently engage in it. This evil is said, however, to be diminishing; especially, since the settlement of several towns at a distance from the sea-board.

According to Dr. Hall's statements to the colonization convention, met at Washington, the trade of Monrovia, has of late very much decreased, owing "to the energetic prosecution of the slave trade at Gallinas, about one hundred miles to the northwest." And he gives an unfavourable testimony respecting the healthiness of the place. The population of the town does not increase, on this account, and also, because of the drains from it to supply the new colonies. The unhealthiness of the situation is attributed to the low marshy ground, on the margin of the rivers which empty into the sea, in the vicinity of the town, and to the dense groves of mangroves which grow in these

marshes. There is still here a great appearance of trade and active business. Between the 24th of October, 1841, and the 31st of March, 1842, less than five months, twenty-four foreign vessels visited the harbour of Monrovia, and received on board 156 tons of camwood, 40,000 gallons of palm oil, 7000 tons of ivory, 32 tons of turtle shell, besides other articles—making the exports, for the time specified, equal in value to $40,000.*

In Monrovia, beside the high schools already mentioned, there are two schools of common learning, containing 150 pupils.

New Georgia, is situated on Stockton Creek, about four miles from Monrovia, and is settled chiefly by the re-captured Africans, sent home by the government of the United States. The inhabitants amount to about 300, and are now a civilized and Christianized people. Their houses and their appurtenances, are remarkable for their neatness. Indeed, these natives, lately taken from the lowest state of savage degradation, and recovered from the foul holds of slave ships, are now distinguished for good order, industry, and a desire of improvement. In this settlement there are two schools, and two churches, the one of the Methodist, the other of the Baptist denomination; but we are sorry to learn from Gov. Roberts's letter, already referred to, that the place is becoming sickly; so that it will probably be necessary to remove them to a more salubrious situation.

If the American Colonization Society had nothing else to show as the fruit of their labours, but the improved and happy condition of these re-captured Africans, this alone would be sufficient to convince all reasonable men that the society has not been without its beneficial effects. Let those societies, in our country, which have set themselves in opposition to African colonization, exhibit such fruits of their labours as these, and we will give them credit for being real friends to the African race.

Caldwell, is the name of another settlement or town, in Liberia. It is situated on St. Paul's river, about eight miles from Monrovia. This town is inhabited chiefly by persons engaged in agricultural pursuits. They are an orderly, industrious, and religious people; and although there are not more than five hundred inhabitants, they have two churches and two schools. One of the churches belongs to

* See Governor Roberts's letter to Dr. Hodgkin in the Af. Rep. for Nov. 1843.

the Methodist, and the other to the Baptist denomination; and between them, there are as many as two hundred communicants, which must be a large majority of the adult population.

Millsburg, is higher up St. Paul's river, and is distant from Caldwell about twelve miles, and from Monrovia, about twenty. The description just given of Caldwell, will, in almost every particular, apply to this settlement. The people are for the most part agriculturalists. There is here also a Methodist and a Baptist church, but the number of communicants does not much exceed one hundred. There are also two schools in this settlement.

Marshall, is a much newer town than any of those already mentioned, and is yet in its infancy. It is situated about twenty miles from Monrovia, on the Junk river, near its entrance into the sea. Both the Methodists and Baptists have a church at this place. Besides these settlements of the colonists, there are two or three inhabited by the natives, as Heddengton and Robertsville, where there are schools for the education of the children of the natives, in a flourishing condition.

Colonization Societies having been formed by the young men of the cities of New York and Philadelphia, in the year 1835, these two societies were united, and determined to purchase a territory for a colony. The country on St. John's river was fixed on as a suitable location, commonly known by the name of Bassa Cove. A tract of land, including both sides of the aforesaid river, and extending back a considerable distance was purchased from the native chiefs, and a colony planted there. Here are two towns near the mouth of the river, the one called Bassa Cove, on the south side, and that on the north bank, Edina. This last town has a beautiful situation, and though soon after its settlement as a colony, it met with a sad disaster, by being attacked, treacherously, by some of the natives, and a number of the inhabitants massacred; yet it is now again in a flourishing condition. It has two churches, a Methodist and Baptist, and, including about forty native converts, about two hundred communicants. Bassa Cove has three churches, a Baptist, a Methodist, and a Presbyterian. Two other towns have been laid out and settled by colonists in this territory. The one is called Greenville, the other Bexley. This last is some distance up the river in the midst of a fertile body of land, and is in a growing and prosperous state.

Although this was at first an independent colony, yet it was judged expedient to have it united with the original colony at Cape Mesurado, and to be placed under the direction of the parent society, and under the common government of Liberia. These towns, therefore, send delegates to the legislative council at Monrovia, in proportion to their number of inhabitants possessing the right of suffrage; and are under the same municipal laws as Monrovia, and the towns in her vicinity. Dr. Hall, in his recent examination, before the Colonization Convention, already mentioned, gives the preference to the location of the colony of Bassa Cove, to that of Monrovia; and says that it is of "equal rank and importance with the older establishment."

From the territory of Bassa Cove, for one hundred miles along the coast, the colony possesses as yet no right of jurisdiction. This is the country which it is all important should be owned by the colony. It is for the purchase of this and other parts of the unoccupied coast, that the American Colonization Society have made on the friends of the cause such an urgent call for aid. If it is not obtained very soon, it will probably be beyond their reach, forever.

At the distance aforementioned from Bassa Cove, we come to the colony established by the societies of Mississippi and Louisiana, on the river Sinou, which territory takes the name of Mississippi. The testimony of Dr. Hall respecting this location is very favourable. "It would," he says, "if properly fostered, be one of the best on the coast. The river is large, and affords a safe and commodious anchorage for all colonial vessels." But the extent of territory purchased for this colony is very limited, and the number of colonists is so small, that they, separated so far from the other colonies, must stand exposed to great danger. Passing the Sinou colony, we find another hundred miles, says Dr. Hall, unclaimed by the colonies, until you come to the territory of Cape Palmas, called "Maryland." Very recently, however, it appears that Governor Russwurm has made a purchase of an important point on the coast, called Fishtown. Of this place, Governor Russwurm speaks in the following language. "The advantages of this acquisition cannot well be appreciated by one unacquainted with the African coast and trade. The territory, in itself, for tillage, is of very little importance.

"The harbour was the only thing that rendered the pos-

session of this point so peculiarly desirable; and in this respect, its importance cannot be overrated; especially, when it is taken into consideration, that for near two thousand miles extent of coast, its superior is not to be found.

"Fishtown," says he, "really forms a part of Cape Palmas, as at this place commences the gradual rounding of the coast to east, and ultimately to east-north-east. Probably the very row of tall palms, or a continuation of them which extends east of the town, and serves as a landmark for many miles at sea, gave the name to the cape.

"Perhaps there is no spot in the world that presents so beautiful a view to the eye of the weary voyager, as Fishtown, when running down the coast, close in shore."

The place immediately opposite to Fishtown, called "Garraway," or "Jarraway," has been very recently taken possession of by the French, which shows that in a short time all the important points on the coast will be occupied by some of the European nations unless the whole is obtained for the colony. Mr. Kennedy, in his report, considers the colonies as having an equitable pre-emptive right to the whole coast, from Cape Palmas to Cape Mount.

But it is time that we gave the reader some account of the interesting colony at Cape Palmas, called "Maryland." This colony, according to Dr. Hall, who selected the spot, and purchased the land, and acted as the leader and first governor of the colonists, contains a territory of about 15,000 square miles, extending along the seabcard thirty-five miles. The purchase was made in 1834. "Its character is strictly agricultural, producing in the greatest abundance, vegetable provisions for the consumption of its inhabitants, and for supplying commercial and national vessels. Although established but eight years since, it is far better fitted for self-support than any other colony on the coast. The colony now contains about six hundred inhabitants, mostly emigrants from the State of Maryland; and the statistics show, that it is on the increase, independent of immigration."

"The total expense of furnishing this colony, purchase of territory, transporting emigrants, furnishing supplies, paying the salaries of officers, both in America and Africa, has been about $130,000. $86,000 paid by the State, about $20,000, by individual contributions, and $20,000 accruing from trade." This colony though situated in Liberia, is entirely distinct from the other colonies, and is under a

separate government. The Maryland Colonization Society is properly a State Society, for from the treasury of the State it receives the principal part of its funds. Originally, this society was auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, and was one of its most important auxiliaries. But as soon as the Legislature of Maryland agreed to lend their efficient aid in the establishment of a colony, on the coast of Africa, to which the free people of colour, and emancipated slaves in the State, might be sent, it became inexpedient to hold any further connexion with the parent society, which is national, and operates with a view to all the states, where there are any free people of colour. But, the Maryland Colonization Society, has relation to that State alone. There is also something peculiar in the professed object of this society, which distinguishes it from the other societies. They declare that they have nothing in view, but to remove, with their own consent, the free people of colour; and do not propose to interfere in any way, or degree, with the institution of slavery. But the Maryland Society, and the Legislature of Maryland, (in making their liberal appropriation of $200,000 to be paid at the rate of $20,000 per annum, for ten years,) distinctly avow it to be the object of the enterprise, to relieve the state, as soon as it can conveniently be done, from the incubus of slavery. Maryland wishes to become a free state; and as she knows that this desirable end cannot be attained, by emancipating her slaves and permitting them to remain in the state, so as to promote the real benefit of either the whites or blacks, she has adopted the wise and liberal policy of providing an asylum for such as are now free, and for such as benevolent citizens might from time to time, be willing to liberate, on condition of their emigration to Maryland, in Liberia.

The territory purchased for this colony, according to the description of Dr. Hall, is exceedingly beautiful. Some idea may be formed of it from a few extracts from Dr. Hall's letter to the Society in 1835. Speaking of an excursion which he made, he says, "On leaving Grahway, I entered one of the most beautiful meadows I ever beheld, from one to two miles in breadth, extending a distance of nearly five miles. It was literally covered with fine fat cattle, sheep, and goats, belonging to the neighbouring towns." . . . "From this to Cavally river, a distance of eight miles, as near as I could judge, I took what is termed the

bush path, and it carried me through a delightful country, the greater part of which is included in our purchase. The surface is gently undulating, and covered with a quick growth of small wood, the whole having been cleared for rice and cassada; and we passed many fields of these vegetables which are the main articles of food in this country. To an enthusiastic admirer of nature nothing could be more delightful than a stroll along these beautiful fields, winding occasionally among almost impervious clusters of young palm trees, whose spreading branches exclude every ray of the scorching sun; then opening suddenly on immense rice-fields of the most delicate pea-green, skirted by the beautiful broad-leaved plantain and banana, literally groaning under the immense masses of their golden fruit." . . . "I reached the Cavally river about two miles above the mouth. This is a splendid river, nearly a mile in width, running with great velocity into the sea, perfectly fresh even to its mouth. It could be entered by vessels of 200 tons, but the violence of the current when meeting the tide causes immense breakers, which prevent boats and canoes from passing, except in the dry season."

"In this purchase, we have every natural advantage possible to favour the promotion of agriculture, and we only require industry, and with that industry, proper direction, and guidance, to render this a wealthy and flourishing colony."

"Of the articles which our climate will enable us to raise for exportation, the most prominent are, palm oil, sugar, molasses, coffee, cotton, and tobacco." The Doctor also speaks favourably of the health of the climate, and his opinion has not been contradicted as it relates to the colonists, in the experience of eight years. It has however, proved equally deleterious to white men, as the other parts of this fatal coast.

A town was laid off near the sea, which was called Harper, in honour of the Hon. Robert G. Harper, of Baltimore, one of the ablest and most ardent advocates that African Colonization ever had. This town was laid off on ground contiguous to a large native town; for by the conditions of the purchase, the natives are to be permitted to remain in their towns, and cultivate their lands, as before. One of the first objects of Dr. Hall was, to erect a strong fort in the midst of Harper, which has in honour of the founder, taken the name of Fort Hall; and being well supplied with can-

non, has a mighty influence in keeping the natives in awe.

Mr. Roberts, in his letter to Dr. Hodgkin, says, that in Cape Palmas, there are five places of worship, a Methodist, a Baptist, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, and a Roman Catholic: and he supposes the number of communicants in all, may be estimated at three hundred. Several Missionary Societies have established stations in this colony, as the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, the Methodists and the Baptists; and recently, the Romanists have sent missionaries to Cape Palmas, also.

The Rev. Mr. Wilson, of South Carolina, with his lady, settled in the colony as missionaries, under the care of the American Board for Foreign Missions. They selected a beautiful situation for their station, the land of which was made over to them, and which they improved in a very handsome manner. Mr. Wilson immediately addressed himself to the business of learning the language of the natives, in which he made a gratifying progress, and was able after a few years to reduce it to writing; and prepared some elementary books for the schools, in which the natives were instructed. But, unfortunately, some misunderstanding having arisen between him and the colonial government, he determined to remove to a station without the jurisdiction of the Colony; and after taking a survey of the coast for many hundred miles, he fixed upon Gaboon river, as the most eligible; to which station he, with the missionary family, has gone. It is not our purpose to inquire into the grounds of the aforementioned misunderstanding. Every such difference has two aspects, and we are too imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of the case to be impartial and intelligent judges of the matter. It is however, deeply to be regretted, that such things should occur. But we trust that the providence of God will overrule it for greater good; for we learn that Mr. Wilson's prospects, in the new region to which he has carried the light of the gospel, are very promising.

Having given a brief description of the several colonies, or settlements, in Liberia, we shall make some general remarks on the condition and prospects of the whole; and as Dr. Hall is the most competent witness, we shall draw our information from his communication to the Convention in Washington, of which we have already availed ourselves to a considerable extent.

Of the character of the Liberians, he speaks as follows,

"Their government is strictly republican, representative, o· elective. All officers, of what cast soever, are coloured men, all elective, save the two governors, one residing at Cape Mesurado, appointed by the American Colonization Society, and the other at Cape Palmas, appointed by the Maryland Colonization Society. Of their capability to maintain such a form of government, experience is the best evidence, as in no one instance have the constituted authorities been set at nought or trampled upon.

"The Colonists, generally, are religious and moral, perhaps a greater proportion are members of some Christian church than in any other community. A large majority of them, particularly the younger portion of the community, are instructed in the common branches of education, and some are truly intelligent and learned. The most eloquent preachers, and the most successful physicians are coloured men. In their commercial transactions they are as upright and honourable as could be expected, considering their former habits of life. I think they are capable, with proper protection and patronage, and judicious and select additions from the United States, in time, to accomplish an entire moral and political revolution in Western Africa."

Speaking of the trade of Monrovia, he says, there were at one time, six regular commission houses, quite a number of coasting vessels were employed in the native trade, and some foreign vessels were constantly in the roadstead. At the present, though the trade from the interior is greatly diminished, for reasons before stated, yet the coasting trade is well sustained, extending from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas. The colonists build small vessels, from ten to forty tons, and trade for the commodities of the coast, with merchandise purchased from European and American vessels. In the prosecution of this trade, they labour under great disadvantages, as their competitors, the foreign merchants, are the very ones from whom they are obliged to purchase their merchandize, and to whom they are to sell the produce of the coast in payment. Were the whole coast between Cape Palmas and Cape Mount, secured by treaty to the colonists, an ample field would be open for the prosecution of a very extensive and profitable commerce.

In answer to the question, "What effects have the colonies produced on the natives in their vicinity?" the answer of Dr. Hall is very satisfactory. "The effect of the colonies upon the native tribes, far and near, is decidedly fa-

vourable: and that perhaps to a greater extent than is often the case in the settlement of a new and barbarous country. Although in Liberia proper, there have often occurred wars with the surrounding tribes, yet the evils arising therefrom are far more than counterbalanced by the good effected. The commercial intercourse with the natives alone, is of vast benefit to them, individually, besides tending rapidly to develop the resources of the country. Their indirect benefit too, through the missionary establishments within the influence of the country, is of weighty consideration, as I am well convinced, without their protection, no mission station could have been established; and certainly, not successfully prosecuted, had the American colonies not existed. But the most important advantage accruing to the natives from the establishment of the colonies, arises from the bare fact of the existence of a community of blacks, like themselves, maintaining a well regulated government, and conversant with, and exercising the arts and habits of civilized life. It is a universal impression, pervading all the tribes of Western Africa, that the white man is of a distinct and superior order of being, that there is an inseparable bar between the two races, that the one is doomed to be a savage, and the other a civilized man. The bare existence of the colony is a convincing demonstration of the absurdity of their opinions, and will do more to elevate them in the scale of being, than could be done by all and every other measure that could be projected."

Dr. Hall was requested by the convention, "to state the course and extent of the commerce on that coast, and the prospect of its increasing importance." To which he replied, "The whole extent of the coast line of Western Africa is a mart of commerce. . . . In the large rivers, many vessels of from two to four hundred tons are continually to be seen engaged in traffic.

"The principal articles of export in former years were, gums, wax, malagratta pepper, hides, ivory and gold. All these articles are now of secondary importance, to dye-woods and palm oil. The latter article when used barely for the manufacture of soap, and in woolen factories, has found a ready and permanent market, both in Europe and America. But of late, experiments have been made by which the *stearine* is separated from the *ealine*, both of which products being in great demand, it may reasonably be supposed that any amount of the article will always find

a ready market, at a fair profit. The production of this article is greatly on the increase, and no probable limits can be fixed, as to the extent to which it can be furnished. In small towns, where, ten years since, I could only purchase a few gallons in calabashes, for the use of my crew, it is now obtained in puncheons, for exportation. In fact, the whole palm oil trade of the windward coast has been formed, within the last twelve years; and now, thousands of puncheons are shipped annually.

"The camwood is one of the most important dyewods in the world, and we believe is mostly, if not altogether, obtained from Africa, and it can there be obtained almost to any extent, being, in the interior, one of the most common forest trees. The demand for it is steady and uniform, both in this country and in England."

In answer to the question, "By whom, and under what advantages and disadvantages is the trade now carried on?" Dr. Hall answered, "I should judge that at least three-fourths of the native trade of the whole continent of Africa, excepting the Mediterranean, of which I know nothing, to be in the hands of the English. Of the remaining fourth, perhaps the Americans have one half, and the balance is divided between the French, Portuguese, and Dutch. The English maintain the ascendancy for many reasons. In the first place, they were at one time the most extensive and successful prosecutors of the slave trade, and obtained jurisdiction over many important points of the coast, at that time. Then, the goods used in the slave trade by all natives, even to the present day, are mainly the production of England and her Indian colonies, tobacco only excepted. Consequently, on the abolition of the slave trade, a vast extent of the coast was under English influence, and a demand existed for the products of her manufactories. Again, England is the great mart for all articles of commerce for the whole world: and there, more than anywhere else, a market may be found for all African produce. The amount of capital too, in England, seeking investment, is a powerful instrument in opening new sources of commerce. But, added to all these, and perhaps as powerful in its influence as all other causes combined, in securing a majority of this trade to the English, is the manner in which the trade is carried on, and the general and ample protection afforded by the English government to the African commerce. The whole trade of the African coast consists in a system of

barter of commodities. Every large tooth of ivory, quintal of camwood, or cask of oil, must command, in most instances, a moiety of every article used in that commerce. The want of one important article of trade, as for instance a musket, tobacco, or even a cutlass or flints, will prevent the trader from making a purchase, even although he may offer four times the value of the article in question, in other merchandise. From this cause, when the commerce is well established, and a demand created for all articles desired in that trade, the merchant, will enjoy great advantages, in the complete assortment of his cargo, over his less fortunate competitors. Then, there is established throughout the continent, a system of credit, which is exceedingly prejudicial to the vessels of all nations whose commerce is not specially protected. The native tribes on the beach are merely the factors for the people of the interior, and have no capital to trade upon, consequently the foreign trader is obliged to land his goods to be sent into the interior and exchanged for his return cargo. His whole cargo, therefore, is at the mercy of these people, and when there is no protecting power at hand, they are solely governed by what they may deem their interest as to the amount which they will refund. If the merchant is an old trader, and it is supposed he will continue the business, they are anxious to secure a continuance of his custom, and probably may pay him well. But, on the other hand, should it be a transient vessel, and one which it may be supposed will not visit the coast again, but a poor return will be received for the cargo landed. Now, the British government maintains a large squadron on the coast, whose duty it is, in addition to the suppression of the slave trade, to form treaties of commerce, more or less perfect, with the African chiefs and head trade-men, to see the conditions thereof well fulfilled, to demand satisfaction for all trespasses by the natives, on the persons or property of British subjects, and to relieve their merchant vessels in cases of wreck, pestilence, or other disaster. This, it will readily be perceived, gives the British commercial vessels very great advantage over those of all other nations. Their commerce on this barbarous coast, (where the risk to all other nations is so great as to swallow up the large profits of the trade) is almost as safe as in any part of the world, where it is protected by the regular custom-house laws of civilized nations."

In answer to the question, "What is necessary to give

our vessels the benefit of this trade?" the reply of Dr. Hall is, "There always ought to be a certain amount of naval force on that coast, cruising from Sierra Leone to Ambrize bay, frequenting most, those parts where the American trade is most largely prosecuted. This is perfectly practicable without the least risk of the sacrifice of the officers and crew from the climate, by observing the most simple precaution; namely, not to permit any officer or seaman to sleep on shore after night-fall, and not to enter any of the rivers during the rainy season, or near the commencement of the rains. The smallest sized vessels, with one good pivot-gun, are as effective as a frigate; and the very swiftest sailers only can be useful.

"A general commercial agent should be established in the most suitable place on the coast, having under his charge a depot of provisions and marine stores, for the benefit of the national vessels, and many of the more important articles for supplying commercial vessels on payment therefor."

In answer to the question, "Are not the colonies rendering considerable aid and protection to American commerce?" The answer is, "The colonies have served materially to increase as well as aid the American commerce on that coast, and that in two ways. First, they have developed the resources of the country interior to the colonies, and vastly increased the exports from that section. Secondly, by the transportation of emigrants in vessels chartered of large shippers in our commercial cities, they have had their attention directed to that trade, and many have subsequently embarked therein. Probably one-quarter of all the American commerce with West Africa for the last ten years, is to be attributed to this cause. The colonies afford aid to American commerce in various ways. In ordinary voyages they serve as regular ports of entry and clearance, furnishing protests, debentures, certificates, and the many documents so important to commerce. In case of partial injury to vessels, so common on long voyages, repairs can be advantageously made here. In case of total wreck, which has in a number of instances occurred to American vessels (two to my knowledge) the crew have been saved from all the misery that would necessarily have been entailed upon them on a barbarous and deadly coast. They have been clothed and fed, and attended in the fever which so certainly attacks all who sleep on shore; and in

every respect found a comfortable home, until opportunities have occurred for shipping. The colonies are often resorted to for medical aid, by vessels which have been up the rivers in the rainy season. On my first landing in 1831, two American vessels were then lying in the roads, from the rivers to the windward, with but one well person of the original crew, on board of each. Had it not been for the colony, most likely, the officers and crews of those vessels would have died, and the vessels been dismantled by the natives, as has been often the case up the rivers. The existence of these colonies has, in my opinion, lessened the risk attending a trading voyage, on that coast, very materially: in fact, changed the features of our commerce there, altogether."

To the question, "How will the proper protection of this colony, and the promotion of American commerce on that coast, affect the slave trade?" Dr. Hall replied, "It may be proper to state, before affording a direct answer to the question, that the very establishment of the colonies has absolutely broken up the slavers within their bounds. The location of the first colony was on an island that had, from time immemorial, been occupied by slave factories. The first severe wars in which this colony was engaged, was on the question of the slave trade. The slave factories of Tradetown and New Cesters were broken up by Ashmun, early in the history of the colony. Subsequently, two factories have, at different times, been destroyed by the colonists, at Little Bassa; and that, too, through hard fighting. Grand Bassa was always a slave mart—the last slaves were shipped on the day I landed in a schooner, to pay for the first purchase of the territory there; in March, 1832. If then, the colonies have without assistance or protection, purged one hundred miles of coast line of this traffic, what may not be hoped from them, when they shall receive that countenance and protection which they so justly merit, and which they have so long required?"

Dr. Hall expresses it as his opinion, that by friendly negociation with the chiefs along the coast, and explaining to them the evils which attend this traffic, and the reasons why Christian nations have combined to suppress it, together with due encouragement and protection to lawful commerce, they would be induced to give it up. And he is of opinion, that it is only by means of this kind that the evil can be brought to an end. As long as the chiefs are in

favour of it, so long will means be found to carry it on. Wherever the slave trade exists, all the people feel interested to keep it up, because all the luxuries and useful articles which they receive from civilized countries, are the fruits of this trade, and come to them through this channel. But when they find that these same articles can more easily be obtained in exchange for commodities which are easily procured, they will become willing to relinquish it.

It cannot but be interesting to know, how the slave trade is carried on, in Africa. We will, therefore, beg the patient attention of our readers, to Dr. Hall's perspicuous account of the mode of proceeding. "At the slave marts I have visited," says he, "a kind of treaty is entered into between the slave dealer and the head man of the country. A grant is made of a piece of land on which to erect a baracoon or slave factory, and the requisite buildings are erected thereon, on payment of a specific sum. Goods are then distributed to the roving traders, who go to the bush for the purchase of slaves; or the slaves may be sent down by a dealer or warrior, from the interior. The king gets a certain per centage or premium on every slave sold. His men also do all the manual labour for the slaver, procure food for the slaves, keep guard over them, and secure such as may chance to escape. When the vessel arrives to receive the slaves, all hands are turned out at once to put them on board with all possible despatch; and if they escape clear, the king and his people receive additional remuneration. It will, therefore, be perceived, that nothing could be done by any slave dealer on the coast, were it not for the cordial and active co-operation of some native chief, of power and influence."

Hence it appears, how important it is to endeavour to operate on the minds of the chiefs, and if possible to form treaties with them, by which they shall engage to relinquish this shameful and inhuman traffic. And should they refuse to enter into any such treaty; or having engaged, should disregard their own agreement, then it would be just to enter in and seize the slaves, and break up the baracoons, wherever they might be found.

As we do not think it necessary to offer any arguments in vindication of the colonization cause, nor to notice the objections made to the enterprise by its enemies, we have endeavoured to place before our readers as many well authenticated facts, relating to the little colonies planted on the coast of Africa, as we could conveniently introduce into

our limited space, in a single article. Indeed, these facts are superior to all theoretical reasonings. They show what has, under the auspices of divine providence, been effected by the Colonization Societies of this country. And we believe, a parallel cannot be produced from the history of the world. As to the enemies of African Colonization, whether abolitionists, or the defenders of slavery as a state in itself desirable, we could not hope to obviate their prejudices. We leave them to the undisturbed enjoyment of their own opinions, and their own schemes of benevolence. That their opposition has been entirely unprovoked, and most unreasonable in itself, we cannot for a moment doubt. The American Colonization Society has no direct or immediate concern with slavery. It does not attempt to put into execution any plan for the emancipation of slaves. It is a scheme for people already free—its objects must be in a state of freedom before they can have, as a society, anything to do with them. If other people choose to form societies which contemplate the emancipation of slaves, this does not interfere with the plans of the friends of colonization. If their plans are wise and good, the colonization of people already free will not interfere with them nor impede their operations. If they can do any good to the slave and better his condition, let them do it; the colonization enterprise has nothing to do with that subject. But the great objection of anti-slavery men is, that it is not an abolition society. It would be just as reasonable to object that an agricultural society is not an abolition society. The American Colonization Society has as little to do directly with slavery, as any agricultural society. That indirectly the colonization of the free people of colour may have an influence on emancipation, not to hinder, but to promote it, is not only believed, but known to be a fact. Many of the happy and free citizens of Liberia are there by the indirect operation of the society. And this is one of the most amiable features of the plan. In the slave-holding states there are many slave-holders willing to sacrifice their own interest in their slaves, if they could only see a way by which they could be disposed of to their own benefit. The laws of those states require all emancipated slaves to be sent out of the state; but whither could they be sent? Nobody that has contemplated the wretched condition of four-fifths of the free people of colour, in our northern cities and towns, could desire to see their number increased. Until Liberia opened an asylum, to which

emancipated slaves could be sent, persons actuated by pure benevolence to their slaves, could not consent to their emancipation. But now such persons, if correctly informed respecting these colonies, may with freedom give liberty to their slaves; believing, that in Africa they may enjoy, if they conduct themselves well, all the immunities and blessings of free citizens, and be exempt from the influence of all those circumstances which in this country keep them in a state of degradation and wretchedness. Liberty is not absolutely a blessing in all circumstances. To those capable of using it discreetly, it is a rich boon; but to emancipated slaves left in this country, it is no blessing, but rather a curse. The disposition in masters to send their slaves to Liberia, has gone on increasing with the progress of the colonies in Africa, so that there always have been more offered than could be sent. And had it not been for false reports respecting the state of these colonies, which have been industriously circulated through the length and breadth of the land, the number which would have been offered to the society, would have been greater than it has been. The pecuniary sacrifice made by some of those who have sent their slaves to Liberia to enjoy liberty in the land of their forefathers, is truly remarkable. No doubt Mr. Mc Donogh of Louisiana, could have sold the slaves which he recently sent to Africa, for $40,000. And these benevolent men not only give up, without compensation, their slaves, but carefully prepare them for their new condition, and supply them with those things necessary to render the voyage comfortable, and to commence their agricultural labours with advantages, in Liberia.

If the vast sums which have been uselessly expended by the anti-slavery societies, had been appropriated to the redemption of slaves, and to their transportation to Africa; it would have appeared to far better advantage, on the page of impartial history, than all that they have accomplished. The sums which within a few years they have expended, would have been sufficient to purchase all the territory which is needed to complete the possession of the rising republic of Liberia. But let them apply their money according to their own views; the friends of colonization do not wish to interfere with them; and they have a right to demand that other societies do not interfere with them; and especially, that they forbear to calumniate a cause, which we believe to be pleasing to God, and calculated to

America, not only as an eloquent preacher, but as an able be a greater blessing to the African race, than all other schemes which have ever been devised.

And as to those who are opposed to the enterprize, because they are of opinion that the institution of slavery is a blessing to any country, the American Colonization Society, does not attempt to interfere with their opinions or possessions. Surely they have no right to object to a plan, the object of which is to meliorate the condition of the free coloured population of this country. They cannot believe that these people are in a condition to benefit our country, or to enjoy the blessings of free citizens, in this land. And those persons, among slave-holders, who entertain an entirely different opinion of slavery, in the abstract, and believe it to be a moral and political evil of vast magnitude, from which every state should endeavour, as soon as possible, to free itself, should not be prevented from emancipating their slaves and sending them to a happy colony, planted in the land of their forefathers.

Though we have not had much agency in the colonization scheme, yet we have carefully examined its principles, and observed its progress, from the beginning, and are free to declare, that we believe it to be the most important enterprise, commenced in any part of the world, since we began life; and that the success which has attended it, considering the feebleness of the means and scantiness of the resources of the society, is one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the world. And believing, that it has had and still enjoys the smiles of heaven, we feel a strong confidence of its ultimate success. And, however extravagant the opinion may appear to many, we do firmly hope, that the whole of the African race, on this continent and the West India Islands, will, sooner or later, be transported to Africa; and that the little state of Liberia, will be the germ of a great and glorious republic, which will be the means of regenerating that dark and miserable continent. And that by means of these colonies, now in their infancy, the light of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ will be made to shine into the inmost recesses of her unknown regions, and into every dark corner of that immense country, now full of the habitations of cruelty.

We entertain these views, because we have been acquainted with the sentiments of the founders of this society, and have the fullest conviction, that the scheme owed

its origin to the purest Christian benevolence. We have never detected any lurking principle of iniquity or selfishness, in the whole operations of the American Colonization Society. A more purely philanthropic scheme, in its origin and progress, we have never known. And though at first, we apprehended that the enterprize would be found impracticable, and on that account our own zeal was faint; yet now we are persuaded, that the plan of colonizing the free people of colour in Africa, is founded in wisdom, as well as philanthropy; and therefore we believe, that, maugre all opposition, it will prevail. Reader, help on this noble cause. Now it needs your help. Contribute to its success, and you will be richly repaid.

ART. V.—*Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, May*, 1843: *with a Sketch of the Proceedings of the Residuary Assembly.* Edinburgh: 8vo. pp. 254.

IT is now nine years since we laid before our readers a description of the Scottish Church Establishment, with some account of the Original Secession,* and a statement of the evils under which the system was still labouring, particularly that of unrestricted patronage, and that arising from the want of due proportion between the parochial arrangements of the country and the spiritual wants of the population. We dwelt especially upon the fact, that even where chapels of ease had been erected, with a happy effect upon the religious state of the people, their ministers, however useful and respectable, had no place in the judicatories nor any part whatever in the government of the church. Against this anomalous arrangement, and the still greater evils of inadequate provision for the wants of the people, and of patronage uncheeked by any popular control, a vigorous and steady opposition had been making, for some years before we wrote, by a zealous, influential, and increasing party, led by Dr. Chalmers. This distinguished man, already well known to the public, both in Europe and

* Bib. Rep., 1835. pp. 1–41, and 189–233.

writer on Civic and Christian Economy, had announced, as early as the year 1816, in the General Assembly, and still more definitely three years after, his determination to assert the principle of non-intrusion, as a fundamental doctrine of the Church of Scotland. In this determination, which at first excited wonder and perhaps derision, he was gradually seconded by some of the most pious, learned, zealous and efficient members of the church, especially of that class which was then beginning to assume the active conduct of affairs.

The party thus increased and reinforced was in fact the offspring and the representative of one which had existed since the Reformation, sometimes obtaining the ascendancy, but much more frequently composing the minority of the assembly, if not of the church at large. The repeated secession of a part of this minority, in 1739 and 1752, had greatly strengthened and confirmed the power of the Moderate party under the influence of which and its successive leaders, Dr. Cumming, Dr. Robertson, and Dr. Hill, the rights of the people were denied or disregarded, doctrinal laxity too much indulged, and the extension of the church and of religion by aggressive movements, mournfully neglected, till a new and mighty impulse was imparted to the system, through the efforts of the party which has been described, as rallied and re-organized by Dr. Chalmers. In aiming at the greatest possible extension of the truth and of religion, as the end of their labours, these enlightened men proposed to themselves and to their people several harmonious but distinguishable objects. As the first of these, may be named the elevation of the ministerial character, and the securing to the people of appropriate ministerial service, by giving them a peremptory check upon the exercise of patronage; as a second, the more adequate supply of spiritual labour, by the division of overgrown parishes, and the planting of new churches in destitute districts; as a third, the promotion of religion at home, by liberal and zealous contributions to the spread of it abroad, among both Jews and Gentiles. There are other specific objects which might be detailed, as entering into this great scheme of reformation and extension; but the three which have been mentioned will suffice to give a general idea of the plan, the effects of which were soon abundantly apparent in the noble enterprise of Church Extension over which Dr. Chalmers personally presided, and in the missionary labours of the Scottish church, espe-

cially in India and among the Jews. By a large part of the church, however, even these great enterprises, if not discountenanced, were languidly supported; while the effort to protect the people from the intrusion of unwelcome ministers was steadfastly opposed, not only by the patrons, as an interference with their civil rights, but by the Moderate leaders, as a departure from the principles and practice of the church of Scotland.

Such was the state of parties, when about ten years ago, the evangelical or popular side found themselves in the majority of the General Assembly, which they have ever since retained, partly in consequence of one of their first measures, called the Chapel Act, in which the ministers of parishes erected by the church, without an act of parliament, and technically called parishes *quoad sacra* but not *quoad civilia*, were recognized as members of the church-courts and invested with precisely the same powers which belonged to the ministers of old established churches. By the introduction of these ministers, and of elders representing their churches, which had formerly been subject to the old parish sessions, not only was an act of justice done to a class of clergymen whom all unite in representing as among the most respectable and useful in the Church, but a decided ascendancy was given and apparently secured to those by whom this revolution was effected. Against this act of 1833, and the supplementary acts of 1834 and 1839, the Moderates, now in a minority, protested, as not only inexpedient but illegal, and beyond the constitutional power of the Assembly. And the same ground was taken with respect to another most important measure of the party now in power. This was the famous Act concerning Calls, or as it is more usually called the Veto Act, by which it was declared to be a fundamental doctrine of the Church of Scotland, that no presentee shall be obtruded on a parish in opposition to the wishes of the people. Out of the execution of this act arose the famous Auchterarder case, in which the Court of Session declared the Veto Law to be illegal, and the presentee to be entitled to the living. Of this case and the subsequent proceedings, we have given an account in a former volume,* and shall only mention here, that after this decision, although many insisted on the immediate repeal of the obnoxious act, the majority resolved to abandon the temporalities in question, but at

* Bib. Rep. for 1839, pp. 510–526.

the same time to assert their spiritual jurisdiction, by refusing to ordain the presentee. In this case, the Presbytery carried out the resolutions of the Assembly, in opposition to the civil courts; but in the Marnoch case, which afterwards arose, the majority of the Strathbogie Presbytery sided with the civil courts against the church, in consequence of which they were first suspended and then deposed by the General Assembly, and the members of the church forbidden to commune with them; a prohibition which by many was not only disobeyed, but treated as a nullity. The decision of the Court of Session, in these cases, having been carried by appeal into the House of Lords, was finally affirmed there, and the Veto Act declared to be beyond the legislative powers of the church.

By this decision a new face was put upon the controversy, as a total variance of judgment now existed between the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities, as to the terms on which the union between church and state was to subsist. The position of the former, being matter of conscience, could not be abandoned, and unless the latter could be brought to recognize it, those who maintained it must withdraw from the Establishment. In view of this event as possible, extensive consultations took place, and prospective measures were concerted by the leaders of the popular party, for which purpose two great convocations of ministers and elders were held at Edinburgh two years since. At the same time steps were taken to obtain a final decision on the part of the state, for which end applications were successively addressed to the House of Commons and the Crown. The former led to an animated debate, in which the claims of the church were ably and zealously maintained by Fox Maule, late Under Secretary of State, Rutherfurd, late Lord Advocate of Scotland, Campbell of Monzie, Patrick Stewart, Sir George Grey, and others. The result, however, was a vote adverse to the pretensions of the church, by a large majority, in which only one-third of the Scotch representation was included. The reply of the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, to the other application, being equally unsatisfactory, the leading members of the church reluctantly concluded, that the judicial exposition of the terms of the establishment must be considered final. Their expectations of relief were further damped by a new and most important decision of the civil courts, before which certain ministers, accused in the

church-courts of immorality, had brought the question, whether the acts of ecclesiastical bodies, in which *quoad sacra* ministers had seats and votes, were binding, and this question had been answered in the negative, by which decision the validity of various important acts was either called in question or at once destroyed, and the relative position of the two great parties very seriously altered.

It was under the impression made by these events, that all concerned looked forward to the meeting of the General Assembly on the eighteenth of May, 1843. The approach of that day seems to have excited an intense solicitude and interest, throughout all Scotland, and especially in Edinburgh, where an extraordinary number of strangers was convened, in expectation of some great event. The Moderate party would appear to have been under the impression, that their adversaries, when the crisis came, would submit to the civil power, and undo their own obnoxious acts, so far as to remove the collision between church and state. The strength of this persuasion, in the minds of some, is laughably illustrated by a story told at some public meeting, of a zealous Moderate who at the very moment of disruption was declaring to a friend, that if any after all seceded, he would eat them! It is certain, too, that some who agreed with the majority in principle, and ultimately followed them in act, still indulged a hope that something would be done by the government to hinder the catastrophe, and looked for the disclosure of this something in the letter which, according to custom, the Queen was expected to address to the Assembly. This was the case with the Marquis of Breadalbane, the only zealous champion of the Church in the House of Lords, and with other laymen of considerable note, such as Maitland Hog, Ewing of Levenside, and Dickson of Hartree, the last of whom signed the protest and withdrew after the Queen's letter had been read in the Assembly. This variety of judgment and of expectation, among those concerned, would naturally tend to make the public curiosity far more intense. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the day of meeting came, St. Andrew's Church, the place assigned for the sessions of Assembly, was filled to overflowing and surrounded by a dense crowd, long before the hour appointed. Many even of the members of Assembly, and especially of the Moderate party, were waiting at St. Andrew's, while the opening service was proceeding in another place, the High Church,

or old cathedral of St Giles, where the Rev. Dr. Welsh, the Moderator of the previous Assembly, preached from Rom. xiv. 5, (Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind,) and then proceeding to St. Andrew's, took the chair, and opened the Assembly with a prayer, after which instead of proceeding to make up the roll, he read a paper, signed by himself and above two hundred others, which we shall here insert, as an important historical document, and as an authoritative statement of the principles on which the party acted.

"We, the undersigned ministers and elders, chosen as commissioners to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, indicted to meet this day, but precluded from holding the said Assembly by reason of the circumstances hereinafter set forth, in consequence of which a Free Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in accordance with the laws and constitution of the said Church, cannot at this time be holden,—

"*Consider* that the Legislature, by their rejection of the Claim of Rights adopted by the last General Assembly of the said Church, and their refusal to give redress and protection against the jurisdiction assumed, and the coercion of late repeatedly attempted to be exercised over the courts of the Church in matters spiritual by the civil courts, have recognised and fixed the conditions of the Church Establishment, as henceforward to subsist in Scotland, to be such as these have been pronounced and declared by the said civil courts in their several recent decisions, in regard to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, whereby it has been *inter alia* declared,—

"1st. That the courts of the Church as now established, and members thereof, are liable to be coerced by the civil courts in the exercise of their spiritual functions; and in particular, in their admission to the office of the holy ministry, and the constitution of the pastoral relation, and that they are subject to be compelled to intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations in opposition to the fundamental principles of the Church, and their views of the Word of God, and to the liberties of Christ's people.

"2d, That the said civil courts have power to interfere with and interdict the preaching of the gospel and administration of ordinances as authorised and enjoined by the Church courts of the Establishment.

"3d, That the said civil courts have power to suspend spiritual censures pronounced by the Church courts of the Establishment against ministers and probationers of the Church, and to interdict their execution as to spiritual effects, functions and privileges.

"4th, That the said civil courts have power to reduce and set aside the sentences of the Church courts of the Establishment, deposing ministers from the office of the holy ministry, and depriving probationers of their license to preach the gospel, with reference to the spiritual status, functions, and privileges of such ministers and probationers,—restoring them to the spiritual office and status, of which the Church courts had deprived them.

"5th, That the said civil courts have power to determine on the

right to sit as members of the supreme and other judicatories of the Church by law established, and to issue interdicts against sitting and voting therein, irrespective of the judgment and determination of the said judicatories.

"6th, That the said civil courts have power to supersede the majority of a Church court of the Establishment, in regard to the exercise of its spiritual functions as a Church court, and to authorise the minority to exercise the said functions, in opposition to the court itself, and to the superior judicatories of the Establishment.

"7th, That the said civil courts have power to stay processes of discipline pending before courts of the Church by law established, and to interdict such courts from proceeding therein.

"8th, That no pastor of a congregation can be admitted into the Church courts of the Establishment, and allowed to rule, as well as to teach, agreeable to the institution of the office by the Head of the Church, nor to sit in any of the judicatories of the Church, inferior or supreme, and that no additional provision can be made for the exercise of spiritual discipline among members of the Church, though not affecting any patrimonial interests, and no alteration introduced in the state of pastoral superintendence and spiritual discipline in any parish without the coercion of a civil court.

"All which jurisdiction and power on the part of the said civil courts severally above specified, whatever proceeding may have given occasion to its exercise, is in our opinion, in itself inconsistent with Christian liberty,—with the authority which the Head of the Church hath conferred on the Church alone.

"*And further, considering* that a General Assembly, composed in accordance with the laws and fundamental principles of the Church, in part of commissioners themselves admitted without the sanction of the civil court, or chosen by Presbyteries, composed in part of members not having that sanction, cannot be constituted as an Assembly of the Establishment without disregarding the law and the legal conditions of the same as now fixed and declared.

"*And further, considering* that such commissions as aforesaid would, as members of an Assembly of the Establishment, be liable to be interdicted from exercising their functions, and to be subjected to civil coercion at the instance of any individual having interest, who might apply to the civil courts for that purpose.

"*And considering* further, that civil coercion has already been in divers instances applied for and used, whereby certain commissioners returned to the Assembly this day appointed to have been holden, have been interdicted from claiming their seats and from sitting and voting therein, and certain Presbyteries have been by interdicts directed against the members prevented from freely choosing commissioners to the said Assembly, whereby the freedom of such Assembly, and the liberty of election thereto, has been forcibly obstructed and taken away.

"*And further, considering* that, in these circumstances, a Free Assembly of any Church of Scotland, by law established, cannot at this time be holden, and that the Assembly in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Church, cannot be constituted in connection with the State without violating the conditions which must

now, since the rejection by the Legislature of the Church's Claim of Right, be held to be the conditions of the Establishment.

"*And considering* that, while heretofore as members of Church judicatories ratified by law and recognised by the constitution of the kingdom, we held ourselves entitled and bound to exercise and maintain the jurisdiction vested in these judicatories with the sanction of the constitution, notwithstanding the decrees as to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, of the civil courts, because we could not see that the State had required submission thereto as a condition of the Establishment, but, on the contrary, were satisfied that the State, by the acts of the parliament of Scotland, for ever and unalterably secured to this nation by the Treaty of Union, had repudiated any power in the civil courts to pronounce such decrees, we are now constrained to acknowledge it to be the mind and will of the State, as recently declared that such submission should and does form a condition of the Establishment, and of the possession of the benefits thereof; and that as we cannot, without committing what we believe to be sin—in opposition to God's law—in disregard of the honour and authority of Christ's crown, and in violation of our own solemn vows, comply with this condition, we cannot in conscience continue connected with, and retain the benefits of the Establishment to which such condition is attached.

"We, THEREFORE, the ministers and elders aforesaid, on this, the first occasion since the rejection by the Legislature of the Church's claim of right, when the commissioners chosen from throughout the bounds of the Church to the General Assembly appointed to have been this day holden, are convened together, DO PROTEST, that the conditions aforesaid, while we deem them contrary to and subversive of the settlement of church government effected at the Revolution, and solemnly guaranteed by the Act of Security and Treaty of Union, are also at variance with God's word, in opposition to the doctrines and fundamental principles of the Church of Scotland, inconsistent with the freedom essential to the right constitution of a church of Christ, and incompatible with the government which He, as the Head of his church, hath therein appointed distinct from the civil magistrate.

"And we further PROTEST, that any Assembly constituted in submission to the conditions now declared to be law, and under the civil coercion which has been brought to bear in the election of commissioners to the Assembly this day appointed to have been holden, and on the commissioners chosen thereto, is not and shall not be deemed a free and lawful Assembly of the Church of Scotland, according to the original and fundamental principles thereof, and that the claim, declaration, and protest, of the General Assembly which convened at Edinburgh in May 1842, as the act of a free and lawful Assembly of the said Church, shall be holden as setting forth the true constitution of the said Church, and that the said claim, along with the laws of the Church now subsisting, shall in nowise be affected by whatsoever acts and proceedings of any Assembly constituted under the conditions now declared to be the law, and in submission to the coercion now imposed on the Establishment.

"And finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in

accordance with God's word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall, in God's good providence, be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the scriptures, and in implement of the statutes of the kingdom of Scotland, and the obligations of the Treaty of Union as understood by us and our ancestors, but acknowledging that we do not hold ourselves at liberty to retain the benefits of the Establishment while we cannot comply with the conditions now deemed to be thereto attached—we PROTEST, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden, as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and standards of the Church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of his glory, the extension of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to his holy word: and we do now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this Church and nation; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction, that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an establishment which we loved and prized—through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of his sole and supreme authority as King in his Church."

The moderator, and the other protesting members, then withdrew, and the remaining body organized itself, as an Assembly of the Established Church, by electing Principal Macfarlane of Glasgow to the chair, which he had filled more than twenty years before. This Assembly continued in session till the 29th of May, when it was dissolved, as usual, first by the Moderator in the name of Christ, and then by the royal commissioner (the Marquis of Bute) in the name of the Queen. The letter from her Majesty, delivered by this nobleman, at the beginning of the session, is as follows:

"VICTORIA R.—Right reverend and well-beloved, we greet you well. Faithful to the solemn engagement which binds us to maintain inviolate the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in all its rights and privileges, we gladly renew the assurance that we desire to extend to you the continuance and support which the General Assembly has long received from our royal ancestors.

"In other circumstances it might have sufficed to adhere to the forms which have been generally observed in our former communications to you, and to express our anxious hope, that Christian

charity will, as heretofore, abound among you, and restrain all animosities; but in the present state of the Church, and adverting to the discussions which of late have so unhappily disturbed its peace, we desire to address you with more than usual earnestness and anxiety.

"It behoves you to remember that unity in the Church is the bond of peace, but that schism and its pernicious effects may tend seriously to endanger that religious Establishment from which Scotland has derived inestimable benefits.

"The faith of our Crown is pledged to uphold you in the full enjoyment of every privilege which you can justly claim; but you will bear in mind that the rights and property of an Established Church are conferred by law; it is by law that the Church of Scotland is united with the State, and that her endowments are secured; and the ministers of religion, claiming the sanction of law in defence of their privileges, are specially bound, by their sacred calling, to be examples of obedience.

"The act ratifying the Confession of Faith and settling Presbyterian Church government in Scotland, was adopted at the Union, and is now the act of the British Parliament. The settlement thus fixed cannot be annulled by the will or declaration of any number of individuals. Those who are dissatisfied with the terms of this settlement, may renounce it for themselves; but the Union of the Church of Scotland with the State is indissoluble, while the statutes remain unrepealed which recognize the Presbyterian Church as the Church established by law within the kingdom of Scotland.

"We cannot doubt that your anxious consideration will be given to various important matters connected with the welfare of your Church, which require immediate adjustment.

"The act of Assembly passed in the year 1834, on the subject of calls, has come under the review of competent tribunals, and various proceedings, taken in pursuance of this act, have been pronounced by solemn judgments to be illegal. It has not yet been rescinded by the Assembly; and a conflict of authority between the law of the land and an act of the Church, in a matter where civil rights and civil jurisdiction are concerned, cannot be prolonged without injurious consequences.

"The Church of Scotland, occupying its true position in friendly alliance with the State, is justly entitled to expect the aid of Parliament in removing any doubts which may have arisen with respect to the right construction of the statutes relating to the admission of ministers. You may safely confide in the wisdom of Parliament; and we shall readily give our assent to any measure which the Legislature may pass, for the purpose of securing to the people the full privilege of objection, and to the Church judicatories the exclusive right of judgment.

"There is another matter not less important—the present position of ministers in unendowed districts. The law, as confirmed by a recent judgment, has declared that new parishes cannot be created by the authority of the Church alone, and that ministers placed in such districts are not entitled to act in Church courts.

"If it shall appear that the efficiency of the Church is thereby impaired, and that the means of extending her usefulness are curtailed, the law to which such effects are ascribed, may require consideration

and amendment; but until it be so considered by the Legislature, and while it remains unaltered, we are persuaded that it will be implicitly obeyed by the General Assembly.

"You will deliberate on such of these matters as fall within your cognizance, attentively and calmly; and we commend you to the guidance of Divine Providence, praying that you may be directed to the adoption of wise counsels, which shall promote the permanent interests and honour of the Church, and the religious peace and moral welfare of our people.

"We have again constituted and appointed our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin, John, Marquis of Bute. K. T., to be the representative of our royal person in this Assembly; and we are certain that his prudence and approved merits, and his tried attachment to the Church of Scotland, will render him acceptable to you in the execution of the duties of his high office.

"He possesses our full authority for the exercise of our royal prerogative in all matters relating to the present Assembly, in which, in obedience to our instructions to him, he may be called upon to act for us, or on our behoof.

"We implore the blessing of God on your deliberations, trusting that He will overrule all events for the good of His Church, and for the spiritual welfare of the people committed to your charge; and we feel assured that Divine grace will not be withdrawn from the labours of the ministers of the Church established in this part of the United Kingdom, and so we bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at our Court at St. James's, the 15th day of May, 1843, in the sixth year of our reign.

"By her Majesty's command,

(Signed) "JA. GRAHAM."

The first three days of the session were spent in appointing committees, arranging business, and allowing the excitement and surprise of the great movement to subside. When at length the discussion of the necessary measures was begun, it soon appeared that the *residuary* body (as the other party call it,) was very far from being of one mind. The point of difference among them was the question, how the offensive legislation of the last ten years, and its judicial consequences, ought to be disposed of. Some were in favour of rescinding it as formally as it had been enacted, on the express ground, that it had been declared illegal by the civil courts, or as some suggested, on the ground that it was no longer practicable to carry the laws in question into execution. The former ground was taken by those members who to some degree had sympathised with the seceding party, or at least had felt and acknowledged the evils which that party sought to remedy, but were unwilling to go with them in forsaking the establishment, or in opposing the civil power. The Moderate leaders on the other hand, de-

nying the existence of any evils, which the church itself was not already competent to rectify, regarded the new law, and the judgments growing out of them, as useless, dangerous, and unconstitutional, and therefore wished to set them aside summarily and direct the Presbyteries to proceed according to the ancient practice. To this it was objected, that the church had for years been proceeding on the supposition, that these laws were in existence and in force, and was thereby precluded from now treating them as void *ab initio*. The veto law, moreover, had been passed, according to the provisions of the Barrier Act, by a majority of the Presbyteries, and could only be rescinded by the same authority. The Chapel Act stood upon a different footing, having been passed by an immediate act of the Assembly, without being previously overtured to Presbyteries; but even this law had been every where submitted to, and carried into execution, and could therefore not be legislated out of existence, though it might be declared to be illegal and invalid. To these reasonings the leaders of the party still replied that the obnoxious legislation was both needless and unlawful, and insisted on undoing it, by simply directing the inferior courts to act as if it never had existed. In this way the Veto Act was nullified without a division, and the Chapel Acts more formally rescinded, with a testimony to the usefulness of the ministers thus excluded from the church courts, and an expressed determination to restore them in a legal way. By these two acts of the Established Assembly, all restriction was removed from the exercise of patronage, so far as that restriction had arisen from the veto law, and all *quoad sacra* ministers reduced to their former character as teaching but not ruling elders.

Having thus disposed of the erroneous legislation of their predecessors, the Assembly now proceeded to undo, as far as as possible, the judicial consequences both of the Veto and the Chapel Acts. Under the former, several cases of disputed settlement were now disposed of, and one or two rejected presentees admitted and referred to the Presbyteries for ordination. But the most important judicial case, which had arisen from the Veto Law, was that of the Strathbogie Presbytery, already mentioned. From the majority of that Presbytery, while under deposition, commissioners, themselves deposed, were sent to this Assembly, and the question was suggested, at the very opening of the session, whether they should be admitted to their seats, and their names put upon

the roll at once. Against this several members earnestly protested, and one (Mr. Bruce of Kennet,) who had previously objected to Principal Macfarlane's being called to the chair, because he had taken part with the Strathbogie ministers in disobedience to the will of the Assembly, actually left the house because it was determined to postpone the decision of this question until after the repeal of the Veto Law; and several who condemned his rashness in withdrawing, and refused to follow his example, appeared nevertheless to share his feelings. The ground assumed by these was, that although the deposition of the Strathbogie ministers was unjust and cruel, it was done in due form by a competent authority, and therefore should have been submitted to, until the sentence was revoked or taken off; the rather as authority had been expressly given to the commission, by the Assembly of 1842, to remove the censure, if they saw fit, on receiving application from the parties; who, however, had made no such application, and who therefore should not be restored without some expression of regret for their contempt of church-authority. To this it was replied, that as the law, for disobeying which these persons were deposed, had been declared to be invalid, the offence of which they had been guilty must go with it, and they were now to be regarded not only as ministers in good standing thenceforth, but as having been so all along. Against this decision several members protested and assigned their reasons.

The only judicial cases connected with the Chapel Act, were those prosecutions for immoral conduct, which have been already mentioned, as the occasion of the decision that the *quoad sacra* ministers had no right to sit and vote in the Church courts. It might have been expected that, in order to remove the scandal of these processes, the Assembly would have summarily dealt with the offenders; but instead of this they leave it to the Presbyteries to examine and determine according to law and the practice of the Church.

The only further act of "reform" which we shall mention as performed by this body, is the re-enactment of the law of 1799, by which all ministers of other churches were excluded from the pulpits of the Scotch Establishment, but which had been repealed in 1842. This repeal was described, on the floor of the Assembly, as a disgrace to the records of the church, and as breaking down the only

hedge by which unsound and unworthy teachers were excluded from the pulpit. The principle laid down upon this subject was that the established church was bound to teach certain doctrines ,and that of t hese the judicatories were the constituted judges, so that no individual minister had a right to determine who was sound in the faith; although it was admitted that there might be cases which deserved to be excepted, and for which provision might be subsequently made.

Having thus undone, as far as possible, the legislative and judicial acts of the seceding party, the residuary Assembly proceeded to sit in judgment on the seceders themselves. The only question which arose on this point was the question whether what was done already should be taken as a final act, or further evidence be sought of the secession, and space for repentance allowed to the seceders. This question was decided, in the midst of a discussion, by the arrival of a formal deed of separation, which will be adverted to hereafter. The seceding ministers and elders were of course declared to be no longer ministers or elders of the Church of Scotland, and incapable of holding any benefice therein, until restored by competent authority. Arrangements were subsequently made for the supply of the vacant pulpits.

The remaining acts of this Assembly had relation either to mere matters of routine and local interest, or to the schemes (benevolent enterprises) of the church, all which, and particularly Foreign Missions, it was resolved to prosecute with greater zeal than ever, and a body of influential laymen was said to have been formed, to supply the necessary funds. This new-born zeal for missions and its kindred objects, in the old Assembly, is among the most remarkable fruits of the secession. One distinguished member even went so far as to declare that if the Church of Scotland should lose the spirit of missions, it would be a sign of its approaching downfall. The reporter somewhat ungraciously asks, where was the missionary zeal of Moderatism in the eighteenth century, a question which, alas! might be extended to the other party also, and to almost every reformed church in Christendom. Let those who took the lead in this good work receive the praise which is their due, but let not those who follow their example be upbraided for so doing.

The only other act of any public interest is one sent down

by a preceding Assembly and confirmed by a majority of Presbyteries, which requires that every student received into the Divinity Hall (corresponding to our Theological Seminaries) shall have attended the Latin class of a university at least one year. This enactment, taken in connection with some observations made upon the floor and from the chair of the Assembly, seems to indicate that great remissness had existed with respect to the examining and licensing of candidates. In this point, too, the secession will probably have some effect, in raising the standard of professional acquirement even in the establishment.

The most conspicuous members of the Moderate party, who appear in this Assembly, are the two who had long been acknowledged as leaders, Dr. Cook, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen, and Mr. Robertson of Ellon, since appointed by the crown to succeed Dr. Welsh as Professor of Church History at Edinburgh. In coincidence with these an active, part was taken by the Rev. Drs. Mearns and Forbes, while a more moderate and doubtful course was pursued by Mr. Bell (the Procurator,) by Professor Hill of Glasgow, and by Lord Belhaven, who for a number of successive years represented the crown in the General Assembly. A still stronger sympathy with evangelical and non-intrusion principles was exhibited by Mr. Storie of Roseneath, Mr. Tait of Kirkliston, Mr. Walker of Legerwood, and a few others.

The attendance of the public on the sessions of this body was irregular and scanty, and among the spectators there were probably at least as many foes as friends, since we read of hisses and commotion in the galleries, not only when Principal Macfarlane took the chair, but also during the discussion of the protest, and particularly during a violent harangue of the Rev. Mr. Proudfoot, charging the seceders with courting popular applause, and with forcing contributions from the poor of Scotland, who could only give what they had received in charity. With the exception of this speech, and what occurred in connexion with it, all the proceedings seem to have been marked by moderation and decorum; and were closed with an address from the Moderator, which appears to us to be a fine specimen of elegant and dignified discourse, however strange such a judgment might be thought by the reporter, to whom we are indebted for the facts which we have stated, and who gives as a reason for his comparatively slight account of this assembly, that

there is nothing in its doings "which either the Christian men of the present day regard with any interest, or which posterity will care to know." We look upon our own case as but one out of many contradictions to this sweeping declaration, and feel no hesitation in confessing that we have perused the sayings and doings of this body with much interest, though certainly with far less than we have felt and expect our readers to feel in the proceedings to which we now turn, those of the General Assembly of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

The first point to which we shall advert is the popular feeling manifested towards the Free Assembly. When Dr. Chalmers and the other leading non-intrusionists made their appearance at St. Andrew's Church, they were greeted with enthusiastic cheering by the multitude assembled there. When they made the movement to withdraw, a loud cheer burst from the gallery, which, however, was suddenly hushed. When they appeared outside, they were received with a tremendous burst of applause, not only from the crowd about the doors, but from windows and roofs, along the whole line of street through which they passed to the Hall at Tanfield, Canonmills, whither they were accompanied and followed by a vast multitude, and found another awaiting their arrival. The Hall, which is described as being capable of holding more than three thousand persons, was completely filled, and seems to have continued so throughout the sessions, as we read that on the 30th day of May, when the Assembly was dissolved, there were present between three and four thousand, to the close of the proceedings, about one o'clock in the morning. From this vast body of spectators there proceeded constant tokens of unabated interest, and frequent expressions of enthusiastic approbation and applause. With all allowance for the British usages in this respect, and the unmeaning character of such expressions in a multitude of cases, it is still true that the facts which we have mentioned serve not only to illustrate the natural interest which Scotchmen feel in church affairs, but also to evince the peculiar interest excited in the public mind on this occasion.

The proceedings of the Free Assembly were opened and closed with an address by Dr. Chalmers, exhibiting in either case his usual characteristics both of thought and language, and distinguished by a striking combination of enlarged views and elevated purposes with deep religious feelings.

His appointment to the chair was proposed by his predecessor, Dr. Welsh, and voted by enthusiastic acclamation. During the session he was much employed, however, in preparing the reports of the Finance Committee, and the chair was consequently often filled by others. The terms of eulogy, in which this great and good man was repeatedly addressed, or described in his presence, however well deserved, can only be reconciled with good taste and Christian moderation, by considering the extraordinary circumstances in which they were uttered. And the same remark applies, though in a less degree, to the eulogistic tone in which several of the leaders and partakers of this movement publicly spoke of one another, and occasionally of themselves. The unparalleled excitement, the provocatives to self-defence, and the exhilaration of success, surpassing the most sanguine expectation, may suffice to justify a way of speaking, which would be without excuse, if still continued under other circumstances.

In connexion with these critical, it may be hypercritical, remarks, we take occasion to record the strong impression left upon our minds by the perusal of this narrative, as to the aggregate amount of strong sense, solid information, practical wisdom, energetic purpose, devout affection, enlightened zeal, and eloquence at once highly popular and scriptural, embodied even in the bare reports of the speeches made at this Assembly. Considered merely in the light of speeches, they convey a very favourable notion of the pulpit talents and capacity to influence the public mind upon religious subjects, possessed by the clergy of the Free Church of Scotland. Appeals to the understanding, the conscience and the heart, so spirited, so simple, so devoid of frothy declamation, and so deeply tinged with scriptural allusion, phraseology and spirit, must be highly efficacious especially when addressed to an intelligent and serious community.* We trust that the impulse which has

* It deserves to be noted as characteristic of the Scottish mind and education, that while mere declamation is excluded almost wholly from these speeches, the most powerful rhetorical effects appear to have been produced by scriptural allusions. Thus when Mr. McCrie, comparing the original secession with the new one, said, "ours was the Genesis, but yours the Exodus," and Mr. Guthrie illustrated the different feelings of the Voluntary towards the Church, before and after the disruptions, by the case of Moses, who reproved two Hebrews for contending, but when he saw a Hebrew wronged by an Egyptian, killed the latter and buried him in the sand—these allusions, felicitous and striking as they are, would, we verily believe, have been comparatively thrown away on any audience except a Scotch one.

probably been given to the preaching of the Free Church Ministers by late events, will long continue, and be eminently salutary.

We shall not attempt to give a narrative, nor even a digested summary, of all the acts performed by this Assembly, much less of its various discussions, but content ourselves with stating, under several comprehensive heads, the facts which strike us as possessing most of a historical importance. In the execution of this plan we shall consider, 1st, the principles avowed by the seceding body, as the ground of their proceedings, and the position assumed by them as a church; 2d, the plans proposed and adopted by them for maintaining this position; 3d, their action in relation to the great work of evangelical benevolence; 4th, their relative position. tone and spirit, with respect to the other branches of the Christian church.

On the first of these points, there will be the less occasion for minute detail, because we have already introduced the Protest, which contains an authentic and authoritative statement of the grounds on which the separation was effected. Taking this important paper in connexion with the speeches of the leading members of the Free Assembly, we may state their theory of doctrine and of duty to be this; that every government is under obligations to provide for the religious instruction of the people, by supporting some branch of the Christian church; that the church is not, in any sense, the creature of the state, but an independent organized society, possessing certain powers, directly and exclusively derived from Christ; that by being legally established, or connected with the state, the church neither does nor can relinquish any of its spiritual powers; that any interference with the exercise of these, upon the part of civil governments, is sinful usurpation, and that all submission to such usurpation is a sinful dereliction of Christ's claim to be the head of his own church; that where such submission is required by the state, as an indispensable condition of establishment, the church is bound to sever the connexion, and, as far as possible, to execute its office, as the spiritual counsellor and teacher of the people, unaided by the state. From this view of the matter it follows of course, that what is called the Voluntary Principle is wholly repudiated by this body, which not only claims to be a National Church, but holds itself in readiness to be established, whenever the State shall assent

to its conditions. The Orthodox or Evangelical Dissenters of Scotland are of two kinds, those who deny the lawfulness of religious establishments, and those who hold it. From the former the Free Church is distinguished by maintaining that the Church and State not only may but ought to be united, provided such a union can be formed without a compromise of Christ's supremacy or of the church's exclusive spiritual jurisdiction. From the latter it is separated chiefly, and in the case of Presbyterian bodies only, by its claiming to be not a mere secession or a sect, but a National Church, the true Church of Scotland. As these distinctions have respect to points but little known among ourselves, it may be proper to define the difference between an Established and a National Church, as we have just distinguished them. The Free Church does not claim of course to be an establishment, or to have any claim upon the government, at present, for support or special favour. It acknowledges the body, from which it has just separated, as the religious Establishment of Scotland. When it claims, then, to be nevertheless recognised as the Church of Scotland, what it means is this; that the Reformed Church of Scotland had a separate and organized existence long before its full establishment by Act of Parliament in 1592; that it did not cease to be a church when united with the state, still less when it was disestablished, and even persecuted by the civil power; that this same church, which existed as a national institution before it was established, and which has survived the persecution of its enemies, has now, by its own act, separated from the state, but is still identical with the original National Church of Scotland, while the body now established is to be regarded as a new organization. Hence they refuse to be considered a secession from the Church of Scotland, or to recognise themselves and the Establishment as two parts of one and the same body. To this high claim of the Free Church, the Original Seceders, by their deputation, cordially responded. Mr. McCrie, the son of the historian, who was one of the representatives of that respectable sect, assured the Free Assembly that he looked upon them, and not upon the body left behind, as his mother church, as the first "free, faithful and reforming Assembly of the Church of Scotland," to which the Original Seceders had appealed.*

* See Bib. Rep. for 1835, p. 32.

As a necessary consequence of their asserting this identity with the ancient Church of Scotland, they were under the necessity of laying all their plans on a national scale, and instead of providing merely for their own congregations, and then trusting to Providence for their enlargement, as the various seceding sects had done, they were compelled, by their own principles, to make provision for the spiritual wants of the entire kingdom, and in doing so, to act as if no portion of the field had been pre-occupied; for nothing short of this, it will be seen at once, could justify their claim to be the Church of Scotland. This prodigious stretch of view and effort, while it made the task, to which the Free Church addressed itself, immeasurably harder than it would have been, if they had chosen to assume the name and character of a party seceding from the Church, and not that of the Church seceding from the State, at the same time tended to expand and elevate the whole tone and character of this great revolution, in a degree which cannot possibly be estimated. This conception, whoever be its author, is a grand one, and has given complexion to the whole affair. Even those who may have reason to complain of its practical effects, must admit that there is something really sublime in the determination to assume the rank of a National Church, not, like the Establishment, by mere force of law, nor, like the Episcopal Church in Scotland, by the impotent pretensions of a lifeless bigotry, but by the noble effort to make name and thing coincident, by carrying the gospel into every nook and corner of the kingdom. Even this, however, might have been attempted in a very different manner, by adopting measures suited merely *ad captandum*, without any provision for the real and permanent improvement of the people, as for instance by an itinerant and noisy agency, intended merely to excite and agitate and sway the public mind, without promoting its instruction or its spiritual welfare. But in nothing are the projects of the Free Church more conspicuously wise and good than in the broad and firm foundation upon which they rest in this respect, to wit, a universal and effective system of religious education in its several stages, to be furnished and secured, as Dr. Chalmers has repeatedly expressed it, by well-served churches and by well-taught schools. The profound views of duty and expediency, evinced by this proposal, so remote from the empirical and superficial remedies, which

common-place reformers are accustomed to apply to the diseases of society, distinguish the whole system as the product neither of fanatical extravagance nor abstract speculation, but of practical wisdom and a deep but sober piety, enthroned in some of the most powerful and cultivated minds of this or any other age.

The Free Church, then, assumes the position of a national organization, and undertakes, as its appointed work, to furnish Scotland with a faithful, educated, spiritual ministry, and with parochial schools, in full proportion to the wants of the community. In order to the doing of this work, she counts upon the active self-denying labours of the ministers who left the Establishment, of all the Probationers and Students who have followed their example, of a large and respectable body of experienced Schoolmasters, and of a multitude of young men whom she yet hopes to bring forward and employ in both these fields of labour. To provide for the support of these essential instruments, and at the same time for the erection of churches and other necessary buildings, a general fund was created by spontaneous donations, and a source of permanent supply secured by the extensive organization of local societies to be sustained by annual subscriptions. In the contrivance of these simple but effectual expedients, the Free Church had a great advantage in possessing Dr. Chalmers, who has always exhibited a singular aptitude and fondness for arrangements of this nature, and whose previous experience as leader of the Church Extension enterprise, had eminently qualified him both to counsel and to act in this emergency with mingled boldness and discretion, and without the risk of Utopian extravagance on the one hand or a narrow and ill-timed parsimony on the other. And it cannot be denied that in this most practical department, there appears the same enlarged originality of mind, in union with the same experimental wisdom, that has been already mentioned as imparting a distinctive character to the general conception, upon which the plans of the Free Church are built. This is especially apparent in the happy thought of blending the advantages which other public undertakings have derived from local and from general funds respectively, as well as in the sensible and manly views expressed upon the subject of paid agencies, which Dr. Chalmers thinks essential to the full success of such an undertaking, and to the "low-minded" clamour against which he ascribes his own withdrawal from the Church Extension enterprise.

His observations on the policy and justice of affording a liberal support to public servants, even at the expense of the *nati consumere fruges*, are not only true and important in themselves, but a striking illustration of the author's intrepidity. In the execution of these plans, their authors appear to have enjoyed the aid of some truly energetic coadjutors. Dr. Chalmers, in allusion to his having formerly expressed a wish that he had twenty Makgill Crichtons at command, says that of 720 associations organized before the rupture, 40 were owing to the personal exertions of the gentleman referred to. The general fund arising from occasional donations and from annual subscriptions through these local agencies is consecrated to the two great objects of erecting churches and sustaining ministers, in reference to both of which, the principle adopted would appear to have been that of an equal allowance in all cases, the additional amount, required or desirable in any case, to be supplied by local contributions. By this means, according to the statement made in May, the Free Church was already in a situation to allow to all the ministers cast out from the Establishment one-half of the average income which they had enjoyed before, and at the same time to reserve ten thousand pounds for the support of her Probationers. With respect to Churches, the proposal was that every parish which applied for it should be entitled to a sum sufficient for the speedy erection of a plain but comfortable house of worship, all attempts at any thing beyond this being laid aside until the whole land should be well supplied with what was absolutely necessary. There is something not a little striking in the earnestness with which the richer parishes are called upon to give of their comparative abundance to the poverty of others, or to the planting of entirely new districts, rather than lavish it on pleasing superfluities among themselves. Apart from the immense good which must be directly done by the success of such a policy the fostering of this heroic, self-denying spirit of the church at large, must tend still further to exalt its moral tone, already far above that of the Christian world in general. Another obvious advantage of this course is its securing uniformity precisely of the right kind, without attempting that which would be undesirable, by laying a uniform foundation for the superstructure in its whole extent, instead of suffering one part to be erected on a rock, and another to be built upon the sand, at the mercy of caprice or accident.

For the collection, the safe-keeping, and the distribution of the funds contributed to these great objects, a Treasurer and several distinct Boards were appointed, one of which was to direct the local agency employed in the original collection of the funds, another to attend to its disbursement, and a third to be the legal holders of invested property in trust for the Assembly. As the best arrangement for the temporalities of parishes, the order of Deacons is to be revived. In all these financial arrangements of the Free Church, the two members most conspicuously active were the Moderator and Alexander Dunlop, to whom the Church is deeply indebted for devoted services performed at no small sacrifice of comfort and professional emolument, and through a course of years. To this distinguished gentleman the Free Assembly rendered an enthusiastic tribute of applause and admiration, and on his declining to accept the Procurator's office with a salary, in order that his motives might be unimpeached, requested him, not only by a unanimous vote, but by acclamation, to act as the legal adviser of the church, without official title or emoluments. Mr. Dunlop, as chairman or convener of an important committee, brought before the Assembly several of the plans already mentioned, and to him no small part of the merit of devising them is doubtless due. But that the praise of having planned the ways and means of this great enterprise belongs to Dr. Chalmers, may be gathered from the fact that his proposals, when submitted to the Convocation which prepared the way for the disruption, were received with general distrust and incredulity as wholly impracticable, a fact to which the Doctor, with a pardonable triumph, more than once alludes, when looking back from the successful operation of these very plans beyond his highest expectations.*

With respect to the supply of ministerial labour, the plan proposed was to retain, as far as possible, the ministers adhering to the Free Church in their former parishes, with such alterations as might be rendered necessary by

* Having mentioned incidentally these two distinguished members, we may also specify as clergymen who took an active part in the proceedings of the body, and exerted more or less of influence upon it, Drs. Gordon, Candlish, Welsh, and Cunningham, of Edinburgh, Buchanan of Glasgow, and Macfarlan of Greenock, and as laymen, Mr. Earle Monteith and Mr. Makgill Crichton. Sir David Brewster, though illustrious in science, took no prominent or active part in the proceedings.

local circumstances or by the demand for labour elsewhere. In order to supply the vast deficiency remaining, all the Licentiates or Probationers, adhering to the Church, were to be instantly and actively employed, at first in itinerating through allotted districts, but as soon as possible in settled charges. Measures were also taken to accelerate the licensing of the more advanced students, by dispensing with some specified formalities, particularly with the rule requiring the reception of candidates by Presbyteries to be sanctioned by the Synod. This accelerating process, if it should be permanent, would certainly tend to lower the standard of professional acquirements. In this case, however, that effect may be counteracted by the operation of other causes; and that no such change is intended for the future, may be readily inferred from the pains taken to secure and perfect a system of general and theological education. We have seen already that parochial schools, closely connected with the church and under its control, formed an essential part of the general plan upon which the Free Church commenced its operations. A beginning was made in this part of the system by employing those teachers who had voluntarily left the schools of the Establishment or been ejected from them; and to secure a further supply of teachers a Normal Seminary was established, or rather that belonging to the old establishment was transferred to another place and there continued under the direction of the Free Church. In this, and in many other cases, not only the teachers but the pupils left the schools of the Establishment. Many of the parish schoolmasters throughout Scotland are licensed preachers, and these were encouraged by the Free Assembly to retain their places until forcibly ejected, in which case provision was to be made for the erection of new schools. To these arrangements for securing sooner or later a complete system of parochial instruction under the Free Church, was added a plan for the education of ministers. This in the first instance made provision merely for a single institution at Edinburgh, to be conducted on the method hitherto practised in the Scottish Universities, Dr. Chalmers to be Principal and Professor of Divinity, Dr. Welsh, Professor of Church History, and Dr. Duncan (lately a missionary to the Jews,) Professor of Hebrew. An additional chair was assigned to Dr. Cunningham, to be occupied hereafter. Having thus made provision for the highest and the lowest stages of education, the

Assembly, or rather its Committee, was divided, as to the expediency of founding separate institutions for the intermediate periods of study, to cover the same ground with the four universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrew's. To some it seemed that the expense of such a system would be counterbalanced by no proportionate advantage, as the means of general education were sufficiently afforded by the universities. Others, however, were disposed to think that a dependence upon these was dangerous, and that the Free Church could not be expected to attain complete success without a full control over the education of its children. On this point no decision was come to in the May Assembly, but the current of opinion was apparently in favour of aiming at the ultimate establishment not only of parochial schools, but also of universities or colleges. A more immediate object was the formation of a library for the use of theological students, to which liberal contributions were made before the close of the Assembly.

Another step necessary to the complete organization of the Church was the re-arrangement of its Synods and Presbyteries so as to fill up such as were left defective, and to equalize them generally. For this purpose two Presbyteries were in some cases united, while in others chasms were filled up by the addition of a few members. In constituting Church-courts, there was of course no distinction made between *quoad civilia* and *quoad sacra* ministers. In reference to the latter there arose, however, a question of much interest. Some of the *quoad sacra* ministers had charge of churches which had been erected by private individuals or societies on the express or implied condition that the ministers who preached in them should be admitted to the Church courts and enjoy all ministerial privileges. This condition had been performed by the passing of the Chapel Act, and now that it had been repealed, and the condition thereby violated, the property ought to have reverted to the proprietors by whom it had been ceded. The Established Church, however, made arrangements for supplying all these pulpits, and declared them vacant, which appeared to render legal process necessary to decide the question. There were cases, too, in which the proprietors themselves were divided, some preferring a connexion with the establishment, others willing to sacrifice it to the advantage of having a kirk-session and a minister of full authority. It was na-

tural that the members of the Free Church, by whose labours and contributions so many new churches had been brought into existence, should regret to see them lost, as they supposed, to the highest ends for which they were erected; and a feeling of peculiar indignation was excited by the statement of the fact, that the Establishment had laid claim even to some churches which had been brought in by the Old Light Seceders, on rejoining the establishment. The management of these disputed questions was referred by the Free Assembly to its Law Committee.

At the time of the disruption, the Established Church had five Schemes or benevolent objects under its direction —the mission to the Jews—the mission to the Gentiles—Colonial Churches—Education and Home Missions. The sums accumulated for these objects, and the real property held in trust for some of them, must all be abandoned; but the missionaries, we believe, without exception, have adhered to the Free Church. With respect to all the schemes it may in general be stated that the Free Church resolved to carry on the work with unabated energy, and such was the power of the impulse given to all church institutions by recent events, that nearly as much we understand has been collected in three or four months as was formerly raised by the whole church in a year. If this spirit of liberality and zeal should be permanent, the cause of Christian benevolence will owe much to the late disruption. But while the Free Church thus resolved to prosecute the Schemes with vigour, the change of circumstances acquired some alteration of the method in which some of them had been conducted. This was especially the case with the Home Mission, which had hitherto included several distinct branches, the building of churches, the aiding of poor parishes, and the encouragement of young men seeking the ministry. The first and second of these objects being merged in the general arrangements of the Free Church, the Committee of Home Missions was directed to confine itself to the remaining branch, which constitutes with us the business of the Board of Education, while in Scotland the Committee of that name has charge of all that relates to parochial and other schools, theological and general education. The Five Schemes of the Free Church are conducted we believe by as many distinct boards or committees, out of which is formed a general board to regulate that which is common to them all. There is also a Gene-

ral Agent and a monthly journal, in the service either of the Missionary Boards or of the Board collectively.

It was stated near the close of the Assembly as a matter of devout congratulation that there had not been a count or division in the course of the whole session. Most of the interesting questions had been settled by a kind of acclamation. There was one point indeed which seemed to threaten a considerable difference of judgment, and it may to some seem curious, that this point was the very one on which the Free Church had withdrawn from the Establishment, to wit, the method of electing ministers. There was no diversity of sentiment or feeling as to the main principles of non-intrusion, but merely as to the best method of securing it and putting it in practice. Some were disposed to leave the matter wholly to a popular election; others preferred a nomination by the session, or by a committee of the congregation in conjunction with the session, but giving the people an absolute veto upon such nomination. The question also naturally sprang up, who should be recognised as voters, all communicants, or only heads of families, and males to the exclusion of females? A report by Dr. Cunningham, prescribing general rules for the formation of churches, ordination of elders, and election of pastors, but leaving the details to the discretion of the judicatories, and to further experience, was adopted after some discussion and ha asty expression of extreme opinions on the part of a few members.

The only other point to which we think it necessary to advert is the position taken and the tone adopted by the Free Assembly with respect to other churches. The predominant feeling of the body seemed to be decidedly opposed to all compromise of their distinctive principles, and to all amalgamations or incorporating unions. Towards evangelical Christians in general the tone assumed was one of friendly recognition and respect. Towards other Presbyterian bodies we find in the speeches of the leading members not a friendly spirit merely, but proposals of familiar intercourse and co-operation, so far as these can be maintained without a compromise of principle or the incorporating union of the bodies. Thus far we see nothing but the proofs of an enlightened and profound view of the principles of Christian union, as distinguished from sectarian exclusiveness on the one hand, and a sentimental latitudinarianism on the other, the extreme of yielding

nothing and the extreme of yielding all, from both of which the church has suffered much and is perhaps to suffer more. But while there is so much to commend in the principles adopted by this noble band of confessors, and so much to admire in their conduct, we feel constrained to express our dissent from the principles, which, in some instances, have been avowed by some of the leading organs of the body in reference to the present Established Church of Scotland. They have not only declared their purpose of acting as if "the Established Church had no existence whatever;" but say it is impossible "even occasionally to have fellowship with them;" that "the idea of the Residuary Establishment doing anything valuable for the salvation of souls is ridiculous;" that "they have virtually thrown off the character of a church of Christ." "Let the parish minister," it is said, "be regarded as virtually the one excommunicated man of the district; the man with whom no one is to join in prayer, whose church is to be avoided as an impure and unholy place, whose addresses are not to be listened to, whose visits are not to be received, who is everywhere to be put under the ban of the community."

This course, if right, will be found expedient; if wrong, it must prove disastrous. We are constrained to think it wrong, because it proceeds on the false assumption that the present Established Church of Scotland is not a church of Jesus Christ. That this is a false assumption is to us plain, because according to the common standards of the Free and of the Established Church, and according to the common doctrine of Christendom, and the plain teaching of the scriptures, a church is a body of men professing the true religion. That the Established Church do profess the true religion is plain, because they have the very same Confession of Faith, and therefore make the very same profession that is made by their seceding brethren. If it be said that they differ as to the important doctrine of the lordship of Christ over his church, the answer is, first, that both parties hold to the same verbal statement of that doctrine, and differ only as to the application of it, or as to the principles which flow from it; and secondly, that admitting the Establishment to be in error as to that doctrine, such error cannot work a forfeiture of their church state, unless it cuts them off from Christ and the hope of salvation. This it it cannot do, because, according to the scriptures, all who

repent of their sins and put their trust in Christ are in a state of union with him, and of course in a state of grace and salvation. Besides, the doctrine that a church is not to be regarded as a true church of Christ unless perfectly pure as to its doctrines, is inconsistent with our common standards; it is inconsistent with the Bible, and with common sense and the common judgment of the people of God in all places and in all ages. There is also a glaring inconsistency, in making the practical recognition of the spiritual independence of the church necessary to its very existence, with the past and present conduct of these brethren themselves. It may even be doubted whether, according to their principles, the Church of Scotland itself, before the passage of the Veto Act, had not practically for many generations, renounced this very doctrine of spiritual independence; for it had not only submitted to the domination of the state, but had lent its aid in crushing the rights of the people, and the independence of the church courts, which it now so nobly vindicates.

But without urging that point, it is acknowledged that the church of Scotland, and these brethren themselves, have ever recognised and do still recognise the church of England, the Evangelical church of Germany, and the church of France to be true churches. But with regard to the two former especially, there never has been and is not now any acknowledgment or any practical recognition of the independence of the church. In England the canons of the church have no force but as acts of Parliament, the crown appoints all the bishops, the state or lay patrons appoint to the vast majority of benefices having the cure of souls; no minister can refuse to baptize or administer the Lord's Supper to any and every applicant; he is bound to read the burial service expressing the sure hope of a blessed resurrection, over any baptized person who does not die excommunicated or by his own hand; and he can excommunicate no man except by a long and expensive process before a lay judge. The church of England is bound hand and foot by the state. It is Erastian in principle and Erastian in practice. The same thing is true perhaps even in a greater extent, with regard to the Lutheran or Evangelical church in Germany. All church power has there been practically in the hands of the princes ever since the reformation. They stepped into the places of the bishops and assumed the whole administration of the affairs of the church. They appoint the

consistories, which are civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, composed in part of laymen, which have the power of examining and collating ministers, and of exercising discipline. The whole legislative power is in the state, in whose name and by whose authority even the liturgies are introduced or altered. A doctrine which leads to the conclusion that the church of England is not and never has been a church of Christ, and that there has never been a true church in Germany, is refuted by the reductio ad absurdum.

The attempt which has been made to draw a distinction between these cases and that of the present established church of Scotland, on the ground that the churches of England and Germany never had the truth on this subject committed to them, or never had the light to see it, and the grace to profess it, and therefore are not guilty of the apostacy chargeable on the Scottish establishment, which once professed, but has since practically rejected the doctrine of the independence of the church, cannot we are persuaded satisfy any mind not perverted by undue excitement. By the very statement of the case the error is admitted not to be deadly; and it is hard to see how a body of men falling into an error in which other churches have always been involved, should forfeit thereby the character of a church of Christ. This assumption is in the present instance the more unreasonable, inasmuch as the doctrines professed by the present establishment, are admitted on this as well as on all other points to be, in the view of these brethren, far more pure, more coincident with their own view of the meaning of the word of God, than those professed by other Christian communities whose church state they continue to acknowledge. Here are two bodies, the one far more correct in doctrine, discipline, and government, and far more independent of the state than the other, and yet the latter is a church and the former is not! This is a judgment which cannot command the assent of the people of God.

If the Established Church then is still, on all grounds of principle, to be regarded as a true church, it is in itself a great evil, to treat it as though it were a synagogue of Satan; and this evil must be productive of many others. It need not be remarked that it must produce that alienation and even exasperation which injustice always excites in those who are its objects. Instead of peace and charity, there will be conflict and enmity. And enmity and contention

when not directed against evil, must, as we learn from scripture, grieve the Holy Spirit from whom all spiritual good comes down. This is the great evil which we apprehend from the course which some of our Scottish brethren seem disposed to pursue on this subject. If they are wrong in denying that the Established Church is a true church, they must be wrong in acting on that principle, and such action must be offensive to God, and must have a tendency to grieve from them that Spirit, on whose presence and blessing the success of their noble enterprise entirely depends.

It is a subordinate but still a serious evil, that the course to which we have adverted must in a measure deprive them of the good opinion, sympathy and co-operation of the friends of the Redeemer, in Scotland and other countries. Though we believe that the Established Church is still a Church of Christ, we have no doubt of the wisdom and necessity of the separation, of which we have given a general outline in the preceding pages. It is often the duty of men to separate from a true church. As we are bound to obey God rather than men, so are we bound to withdraw from any community, when we are required either to profess or to do anything contrary to his word, as the condition of our continued union with it. It is because we believe the Free Church to be right in forsaking the Establishment, because we consider the principles which led to this separation true and important, because we admire the talent and decision which the seceders have so conspicuously displayed, and because we revere the moral excellence, the fidelity to God and his cause, which at so great a sacrifice they have exhibited, that we have felt bound in conscience, while giving expression to this admiration, to dissent from the principle to which we have just adverted, and which we believe to be erroneous and of very evil tendency.

There is one other point to which, in this connexion, we wish to call the attention of our readers. They have seen, and doubtless with regret, the expression of opinions and feelings in several quarters, suited to create a misgiving as to the propriety of the cordial co-operation of American Christians in aiding the Free Church of Scotland in her present gigantic struggle. The grand difficulty it seems is, that our Scottish brethren are not "voluntaries," but still adhere to the doctrine of Establishments, and assert the

propriety of a union between the Church and State. What they mean by these avowals we must learn from their own language and not from our own pre-conceived opinions on the subject. "We hold it," says Dr. Chalmers, "to be the duty of governments to give of their substance and means for the maintenance of religion in the land. . . . We hold that every department of the government should be leavened with Christianity, and every functionary in it, from the highest to the lowest, should be under its influence. . . . We are the advocates for a national recognition and national support of religion." It may be proper first to inquire how the doctrine thus expressed differs from that which prevails among ourselves. All admit that the government should be leavened with Christianity, and all that its functionaries should be under its influence. All admit that there should be a national recognition of religion, as in fact there is in our own constitution, in a multitude of our laws and institutions, in the often repeated acts of our chief magistrates, and in the decisions of our judges, declaring Christianity to be a part of the law of the land. But have we any provision by the state for the support of religion? To a certain extent we still have, and formerly we had to a much greater extent. It is the almost universal opinion in this country, that there should be common schools supported by the state or by the law of the land, and that religion should be taught in such schools. The good old plan of having a teacher sustained at public expense, and the people allowed to determine what, and to what extent, religion should be inculcated, has indeed been denounced and opposed by the infidel and irreligious part of the community, but as far as we know it has never been condemned by Christians. Our Scottish brethren, as we understand the matter, go one step further. They apply to preachers the principle which we apply to teachers. They say that the state should make provision, not only for schoolmasters who teach religion, but for ministers, and allow the people, the church, to determine what ministers they shall have, what form of government and worship they shall adopt. what doctrines they shall hear. For various reasons, we do not think this the best plan; we greatly prefer that on which the church has so long and so prosperously acted in our country, and on which it acted for three hundred years after Christ. But will any man say that the difference between our Scottish brethren and ourselves,

as to this point, is so great, as to give a shadow of reason for withholding from them our full and cordial co-operation? Considering how many vital truths we hold in common, considering that they are suffering for the very principles of religious liberty, of which we are so constantly boasting, it does appear to us unaccountable that the mere fact that they apply to preachers the principle which we recognise in its application to teachers, should be regarded as a breaking point, by the strictest conscience. We cannot believe that those public bodies, and those newspaper writers, who have washed their hands so carefully from all stain in this matter, would have felt the necessity of such scrupulous exactness, had they really perceived how small is the difference between our Scottish brethren and ourselves. In this country, the very phrase "church and state" is enough to frighten us from our propriety. We conjure up in our imaginations not only the abuses of a lordly hierarchy, but all the horrors of papal cruelty and oppression. But how long is it since all union between church and state ceased in New England? Is it not evident that every thing depends on the terms of that union? And if for nearly two centuries it operated without serious evil in New England, it may not be so dreadful, when professed as an abstract principle, by brethren who are suffering the loss of all things, because they refuse to submit to such union on terms inconsistent with the spiritual liberties of the people.

We rejoice to believe that there is very little of this spirit of suspicion and spiritual prudery in our churches on this subject. The resolutions of many of our synods, the general tone of our religious papers, the spirit of the various meetings, some of them composed of members of several different religious denominations, which have expressed their views in relation to this matter, encourage us to hope that the expected delegation from the Free Church of Scotland, will be received by the free churches of America, as brothers of the same family, children of the same Father, servants of the same Lord; men, with regard to whom it will be said, in the last day, Inasmuch as ye did it unto these my brethren, ye did it unto me.

At the close of this article, it may be proper to say, in explanation of our silence with respect to the Second Assembly of the Free Church in October last, that we have not yet been able to procure a full continuous report of its proceedings, and not being willing to rely upon partial inci-

dental statements, we have thought it best to confine ourselves at present to the occurrences in May, reserving those of later date to be the subject, if we find it necessary, of a deliberate review hereafter.

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Art. VI.—1. *Remarks on English Churches, and on the expediency of rendering Sepulchral Memorials subservient to pious and Christian uses.* By J. H. Markland, F. R. S. and S. A. Third edition, enlarged. Oxford. 1843. pp. 274.

2. *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture.* The third edition, enlarged. Exemplified by 700 wood cuts. Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo.

3. *Anglican Church Architecture, with some remarks on Ecclesiastical Furniture.* By James Barr, Architect. Second edition. Oxford. 1843. pp. 216, 12mo.

These works are among the fruits of the increased interest which has been felt, within a few years, in the Architecture of the Middle Ages. The singular fate which the Gothic Architecture has undergone would warrant the inference that it gives expression to no general and permanent truth, were we not in a condition to account satisfactorily for the mutations to which it has been subject. Appearing in the early part of the twelfth century, it gave such a distinct and full utterance to some general sentiment of the age, that it spread at once over the whole of Christian Europe. So rapid was its transmission through Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and England, that it remains to this day, a matter of doubt where it originated, the most laborious and minute researches having failed to establish clearly a priority of date for the structures of any one of these countries.

Prior to the introduction of this style, there was no prevalent style of church architecture. The Roman architecture, in the course of its protracted dissolution, had assumed, in the East, the form of what has been termed the Byzantine style; in Italy and Germany it had degenerated into the Lombard, and in England into the Norman style. The churches erected in these several countries prior to the

twelfth century, involved no common principle. Indeed that which chiefly marks them all is the entire want of any principle. There was no other general likeness among them than what arose from a certain resemblance in the details, and from the entire absence of any general idea by which these details might be blended into unity. The church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, the duomo of Pisa, and the Durham Cathedral may be taken as the representatives of the Byzantine, the Lombard, and the Norman styles; and if these buildings be compared together it will be found that, although they resemble each other in the use of the semicircular arch as the principle of support and some other Roman elements, and hence may be classed together under the general term Romanesque, they are nevertheless exceedingly unlike in their general effect. Though they all employed substantially the same elements of construction, the round arch supported by columns fashioned in their proportions and ornaments after the classical architecture, pilasters cornices and entablatures borrowed from the remains of Roman art, openings in the wall whether for doors or windows that were small, comparatively few in number and subordinate to the wall, vaulted ceilings, and domes; yet as these constructive elements were subject to no law, bound together by no one principle which assigned to each its place and function, and formed them into one organic whole, it was inevitable that they should be mingled together in different combinations and proportions according to the capricious fancy of each builder. Hence each country had, with some general resemblance to others, its own peculiar style of building; and no one style was capable of transcending provincial limits, and giving law to the world, because no one rested upon any general principle of beauty or truth.

No sooner however did the Gothic Architecture appear than it diffused itself through all lands where Christian churches were built. This rapid and universal diffusion, however it may be historically accounted for, must find its ultimate explanation in the palpable truth of this style of architecture. Instead of being like the styles which preceeded it, an aggregation of materials and forms of construction, associated and arranged upon no higher principle than that of building a commodious, shapely and convenient edifice, the Gothic style was a connected and organic whole, possessed of a vital principle which rejected every thing that

was heterogeneous, and assimilated all that it embraced. Hence its power and its popularity.

After prevailing for a period of about three centuries this style was displaced by the revived classical architecture of the Italian school. Then came the days in which such men as Sir Henry Wotton stigmatized the glorious fanes which had been erected in this style as Gothic or barbarous, and Evelyn condemned it as a "certain fantastical and licentious mode of building," and the son and biographer of Sir Christopher Wren sneered at the inimitable ceiling of Henry VIIth's Chapel, as "lace and other cut work, and crinkle crankle." The architecture nick-named the Gothic and ever since designated by that term, was then despised and cast out as whimsical, lawless and absurd, and men began to build after a fashion that was deemed the method of the ancients. This classical Architecture had its consummation as in the cathedrals of St. Paul's at London, and St. Peter's at Rome. It is distinguished, even beyond the Romanesque architecture, by the want of any general principle of unity. The Greek pediment or something which was intended to imitate that chief and crowning feature of the Greek temple, together with columnar ordinances fitted to receive and sustain vertical thrusts, is found in connection with round arches, domes, vaulted ceilings, cupolas and spires. That this style was capable, in the hands of such men as Sir Christopher Wren, and Michael Angelo, of producing an imposing interior effect by the expansive dome hung high over head, and by the picturesque combination of the other interior elements of an immense structure, we have sufficient evidence in St. Paul's and St. Peter's; but that it was utterly incapable of producing the higher effects of architectural excellence will be equally evident to any one who will take the several parts of either of those structures and attempt to establish the relation of unity between them. This attempt will inevitably lead to the conclusion that the different parts of the building have no mutual bond of coherence. They are held together by the law of gravitation, they are cemented by mortar, but there are no mutual relations which make them coalesce. The effects which they produce, are due, in chief part, to the purely sensuous phenomena of immense magnitude, and picturesqueness of combination and arrangement. The moment that we attempt to discover that unity without which no work of art can fill and satisfy the mind, we find only discrepancies and contradictions.

The age that rejected the Gothic architecture showed thus its incompetency either to condemn or to approve. Had their censure of the Gothic been founded upon any principles truly applicable as a criterion of excellence, we should have been compelled to admit that this style of architecture expressed something that was peculiar to the three centuries within which it originated and died. The fact of its death, if it could not be shown that it was inflicted in one of those freaks of fancy which whole communities and generations of men sometimes exhibit, would of course show that however fitted it may have been to give outward expression to the mind of Europe during the three centuries of its prevalence, it embodied no universal principles. But when we examine the reasons assigned for its condemnation, we find that they rest upon conventional and affected standards of judgment; and when we look at the buildings which were thought worthy to supplant the Gothic, we see that they are in every respect, whether of constructive art or ideal perfection, immeasurably inferior to their predecessors. We feel warranted therefore, in drawing the conclusion that the displacement of the Gothic architecture was perfectly analogous to those changes which literature has sometimes undergone, when partial and contracted hypotheses have for a season supplanted with their technical canons of criticism, a true and universal method.

It is a remarkable fact that the revival of the Gothic was contemporaneous with the restoration of the true principles of the Greek architecture; and that they both date from the period in which the re-action in the public mind from the mechanical philosophy and sceptical spirit of the last century begins to be distinctly marked. No sooner was the true spirit of the wonderful remains of Athenian art comprehended, then men began to turn to the cathedrals and other structures of the Middle Ages and find in them a transcendent beauty and power. It is now universally admitted by those who have taken the pains to acquaint themselves with the matter, that

> "In those rich cathedral fanes,
> (Gothic ill-named) a harmony results
> From disunited parts; and shapes minute,
> At once distinct and blended, boldly form
> One vast majestic whole."

As each plant in the vegetable world has its principle of unity, and this principle has its signature in the root, the

stem, the leaf, the flower, and the fruit, so has the Gothic architecture its vital principle infused into every part of the structure from the foundation stone to the summit of its towers and spires. The foliations of the arches, the tracery of the windows, and the scooped cells of the branched roof are effloresences of the same germinating principle which casts out the massive buttress, and throws up the towering pinnacle.

But it is one thing to see and feel that the Gothic architecture possesses vitality, and a very different thing to define its principle of life. It is not our purpose, on the present occasion, to attempt any exposition of this matter. All that we desire, for the end we have in view, is that it should be admitted, on the grounds that we have assigned, or through faith in those who have studied the subject, that there is a true art developed in the Gothic architecture. This being admitted, we wish to show that Puseyism displays some of its most marked characteristics in its attempts to comprehend and practice this art.

A great impulse has been given from Oxford to the study of Gothic architecture. A society has been established there for promoting its study, and a number of works on the subject have emanated from the Oxford press. Some of these are curiosities in their way. But without dwelling on the peculiarities of any, we wish to point attention to that which is common to them all.

They exhibit, as might have been anticipated, an exclusive, narrow-minded bigotry, in favour of one particular style of architecture, in connexion with utter ignorance of every other. The author of the Glossary, which is an elaborate, and in many respects, a valuable work, professes to explain the terms used in Grecian and Roman as well as Gothic architecture; but he seldom ventures beyond his beloved Gothic without betraying the most surprising and often ludicrous ignorance. We refer, for illustration, to his definition of the term *cymatium*, in which no less than seven applications of this term are given, every one of which is not only wrong but so absurdly wrong that it is impossible to read them with a grave face. What is still more unpardonable than this, he confounds the *echinus*, the only curved moulding that entered into the structure of the Parthenon, with the tasteless *ovolo* of the Romans, and then confounds both of these with the egg and dart sculpture with which they were sometimes ornamented.

Nor have we been able to find a single article in the book upon any subject connected with Grecian architecture, which is not either grossly erroneous, or so defective as to be worthless, while upon all the details of the Gothic, it is full, clear, and for the most part, correct. The same character runs through the other works which we have placed at the head of our article. They are all one-sided. We have no right to expect that treatises on English Church Architecture, like that of Mr. Barr, should contain an exposition of the principles of Greek architecture, but we have a right to expect that in their allusions to it they should not betray such ignorance as to satisfy us that their devotion to the Gothic is a blind and unintelligent preference. He who commends to the world any particular style of architecture, and while in the act of doing so, shows that he has never appreciated the spirit of beauty that dwells in the temples of the Athenians, can scarcely hope to win the public confidence as an arbiter of taste. The exclusiveness which confines the attention of the architectural bigot to one style, must of course prevent him from fully comprehending even that one. Art is jealous of her secrets and they can be won from her only by a fearless and catholic confidence. The man whose mind is narrowed down to the interests of a party or a sect must be content to remain ignorant of them. He who despises the Parthenon, or looks upon it with cold indifference, can be nothing but a worshipper of stones in York Minster.

Hence we should expect to find, as is the actual fact, that these works betray an inadequate comprehension of the true meaning and spirit of Gothic Architecture. In describing the separate parts of a Gothic edifice and the actual construction of English cathedrals and churches they are sufficiently accurate, but it is evident that they have failed to seize fully the law which makes the parts members of a whole. The traditional authority of the fathers of English architecture, is their source of information and their ultimate bar of appeal. Thus Mr. Barr says, "when designing a church, it is by no means sufficient that we borrow the details of an old building, unless we likewise preserve its general proportions and canonical distribution." He does not here nor elsewhere venture to raise the inquiry whether the "old building" may not itself be faulty in some of its proportions; he nowhere hints at the possibility of our obtaining such an idea of the interior law of the

Gothic architecture in which its essence is comprised, as may enable us to discriminate between different old buildings, and without copying servilely any one combine the excellencies of several, or even originate a design in independence of them all. He who begs thus pusillanimously from the mighty masters of old, no matter how magnificent may be the gifts he receives, will show his beggarly nature through them all. It is not by copying the proportions of old buildings that we can hope to rival them, but by drinking in the spirit of those proportions, until a well-spring of living beauty is opened within us.

The faithfulness with which the appeal to traditional authority is carried out in these works, is truly remarkable. They talk in good set terms often of the Gothic style, and yet always return with undeviating uniformity to the authority of the fathers. Whether they recommend any particular disposition of the chief architectural members of the structure, or the use, among its minor adornments, of "the Cross, the Holy Name, the emblems of the Blessed Trinity, and other mystical devices," the reason given is not that these things flow cut naturally from the great idea which governs the structure, but they "adorned our old ecclesiastical edifices."

In describing the appropriate doorway of a Gothic church, Mr. Barr says, "In England the doorways of the cathedrals and other great churches are seldom features of that magnitude and importance which they are in the same class of ecclesiastical structures on the continent, and it is always advisable to preserve as much as possible the distinctive peculiarities of Anglican church architecture." This is a fair sample of the whole. The end aimed at is not to cultivate a true and vital architecture, but to preserve the peculiarities of English architecture. The true question at issue, in the case stated, was not, what was the practice of English architects, but what would best harmonize with, and assist in carrying out the general idea of the Gothic style. In France and Germany the doorways are of such an imposing height and magnitude, that they constitute a very important feature of the west front; in England, on the contrary, they are comparatively diminutive and insignificant. Which of these two different characters ought to be given to the doorway of a modern Gothic church in England or elsewhere? If the question is to be decided by the obvious impression on the feelings, let any man

compare the west front of York Minster, or Salisbury Cathedral, with that of the Amiens or Rheims Cathedral, and he will not hesitate a moment to decide in favour of the latter. But the only adequate method of deciding such a question, is to ascertain what there is common to all these structures that differ from each other in some of their details; what is it which notwithstanding their circumstantial disagreements gives to them all a sameness of expression; what is there in them that may be taken away, and what that may not be taken away without destroying their character. When these questions have been satisfactorily answered we shall be possessed not of English, French or German architecture, but of the essence of them all, and we shall then be at no loss to decide between the comparative merits of those features in which they differ. To decide, as Mr. Barr does, is to substitute authority for reason.

In like manner Mr. Markland in urging the pious and benevolent to bestow their gifts in the erection or improvement of some particular part of church edifices, cites with approbation, in illustration of his views, the Minstrel's column in the church of St. Mary's, Beverly. This column is a pier with clustered shafts, furnished with a double set of capitals placed at a sufficient distance, the one above the other, to contain a group of figures, with musical instruments, representing the minstrels who erected it. If the Gothic architecture be nothing more than a compendium of traditional teachings then it is only a waste of time to discuss any question connected with it; but if it have any fixed and certain principles, then surely it ought to have been shown that this "Minstrel column" was in keeping with those principles before it was presented as an example to be imitated in the present age. We believe that the Gothic architecture has a real significancy quite other than that which is derived from any associations connected with it, and we are sure that for the expression of whatever may be its purpose, it is dependent chiefly upon its predominating vertical line. In the interior, which is of necessity the most important part of a Gothic edifice, almost its only means of manifesting this vertical tendency is through the pier shafts of the arches, and the vaulting shafts of the ceiling. To break the continuousness of these shafts for the purpose of receiving a set of statues is to destroy the only significancy of the shaft. Whatever may be its goodliness in other respects, as a part of a Gothic interior, it

beeomes, when thus broken, an unmeaning appendage. Such admiration as this, of the Gothie architeeture, is very mueh akin to that of the good old lady who was so mueh moved by the peeuliar eloquence of the word Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia was a good old word, it belonged to the time of the patriarehs, and being delivered moreover in a truly unetuous tone, it imparted a savour to the whole sermon into whieh it entered.

As the Traetarians rest mueh in outward forms, whieh are no neeessary or rational part of a spiritual system of religiou, and whieh, being perfeetly arbitrary and eonventional, eannot but hinder the mind in its progress towards the pereeption of any great eentral truth; so, in art, the same disposition is manifested to divoree the form from the substanee, the body from the spirit whieh animates it; and then, when the whole has been disintegrated, to assign a superstitious value to eaeh separate part. Eaeh doorway must be made to hint darkly at some mystery, the storied windows must deliver up their venerable traditions, and the shafts and arches, the pulpit, the altar and the font, the quaint carvings and mystieal deviees, must all be arranged in aeeordanee with some dream or vision. As the religion of sueh men must be, in a good degree, made up of outward institutions and rites, whieh, having lost their only rational meaning through their disconneetion from the inner truth of the system to which they belong, have a superstitious efficaey attributed to them, so their arehiteeture is an assemblage of parts that having no inward principle of unity ean only exist through some mystical meaning attached to them. Their art is no living reality, but an assemblage of holy relies.

For the same reason that we should be unwilling that any man should judge of religion by the form which it assumes in the teaehings and praetice of the Oxford Traetarians, we would desire also, to see the noble art of arehiteeture rescued from their hands. Arehitecture, properly understood, is undoubtedy as Coleridge pronouneed it, the most diffieult of the fine arts, "it involves all the powers of design, and is seulpture and painting inelusively; it shows the greatness of man, and should at the same time teaeh him humility." It exhibits the greatest difference from nature, that ean exist in works of art, and requires therefore, thoughtful, and earnest study for the diseovery and appreciation of its prineiples. To build a eonvenient and ornate

edifice, whether for domestic or religious purposes is an easy matter; but to dispose building materials in such forms as shall be expressive of intellectual purposes and sentiments, this is a task that demands, for its adequate discharge, other attainments than technical rules, old traditions and the narrow dogmas of a sect. The living and life producing ideas of this art are to be acqured only through "the perception of those relations which alone are beautiful and eternal, whose prime concords can be proved, but whose deeper mysteries can only be felt."*

The Gothic architecture is one of the most wonderful creations of the human mind. The more we study it, the more are we lost in admiration at the skill which has succeeded in employing such an endless multiplicity of details as enter into a Gothic structure, without sacrificing the essential unity of the whole. The idea which evolved it, seems to luxuriate in the greatest abundance of forms, all of which are animated and all in the same spirit. It is of course symbolical, as all true art must be. Any object which does not irresistibly lead the mind beyond itself, and inspire a feeling due not to the qualities of the object but to something far greater and better that is suggested by it, is no work of art. But the symbolism of Gothic architecture, as of all characteristic art, is dependent upon no accidental associations, or conventional appointments. It is not the work of a man, who, having agreed with his fellows, that certain signs shall represent certain objects or qualities. proceeds to use the power with which they have endowed him; but of one who having worshipped beside the fountain of primal beauty has drunk in those essential principles of harmony which must speak to the hearts of all men. The forms that enter into a Gothic cathedral are a figured language, but it is a universal language.

How preposterous then, to mix up with this natural symbolism, deriving its efficacy from that which is true as the human mind and permanent as the race, the purely technical symbolism of any particular creed or age! How absurd to break in upon the harmony that assimilating to itself the voice of each of its manifold parts, pours forth its choral symphonies from the whole, with the crotchets of a school or sect. The "mystic devices," for which Mr. Barr pleads, the sacred monogram, the *vesica piscis*, and other

* Goethe's Works. Vol. xxxix. p. 339.

technical inventions, what have these to do in conjunction with those harmonious forms, and relations, that, partaking of the very essence of beauty, are endowed with natural and indefeasible power to awe, to subdue, to exalt, to refine the human mind.

It may easily be gathered from what we have already said, that we dissent utterly from the sentiment often expressed, that the Gothic architecture is a development of Papal Christianity. It is indeed a religious architecture, as every other true style has been; it is, in some sense, a Christian architecture, but further to limit its generality is to despoil it of its glory and power. Doubtless an architecture might be devised which would be an appropriate symbol of Romanism. So also we might construct a style which would fitly represent the Protestant Episcopal Church, as its doctrines and practises are expounded by the Oxford Tractarians; but it would be widely different from the Gothic. It would be a style which, acknowledging no infallible standards, except as they are interpreted by tradition, would copy "old buildings" without daring to aspire even so high as imitation. It would of course fix attention upon external forms, rather than upon the thought within. Hence also it would limit its views of mental expression to the ideas of power and grandeur through which the mind might be overawed and reduced to an unreasoning submission. It would discourage the robust and manly exercise of the human intellect, and would care little therefore for strict unity and severe harmony, if it might so manage the details as to produce an extemporaneous impression upon the beholder, sufficiently powerful to compel him to yield a slavish obedience to authority. The deeper mysteries of art which are to be felt only by those who have understood its "prime concords," would be altogether beyond its reach. But we feel little interest in tracing out minutely the *idea* of an Episcopal art. It will be exhibited in its concrete form whenever the teachings of such architects as Mr. Barr shall have been carried thoroughly into practice.

ART. VII.—*The Duties of Educated Men; an Oration before the Literary Societies of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., July*, 1843. By George W. Bethune, Minister of the Third Reformed Dutch Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: 1843. 8vo. pp. 40.

ORATIONS at college Commencements are becoming numerous enough to fill several volumes a year. Though a common, we do not consider it an easy sort of composition. Dr. Bethune's is one of the most agreeable of its kind. The lessons enjoined are uniformly good. Some of them are very adroitly communicated, and very wisely supported, by authorities which have great weight with divers among us who are afraid of being learned over much. Like everything of the author's, the discourse is easy and graceful. In an academical exercise such as this, we can endure an amount of citation, and even a sprinkling of Latin and Greek, which we confess we could willingly forego in a discourse *ad populum*.

1. *Manual of Classical Literature. From the German of J. J. Eschenberg, Professor in the Carolinum at Brunswick. With additions, etc., etc.* By N. W. Fiske, Professor in Amherst College. Fourth edition..... Sixth Thousand. Philadelphia: Edward C. Biddle. 1843. 8vo. pp. 690.
2. *Supplemental Plates to the Manual of Classical Literature.* By N. W. Fiske, Professor in Amherst College. Philadelphia: Edward C. Biddle. 1843.

WE do not pretend to have read the whole of this large work; and it would require one to have used it in instruction, to be qualified to give a proper judgment of its merits. We have, however, examined it with some care, at several times, and upon different subjects; and we feel justified in recommending it with some emphasis. It appears to contain all that is in the treatises formerly put into the hands of students, such as Adam, Tooke and Kennet, with a vast collection of facts on kindred subjects, never before brought together in one volume. It purports to be a cyclopedia, of all the apparatus needed by the classical student; treating of Geography, Chronology, Mythology, Greek and Roman Antiquities, the Archæology of Greek and Roman literature, and art, and the History of Greek and Roman Literature. Both teacher and learner here find a suitable

introduction to the reading of the classics, and an invaluable aid while engaged in reading them. The archæology of literature and art is presented in a manner entirely novel, and fitted for general use. In Germany, the original work has passed through a number of editions, and been extensively used in schools. The additions made by Mr. Fiske have been very considerable: and the multitude of striking plates, which distinguish this edition, is one of its most remarkable and useful traits. Of these there are more than eighty, of the full size of the page.

In comparing this with the admirable work of Smith, recently edited with great additions by Professor Anthon, it is to be observed, that while the latter is far more complete on the points which it touches, the book we are here noticing is more comprehensive, especially in respect to Geography, History, Mythology and Literature.

An Address delivered before the Washington and Franklin Literary Societies of La Fayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, at the eighth annual Commencement. September 20, 1843. By William A. Porter, A. M. Easton. pp. 37.

An interesting and creditable discourse upon a well-selected subject; namely, that the human mind has never been so successfully cultivated, nor produced fruits so abundant, as where opportunities for improvement have been fewest. The nature of the investigation leads the author into an extended and diversified induction of particular instances. He adduces the origin of Christianity, the Reformation, the French Revolution, and the rise of our own government; the chief names in Science, Literature and the Arts; and employs these to show the severe but effectual training by which men are made great. He proceeds to point out the duty of society to such men, especially in regard to the fostering of genius. From which he deduces arguments for the most laborious discipline, and for the severest virtue. The manner of the orator, throughout, is both pleasing and forcible.

Memoir of the Life, Labours, and Extensive Usefulness of the Rev. Christmas Evans: a distinguished minister of the Baptist denomination in Wales. Extracted from the Welsh Memoirs, by David Phillips. New York. M. W. Dodd. 1843. pp. 258. 12mo.

IT is not possible, in the short space which is allowed us, to say all that is suggested by this interesting volume. We have been familiar, for many years, with the name of Christmas Evans, as the Whitefield of Wales; but we never knew, until this biography taught us, how truly he deserved the title. No one can read the memoir, without acknowledging of its subject, that he was a great man, and an eminent servant of Christ. Powerful intellect was united with extraordinary imagination. His argument in a singular manner embodied itself in the imagery of a native rhetoric. We no longer wonder at the estimation in which he was held by Robert Hall. The effects of his preaching were almost without a parallel.

Although Mr. Evans left the Presbyterians for the Baptists, we, who do not give rites the chief place, are content with the change; for the Presbyterians whom he abandoned were unsound. Wales presents the anomaly of Calvinistic Methodists and Arminian Presbyterians. Mr. Evans was a thorough-paced Calvinist; not a follower of Williams or of Fuller. For a time he was entangled in the meshes of Sandemanianism, but he escaped as from a dangerous error, and his testimony to the unspiritual and soul-lulling influence of that scheme is intelligent and valuable. We can freely recommend this unpretending book, to all who can prize an uncut diamond.

The Book of Poetry: Prepared for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia: 1844. 12mo. pp. 264.

WE respect the policy of the Board which has led them to issue works of beautiful exterior. The Religious Tract Society of London, like ours an evangelical and Calvinistic body, has found the advantage of the same method. This volume is eminently beautiful, and Dr. Engles has furnished us with a selection of delightful Christian poetry. With scarcely an exception, we regard the pieces as worthy of this elegant garb, and the volume as highly deserving the praise which has been bestowed on it in the public prints. It is peculiarly fitted to be presented as a token of Christian friendship.

The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. By Philip Doddridge, D.D. Philadelphia. Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1843. 12mo. pp. 323.

FOR us to recommend such a work, would be an imperti-

nence. Its best praise is the thousands whom, by the blessing of God, it has led to the Redeemer. It has so long taken its place by the side of the immortal works of Bunyan and Baxter, that all we have to do, is to tell our readers where they may find it in a new edition, which has every good quality they could desire. It is embellished with a pleasing likeness of the author.

Remarkable Places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. Prepared for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia: 1844. 18mo. pp. 124.

This is a little book of plates and descriptions, of Mount Ararat, Sinai, Jericho, Babylon, Nineveh, Damascus, Tyre, Zidon, Jordan, Carmel, Jerusalem and places adjacent, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tiberias and Patmos. It is not only a scriptural but a beautiful work, and we welcome it as a suitable present for Bible-reading youth.

The Lives of the British Reformers, embellished with twelve portraits. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of of Publication. 1844. 12mo.

In the estimate of any good judge, the lithographic impressions which adorn this work, are worth its whole cost. It gives the lives of those great Reformers, whose works have been published by the Board in twelve volumes. These witnesses for the truth include Wickliff, Bilney, Tindal, Lady Jane Grey, Latimer, Hooper, Bradford, Ridley, John Rogers, Knox, Jewell, Fox, Bale and Coverdale. The memoirs are well prepared, and comprise a fund of instruction with regard to the reformation in Great Britain. As the Introduction suggests, it is adapted to the use of those who cannot conveniently purchase the whole set of the British Reformers. Of this, as of all the publications of our Board, the typography, plates and binding are of the very first order.

The History of the Church of England to the Revolution, 1688. By Thomas Vowler Short, D. D. Bishop of Sodor and Mann. First American from the third English edition. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. New York: Saxton & Miles. 1843. pp. 352.

This is a very compactly printed and neat volume, containing a great deal of matter at a very low price. The work

itself is valuable, partly because it treats of the origin and progress of one of the most important divisions of the Christian church, and partly because the author has condensed a great deal of information in a comparatively short compass. The book is of course decidedly Episcopal in its principles and spirit; but it is not Laudean. Though decided in asserting the full claim of prelacy, it is not indiscriminate in its praise of "church men;" nor denunciatory in its tone towards other portions of the one, catholic, apostolic church. This in our days is a great deal.

The History of the Church of England however is yet to be written. There is no work extant which fully and fairly develops the principles on which it was founded; which shows how and why its form of government is what it is; how and why her liturgy and rubrics are what they are; which traces the history of doctrine among her members and shows how the conflicting elements of her standards have worked themselves out, sometimes the Calvinism of her articles and sometimes the Popery of her liturgy gaining the ascendancy, and still more frequently the worldliness of her clergy obliterating in a great measure both forms of doctrine which are mixed but not mingled in her formularies. There is no work which enables us to answer the question, how she has fulfilled her vocation; how far she has taught the gospel to the millions committed to her care; how far her teaching has been accordant with the scripture, so far as it has reached, and how large a portion of her charge has been allowed to grow up in ignorance around her. These are the really important points of her history, which ought to be brought out. Her excellencies and defects would thus be made apparent, and the Christian world would see how far the extension of her principles and influence is desirable or otherwise.

The Great Change: a Treatise on Conversion. By George Redford, D. D., LL.D. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 1843. pp. 179.

SUCH a work as this ought not to be lightly commended. Any book which proposes to teach men what they must do, or what they must experience, in order to be saved, is a very serious matter. The writer and publishers of such a book incur a heavy responsibility, which is shared by all those who endeavour to promote its circulation. The great desideratum of all such works is of course, truth; the strict

accordance of all its doctrines with the word of God. The quality next perhaps in importance, is perspicuity or simplicity in its statements; and thirdly, a right spirit, which supposes the writer to feel the power of the truths which he presents, and to have the good of his readers directly and constantly in view. We think this little work has all these excellencies in an eminent degree. We have seldom read a book of the kind, which made a deeper or more favourable impression on our mind. We believe few persons will read it without wishing to place a copy of it, in the hands of those dear to them whom they are anxious to bring to the knowledge of the truth.

The Great Aim of the Sunday School Teacher. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 1843. pp. 127.

The appearance of this book, a 16mo. beautifully printed, is somewhat deceptive. From its diminutive size, we took it up under the impression that it was a child's book; but we soon found that it was written by a man and for men. Our only fear is that its strongly marked intellectual, and somewhat philosophical, character may elevate it above the reach of many of our Sunday School teachers. This peculiarity is indeed counteracted by the perspicuity and strength of its style, and by the decidedly religious and practical character of its principles and aim. The Sunday School teacher will be surprised to find how difficult, dignified and responsible is the work in which he is engaged; and if the book has on him the effect it is eminently fitted to produce, he will feel that he cannot acquit himself of his obligations, without strenuous effort and much prayer.

Sermon on the Design and Duties of the Christian Ministry. By the Right Rev. John Johns, D.D. Delivered before a convention of the diocese of Virginia. Alexandria: 1843. pp. 19.

There is no one subject which affords a surer touchstone of a man's doctrine, as it concerns popery or protestantism, than his views of the Christian ministry. If he regards the minister as a preacher of the word, you may confidently conclude that he is a Protestant; if he regards him as a priest, you may as confidently infer that he is, to all intents and purposes, a Papist. The latter term designates the adherents of a certain system of doctrine, and not the mere advocates of the supremacy of the pope. That Bishop

Johns concurs on this germinating point with the founders of the Church of England, and with the whole of Reformed Christendom, our readers will be prepared to expect. His sermon might have been preached by Cranmer, or Luther or Calvin, of the days of the Reformation, or by Moore or Green in our own time and country. We should hear little of controversy about mere forms of government, if the pure gospel were but preached by those who exalt the church above Christ, and forms above truth, as it is preached by Bishop Johns and other honoured men of the Episcopal church. The end of the ministry, says the author of this excellent sermon, is to save those that hear. It is "appointed for the salvation of sinners." "The ground, and the only meritorious ground of our pardon and acceptance with God, is to be found in the merits of the obedience and the atoning efficacy of the death of the Lord Jesus Christ. In this righteousness we become personally interested by faith. This faith is a fruit of the renewing influences of the Holy Ghost." "We are saved meritoriously by Christ; efficiently by the Holy Spirit; instrumentally by faith, the ordained means of producing which, and its blessed effects, is the preaching of the word of reconciliation."

We should like to go on and extract much of this interesting and faithful discourse, but our space forbids, and our object is merely to express our grateful pleasure in reading such words of truth, from one whose talents and station promise so much for the promotion of true evangelical religion in our land.

Homely Hints, chiefly addressed to Sunday School Teachers. By Old Humphrey. New York: Robert Carter. Pittsburgh: Thomas Carter. 1844. pp. 241.

THIS work appears to be characterized by the sound sense and raciness which distinguish the other productions of this popular writer. Sunday School teachers may find in it much to aid and encourage them in their work.

The Believer: A Series of Discourses, by Rev. Hugh White. First American from the Seventh Dublin edition. New York: Robert Carter. Pittsburgh: Thomas Carter. 1843. pp. 252.

THESE discourses are practical rather than doctrinal. Their chief recommendation seems to be their fervent de-

votional spirit, which connected with their evangelical sentiments, and the correct and lively style sufficiently account for the popularity which the fact of their having reached a seventh edition shows them to have gained. Their pious author is already known as the writer of the volumes entitled "Meditations on Prayer,"—"The Second Advent," &c.

Letters to a Very Young Lady. Philadelphia: The American Sunday School Union. 1843.

This handsome volume has every thing to recommend it; good sense, good principles and a good spirit. It is written with that happy felicity of diction which imparts a pleasure to the reader which he is often at a loss to account for, as the style is so excellent as not of itself to attract attention to itself.

The Anxious Bench. By the Rev. J. W. Nevin, D. D., Professor of Theology in the Seminary of the German Reformed Church. Chambersburg: 1843. pp. 56.

Delicacy in regard to the feelings of pious but misguided brethren, has kept many from giving public utterance to the opinions which are here so forcibly and seasonably urged by Dr. Nevin. They are opinions which have again and again been presented in this work. The 'Anxious Bench,' as it is barbarously called, after having been by false zeal erected into a third sacrament, has gradually worked out its proper results, and in most of our churches has fallen into discredit. But it is still so far upheld in certain connexions, as to justify an earnest endeavour to show that it is neither salutary nor safe; which is the precise aim of this pamphlet. Its proper place is in union with the methods of Finney, and the self-conversion of the Oberlin Evangelist. In the main argument of this pamphlet, Dr. Nevin has our hearty concurrence. He maintains by proof which we consider unanswerable, that this device presents a false question for the conscience; that it unsettles true seriousness; that it usurps the place of the cross; and that it results in lasting, wide-spread spiritual mischief. He fully answers the common apologies for it; as that it brings the sinner to a decision; that it is an open self-committal; and that it gives force to his purpose. We have long perceived that many of those on whom such effects are produced have been the forward, the

sanguine, the rash, the self-confident and the self-righteous. And as a means of giving effect to truth and promoting impression, we should prefer rending the garments or wearing sackcloth and ashes; which have scriptural authority. The great work of converting sinners to God demands instruments and measures of higher authority and more heavenly temper than the anxious bench. It is our prayer that our church may be visited more widely and frequently than it has ever been, by great awakenings and abundant increase. In order to this, we pray that preachers may be more self-denying, laborious, affectionate and believing, and sermons more burning and pungent, and, where occasion demands, more frequent also; and that prayer and exhortation, public and private, be largely increased. No blessing is more to be desired, than the simultaneous conversion of all the impenitent in every church. "The Lord our God add unto his people, how many soever they be, an hundred fold;" but why should our brethren "delight in this thing?" 2 Sam. xxiv: 3. All the new measures of popery came in upon similar grounds. Let us confide in God's weapon—the sword of the Spirit.

A discourse on the True Idea of the State as a Religious Institution, together with the Family and the Church ordained of God. Delivered Sept. 5, 1843, before the Porter Rhetorical Society of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. By Tayler Lewis, Esq., Professor of Greek in the University of the City of New York. Andover: 1843. pp. 56.

THERE is no writer whose productions perplex us more than those of Professor Lewis, in our attempts to characterize them. On every page we behold the indubitable marks of elegant scholarship, profound reflection and devout feeling. Yet so unwonted is the nomenclature and so obscure at times the very enunciation of his tenet, that we fear alike to condemn and to assent.

This is more than an occasional discourse, to be hastily perused and laid aside. It is a profound discussion of some of the most momentous questions connected with government, and shews the influence of ancient learning and philosophy. Occasionally we think the Professor has trodden on the utmost verge of what is safe, in regard to the authority of actual governments: but we warmly and zealously concur with him in his views respecting the right

of one generation to lay their successors under obligation. We dare not subscribe to every opinion; indeed there are statements here which we are not sure that we fully comprehend. But it is impossible to avoid being struck with the bold and original manner in which the author treats a subject, which is every day handled by demagogues and superficial politicians in a way to excite disgust. We have moreover to thank Professor Lewis, for turning aside, ever and anon, to deliver a mighty blow on behalf of old-fashioned orthodoxy. His Platonism seems in no degree to have made him either a sceptic or a rationalist, and we discern the reality of genuine Calvinism, under the philosophic diction of the Academy. He will doubtless be claimed as a transcendentalist, by many who usurp the name. Such he is not, in the American understanding of the term. True, his flights are lofty, but they are not without an end. He may be called an idealist, not in the sense of sceptical denial of the things which are, but as an avowed champion for the vindication of *ideas* from the charge of being empty abstractions. Professor Lewis contends for the idea of a State, as something more than a congeries of voters, as an ordinance of God, and for law, as something more than conventional *vox populi*. He deals harshly with the sovereignty of the people, and ascribes the cogency of government to the sovereignty of God. He regards law as not the efflux and exponent of popular will, but as a sacred agency formative of that will; not a changeful effect, but a ruling cause. He accordingly looks higher for the origin of obligation to law, than to the consent of the governed, whether expressed or implied. The State, in his view, is not the people, but that ideal whole which is a divine ordinance, which is informed by the spirit of law, and which is above and separate from all the transient phases of polity; a persistent organism distinct from the present component parts, as the man is distinct from the atoms which constitute his body at a given moment. He therefore regards government as a divine institution, necessary to the divine institution, necessary to the full development of perfect humanity. But we fear to attempt an analysis of a system so remote from popular notions and so liable to be misunderstood. Our attempt to state the drift of his argument has been free from any controversial intention. Those who comprehend the bearing of the speculations, will obtain the work itself, and will find it to be no ordinary production.

The Bruised Reed: a Memoir of the Rev. Henry Möwes, late pastor of Altenhausen and Ivenrode, Prussia. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 139.

IT is useful to contemplate evangelical piety under phases which do not commonly present themselves in our own country. We have often been struck with the character of German religion, as affectionate and joyful. Such, in a high degree, was that of Möwes. Seldom have we read a memoir, in the subject of which, while the outward man perisheth, the inward man is more renewed day by day. As the sufferings of Christ abounded in him, so his consolation also abounded by Christ. The whole of his Christian life was a taking pleasure in infirmities and distresses, and a glorying in tribulation. It is a book of rare merit, and will, we doubt not, refresh the soul of many a sufferer. While the Sunday School Union issue and circulate by thousands, such books as this, and the Holy War and the Great Change, we should think it a most short-sighted policy for Presbyterians to discountenance their enterprise. As we have always done, we bid them God speed.

Guide for Writing Latin; consisting of Rules and Examples for practice. By John Philip Krebs, Doctor of Philosophy and principal School Director in the Dutchy of Nassau. From the German, by Samuel H. Taylor, Principal of Phillips Academy. Andover: Allen, Morrill and Wardwell. 1843. 12mo. pp. 479

WE hail this book as indicating a return to the good old system of exercises, familiar in all schools after the English model. It has the same end with the useful works of Arnold, Crombie and Grotefend. We have no belief that genuine Latinists will arise among us, till schoolboys are made to write Latin for years together. The original work of Krebs has attained a higher reputation in Germany than perhaps any of its numerous rivals. To pronounce intelligently on the book would demand a sedulous use of it with pupils. We have cursorily looked through the whole, and have examined about fifty pages with minute attention. There are some harsh and some obscure places in the version, and some venial typographical blemishes, but we are ready to commend it as the best work which has appeared on this subject from the American press. A student who, under proper guidance and

correction, should carefully write the whole of these exercises, would, in our opinion, have learned more of Latin construction, idiom and style, than could be possibly obtained by perusing a dozen authors in the ordinary way. The execution of the volume is elegant.

Father Clement, a Roman Catholic Story. By the author of "The Decision," "Profession is not Principle,' &c. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 1843. 12mo. pp. 155.

This book, by a lady whose name is deservedly celebrated, contains, fictitious as it is, more valuable truth than many elaborate volumes against Popery. We perused it many years ago, not only with interest, but with a sense of fascination and profound feeling. It is the ablest of Miss Kennedy's striking works. The Papists have been so much galled by it, as to produce a tale on their part; a most lame and impotent affair.

Neal's History of the Puritans. Edited by John O. Choules, M. A. With portraits on steel. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York. Harper and Brothers. 1843. 8vo. pp. 144.

Among a multitude of new productions, we rejoice to observe, what even our scanty list may indicate, a growing demand for old books of established reputation. The publication of Neal is opportune, when anti-puritan and semi-popish opinions are rife. It has long been the treasury of information for non-conformists, in regard to the testimony and sufferings of their fathers. The present edition is, by far, the cheapest ever published; and we wish for it an extended circulation.

The Power of Faith, exemplified in the Life and Writings of the late Mrs. Isabella Graham. A new edition, enriched by her narrative of her husband's death, and other select correspondence. New York: Robert Carter. 1843. 12mo. pp. 440.

Few of our readers need a re-introduction to the merits of this work, which has become classic among American religious biographies. It is perhaps from some early predilection, but we could not name a record of experience, which we consider more edifying. Here the suffering

Christian will find the mighty supports of grace, even in a feeble subject; and will see how the strongest doctrines of Calvinism become assimilated, to nourish and corroborate the new nature. Mrs. Graham was a woman of uncommon clearness and strength of understanding, sound judgment, thorough knowledge of the scripture and of reformed theology, animated devotion and a melting heart. There is not, in her history, a symptom of enthusiastic impulse; but it is fraught with devout affection. As a letter-writer, she excelled, and we do not hesitate to pronounce her compositions as remarkable for vigour and simple grace of diction, as for truth and piety. The amount of matter, which first appears in this edition, gives it new value.

The Dangers of a College Life: A Discourse delivered in Nassau Hall, December 3, 1843. By James Carnahan, President of the College of New Jersey. Published at the request of the Students. Princeton. John T. Robinson. 1843.

It speaks well for the College that such a discourse should have been demanded for publication by the ingenuous youth to whom it was delivered; and we would add this sign, to others within our knowledge, which show that moral and religious considerations have increasing weight in this venerable institution. Like every thing which proceeds from the pen of President Carnahan, it is marked with sobriety, judgment, and strong sense. It is also clear, faithful and pungent, and it was heard with deep impression. It is such a discourse as every wise parent would desire his son to hear. In particular the counsels against intoxication, and the persuasives to total abstinence, are convincing and even pathetic. It would be difficult to do any thing which would more recommend our college, than to give wide diffusion to a body of advices from its head, which are so wise and truly parental.

Elijah the Tishbite. By F. W. Krummacher, D.D. Author of the "Martyr Lamb," "Dew of Israel," etc. New York. Robert Carter. 1843. 18mo. pp. 458.

A new interest attaches, in America, to the name of Dr. Krummacher, since his election to the presidentship of Marshall College. And though our country is denied the favour of having this eloquent and pious man within its bounds, we can all rejoice at the extent of his ministerial

usefulness at home, and of that authorship of which we feel the influence across the Atlantic. The work before us has been much read in England and America as well as in Germany. It contains much scriptural truth, and is throughout of an excellent spirit. The diction is highly wrought, and the flights of a lively fancy sometimes soar into questionable allegory and very erroneous interpretation; but for a large class of readers, this very exuberance has its charm; and when it is the vehicle of substantial truth, we would be among the last to object. Indeed we can congratulate our country, at receiving now and then articles more cordial and exhilarant than the expositions which prevail among ourselves. Many portions of this work, even in a version, are highly eloquent, and every page tends to awaken Christian feeling.

The Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Natare. By Richard Whately, D.D. Archbishop of Dublin. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 91.

Though this brochure has been laid on our table at the latest hour in which anything could be prepared for the present number, we cannot refrain from giving to it a few words of such commendation as a most hasty perusal will justify. The name of Dr. Whately is a sufficient pledge, that these pages contain nothing wild, nothing violent, and nothing weak. The substance of the work was delivered in a series of discourses before the University of Oxford. The author treats of Superstition, Vicarious Religion, Pious Frauds, Authority, Persecution, and Trust in Names and Privileges. Papists are found guilty of idolatry in their mass; and Episcopalians are gently but significantly warned of kindred abuses among themselves. Under the second head, Dr. Whately establishes the sole priesthood of the Lord Jesus Christ. On the subject of Persecution, as might have been expected, he defends many of the exclusive regulations of the Establishment and the Universities. But though, here and elsewhere, Presbyterians will find some applications of principles in which they cannot concur, they will in the main regard Dr. Whately as gathering with them. In every chapter they will recognise the placid strength of a great reasoner, and will rejoice that in a time of general defection such champions are raised up in the British Church. Especially will every friend of decorous

controversy esteem this, and other works of the same author, models of that quiet mode of demolition, which makes no outcry for the very reason that it is conscious of power; dealing in soft words and hard arguments.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the United Dioceses of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin, at his primary visitation in September, 1842. By James Thomas O'Brien, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, &c. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 96.

THE particular platform of Episcopacy upon which Bishop O'Brien takes his stand, may be discerned from the following sentence: "All our great Divines, who maintain the reality and the advantages of a succession *from the Apostles' time*, of Episcopally-consecrated Bishops, and Episcopally-ordained ministers in the Church, and who rejoice in the possession of it by our own Church as a signal blessing and privilege, not only did not maintain that it is absolutely essential to the being of the Church, but are at pains to make it clear, that they do not hold that it is." In connexion with some things which are exclusively episcopalian, Irish, and even local, this Discourse gives us much of general interest, and high merit. In particular, it may be regarded as a rapid but able survey of the whole Puseyite scheme, which is exposed and exploded with great force of argument. The charge comprises a full and satisfactory history of the Oxford movements and opinions, from their very inception; in which respect it has more than a temporary value. The enterprising publishers are entitled to the thanks of the Christian public, for the useful books which they continue to issue, at so cheap a rate. We cannot but lament, however, the extraordinary typographical errors in the Greek quotations; see, in particular, pp. 80 and 81.

Jamaica, its past and present state. By James M. Phillippo, of Spanish Town, Jamaica, for twenty years a Baptist Missionary in that island. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 176.

SINCE the memorable act of Augnst 1, 1838, the island of Jamaica has been an object of special interest to Americans. We have always looked upon it as a dispensation of Providence strikingly favourable to our country, that the experiment of emancipation should have a fair trial, on so

grand a scale, in the British colonies, before any similar measure should be adventured among ourselves. And however opposite may be the opinions among us, as to the wisdom of that proceeding, it is equally incumbent on all to become possessed of the true state of the case, in a matter which is thus reduced to a question of fact. The work before us evidently proceeds from one who is competent to give the desired information, up to a certain point. It must be owned however, that this point is far anterior to any at which the problem can be considered as fairly solved. But it abounds in history and statistics which are entertaining and valuable. It affords a narrative of the principal events connected with the island, from its discovery; the rise and progress both of slavery and emancipation; and particularly the history of religious effort. Mr. Phillippo is, for obvious reasons, more full in regard to his own denomination; but he speaks liberally of all other Christians. His picture of West Indian Slavery, is dark indeed; more so than any true account of bondage in the United States could be. He is moreover, a zealous and undisguised abolitionist; and as one who ranks himself among a once persecuted party, he writes on these topics with peculiar warmth. We are nevertheless, on this as on every subject, to hear witnesses, whatever may be their testimony; and we are prepared to expect that the book will be read with avidity.

1. *The Farmer's Daughter.* By Mrs. Cameron. New York: Robert Carter. Pitsburgh: Thomas Carter. 1841. pp. 179.
2. *Jessy Allan, The Lame Girl. A Story founded on facts.* By Grace Kennedy. From the ninth Edinburgh edition. New York: Robert Carter. Pittsburgh: Thomas Carter. 1843. pp. 107.

These are two interesting and well written little books, the moral of which is excellent.

A Vindication of the Scottish Covenanters: consisting of a Review of the first Series of the "Tales of my Landlord." By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell. New York: Saxton & Miles. 1843. pp. 147.

That England and America are indebted to the Covenanters and Puritans for their civil and religious liberty is a

fact which all classes of writers have at times acknowledged. It is no less true that these men have been held up to the ridicule instead of the reverence of mankind; their peculiarities of speech or manners, being made the standard of judgment instead of their strength of intellect, their power of will, their fear of God and fearlessness of man, their self-devotion, constancy and piety. Historians, novelists and poets have vied with each other in endeavouring to make the world laugh at those who have been among the greatest benefactors of their race. The reason is plain: They were not of the world, and therefore the world hateth them. Dr. M'Crie's interesting vindication of their character, however conclusive, will not change this state of feeling, which has a source which no correction of misrepresentations, and no force of demonstration can reach. This consideration, however, does not lessen the value of his labours. It is still important that those who are willing to know the truth should have the means of acquiring it; and that those who have a higher standard of character than the cut of the hair or the tone of the voice, should be satisfied that those who cropped their heads, and spoke through their noses, were men who had more brains under their close cut hair and more that could stir the depths of the human soul in their nasal voices, than courtly cavaliers can ever either comprehend or withstand.

1. *The Bible in Spain.* By George Borrow. 1843.
2. *The Zincali: or an account of the Gipsies of Spain.* By George Borrow. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell. New York: Saxton and Miles. 1843.

THESE two books of established reputation, Mr. Campbell has put forth in a very neat and compact form.

Campbell's Foreign Semi-Monthly Magazine: a Select Miscellany of European Literature and Art. 1843.

THE selections for this work seem in general to be made with good taste and judgment. Each number is embellished by a striking engraving, and contains seventy-two pages, forming annually three handsome volumes of nearly six hundred pages each. Price five dollars a year. Having great faith in pictures, as a means of culture and source of knowledge, we think the plan of this work is worthy of commendation, and its price, considering its extent, and the richness of its embellishments, is very moderate.

The Kingdom of Christ. By Richard Whately, D.D. Archbishop of Dublin. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell. New York: Saxton & Miles. 1843. pp. 93.

We have already noticed this work at length in our pages. We now mention its title to give the satisfactory information that for the insignificant price of twenty-five cents, the public may obtain in a very neat form the most logical and conclusive refutation of the High Church theory of the church, which has appeared during the present century. A refutation which is none the less effective because it comes from an Archbishop.

The Huguenot Captain: or the Life of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné, during the Civil Wars of France, in the reigns of Charles IX., Henry III., Henry IV., and the minority of Lewis XIII. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell. New York: Saxton & Miles; and the principal booksellers throughout the United States. 1843. pp. 121. Price 25 cents.

This is an exceedingly interesting work. It exhibits a specimen of an extinct race; a form of character of which there are no examples extant. It relates also to one of the most momentous periods of modern history, when the destiny of France was trembling in the balance, and when, alas! the scales turned in favour of popery and death.

Persuasives to Early Piety, interspersed with suitable Prayers. By Rev. J. G. Pike. New York: Robert Carter. Pittsburg: Thomas Carter. 1843. pp. 438

A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D., late fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company. By the Rev. John Sargent, M. A. From the tenth London Edition, corrected and enlarged. With an introductory essay and an appendix by the American Editor. Fourth Edition. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal St. Pittsburgh: Thomas Carter. 1844.

This is a a complete and very attractive edition of a memoir, which, in point of interest and usefulness, has no superior and very few approaching to equality, in the host of biographies which the past and the present generation have given birth. We are glad to inform our readers of the opportunity to procure the book, in a new and perfect edition.

The Exodus of the Church of Scotland: and the claims of the Free Church of Scotland to the Sympathy and Assistance of American Christians. By Thomas Smyth, D. D. Charleston. 1843. pp. 48.

THIS sermon owes its existence and publication to the interesting fact that Christians, belonging to seven religious denominations, united in requesting its delivery and afterward, its publication. This liberality is highly creditable to the religious community of Charleston, and may be regarded as an auspicious omen of of the catholic spirit in which the claims of the Free Church of Scotland will be received in this country. Dr. Smyth has performed in an effective manner the task imposed upon him, in exhibiting the principles on which that church is founded, and its claims on the sympathy and assistance of American Christians.

The voice of the Church One, under all the successive forms of Christianity: A discourse pronounced at the opening of the Theological School at Geneva. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D. D. Translated by the Rev. R. Smith, Waterford. New York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1844. pp. 63.

THE differences between Christians are kept so constantly in view, by their controversies and contentions, we are apt to lose sight of the great body of evangelical truth which is the common heritage of the church in all ages and in all its forms. To bring this into view is the design of this discourse, in which M. D'Aubigné considers the church during four periods. The first, which he calls the primitive, or form of life, when the great truths of the gospel were held as the foundation and source of spiritual life, but not presented with much doctrinal precision; the second, the period of Arius and Athanasius, Pelagius and Augustin, he calls the age of dogma, during which these same truths were canvassed and settled with exactness of definitions before unknown; the third, the period of the schoolmen; the fourth, that of the Reformation. In all these periods he shows that the doctrine of the Trinity, of the depravity and the helplessness of man; of justification through the righteousness of Christ, and of the necessity of the influence of the Spirit, were ever held and constitute the real united testimony of the church. This is done in the vivacious style of the author, and with that mixture of philosophical acumen and poetic genius for which he is remarkable.

A voice from Antiquity to the men of the Nineteenth Century: or Read the Book. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. New York: John S. Taylor. 1844. pp. 69.

Another characteristic little work by the same author, designed to recommend, by the united testimony of the ancient church, the reading of the Bible, or faith in the word of God, as the only corrective of the evils and dangers of society.

Sequel to Apostolical Succession Examined, being an answer to an Episcopalian's Comments upon the Apostolical Succession. By William S. Potts, D. D. St. Louis. 8vo. pp. 31.

This is a continuation of the controversy noticed in a former number as having arisen from the publication of a sermon by Dr. Potts before the Presbytery of St. Louis. The personal allusions of the pamphlet can of course have only a local interest; but it affords very gratifying evidence of the attention paid to controverted points by some of our most popular ministers, as well as an assurance that the groundless pretensions of our opponents will not be suffered to act upon the public mind without a timely antidote.

The Reply of Rev. R. C. Grundy to a Pamphlet by a Catholic Layman, in answer to Three Discourses of his on Roman Catholicism, delivered in the town of Springfield, Kentucky, August 13th, 1843. Maysville 8vo. pp. 23.

The remarks just made upon another controversial publication from the West, apply almost without modification to the one before us, in which as in the former, there are two parts or elements easily distinguished, the one of a personal and local nature, scarcely intelligible to a distant reader, the other of a higher and more permanent importance, showing considerable research and a zeal for the truth, heightened in this case by the author's personal interest in relatives and friends, whom he believes to be under dangerous delusion.

The Protestant Reformation, its Cause and Influence. An Address delivered before the Society of Alumni of South Hanover College, July 25, 1843. By Rev. S. Ramsay Wilson. Cincinnati. 8vo. pp. 32.

The subject selected by the orator on this occasion is

certainly one of far more interest and genuine importance than those usually chosen in like cases, and although, as might have been expected, he makes no attempt to throw new light upon a subject so familiar, he is fairly entitled to the higher praise of having urged, with earnestness and force, upon the minds of his young hearers, a series of facts, which instead of losing are continually gaining in historical interest and practical importance. The declamatory tone of the address which certainly detracts from its merit as a piece of writing, may have added much to its effect when orally delivered. It is indeed a disadvantage to which speakers upon such occasions are invariably subject, that the same tone and manner of expression can scarcely be made equally acceptable to a hearer and a reader.

The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul, illustrated in a course of serious and practical addresses, suited to persons of every character and circumstance; with a devout meditation, or prayer, subjoined to each chapter. By Philip Doddridge, D.D. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal Street. Pittsburgh: Thomas Carter. 1843.

THIS edition is in clear type, on good white paper, and is neatly and tastefully gotten up. It is uniform in style with the series of valuable practical books which Mr. Carter has given to the religious public. More than this, it is unnecessary to say.

Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. October, 1843. Witness Newspaper. Edinburgh. 1843.

AFTER our article on the Church of Scotland was in type, we received, through the kindness of a friend, several numbers of the Witness newspaper, containing a regular and full report of the proceedings in October, and although there is nothing which requires to be noticed at great length, we have no doubt that a very concise summary of facts will be agreeable to many of our readers. The Assembly met at Glasgow, Oct. 17, and was opened with a sermon by Dr. Chalmers. Dr. Brown of Glasgow was unanimously called to the chair. A ratio of representation was adopted, by which equal numbers of ministers and elders will hereafter be returned, theological professors to be members ex officio. The Synods and Presbyteries were further though not finally arranged, every synod to be attended by corres-

ponding members from certain other Synods named by the Assembly. The distinctive position of the Free Church, as opposed to the existing establishment, and to the so called voluntary principle, was re-asserted. Deputations were received from the Reformed Presbyterians, the United Secéders, the Irish Presbyterians, the Welsh Calvinists, and the evangelical churches of Geneva, besides written addresses from various other bodies. A committee was appointed to consult with certain corresponding bodies as to the best mode of regulating the transfer of ministers and probationers. Several cases of translation or resisted calls were settled harmoniously after some discussion. The Assembly refused, with one dissenting voice, to allow Mr. Guthrie of Edinburgh to be called to London. During the summer England had been visited by several deputations, and arrangements were made for a more extensive visitation early in the winter. A very great interest had been excited there, and several thousand pounds contributed already. The Wesleyans, Baptists, Independents and a few Episcopalians, had co-operated cordially. The Synod of Canada had expressed its concurrence with the Free Church in principle, but declined to take any practical step in consequence of the disruption. The new college at Edinburgh was to be opened in November. A library of three thousand volumes had already been collected. Dr. Black was appointed Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen, with a view to the ultimate establishment of a faculty or college for the north of Scotland. He proposed a uniform plan of presbyterial examinations, which was ordered to be printed. No change was to be made as yet in the course of theological study, except so far as to accelerate the progress of certain students more advanced in life. One hundred ministers preach in Gaelic, and seventy young men preparing for the ministry speak that language. The whole number of preachers adhering to the Free Church is stated at about six hundred. Out of the general Sustentation Fund, raised by local associations, a dividend of forty pounds for the first six months, was made to every pastor. The amount was smaller than had been expected, partly because a portion of the fund had been diverted to another object, that of building churches. Six hundred churches were reported as in progress or about to be commenced. Their average capacity is six hundred sittings, and the estimated average expense of their erection five hundred

pounds. Nearly two-thirds of the whole amount required for this purpose had been raised. The rest was expected to come chiefly from abroad. The Presbyterians of Ulster contributed ten thousand pounds. About a hundred churches were expected to be built by their respective congregations, without any draught upon the general fund. Nine are reported as the gift of individuals. Among these is the church at Kirkcudbright, to which eleven hundred pounds had been contributed by Mr. Lenox and Mr. Johnstone of New York. The new churches are said to be greatly superior to the old in appearance and comfort. The legal title to all ecclesiastical buildings was to be vested in a central board of trustees, but the control of the houses left to the local authorities. In some parts of the country no sites for churches had as yet been procured, nor even shelter for the pastors. One visits his congregations in a yacht; one resides at an inn, another in a schoolhouse, both without their families, and one comes sixty miles from home to perform his pastoral duties. The county of Sutherland, feudally subject to the Duke of that name, contains seventeen parishes and twenty-four thousand inhabitants, of whom only four hundred remain in the establishment. There has been no communion in the established churches of that county since the rupture, for want, it is said, both of elders and communicants, while one service of the Free Church was attended by above seven thousand persons. The Duke refusing to allow sites for Free Churches in any part of his domain, the people are obliged to worship under tents or in the open air. The conduct of the Duke was strongly censured by the Marquis of Breadalbane, Mr. Fox Maule, and Mr. Campbell of Monzie, all of whom sat as elders in the Free Assembly. The riots in Ross-shire, attending the induction of new ministers in certain parish churches, were condemned by the Assembly, but ascribed to the intolerance of landholders in refusing sites for churches. Plans were adopted for supplying districts destitute of ministers, by means of elders, catechists and students. Nearly four hundred schoolmasters have adhered to the Free Church, and are to be supported by it. A plan, proposed by a Mr. McDonald, for endowing these church-schools, by means of a peculiar system of subscription, was received with great applause. Dr. Chalmers proposed several new financial expedients to increase the funds. There are now eight hundred associa-

tions which contribute weekly to the Sustentation Fund. Direct donations go to constitute the Building Fund. Collections at the church-doors are to answer local purposes, and also to support the Schemes of the Church. The appropriation of pews is recommended, but without rents, except for special purposes. The election of Deacons was directed to be made within three months. Collections had been made for only two of the Church Schemes, but the amount was nearly if not quite as great as that raised by the whole church for the same objects in any former year. Mr. Dunlop resigned his place as chairman of the Board of Missions, and was succeeded by Dr. Makellar, who gives up his congregation for the purpose. On the whole, the prospects of this noble enterprise are most encouraging, the only difficulties which exist, as Dr. Chalmers said, arising from its very success, and from the fact that the people have seceded in much larger proportions than the clergy. This second Assembly was no less harmonious than the first. The only point, on which considerable difference of judgment and of feeling still exists, is the precise mode of electing ministers, especially the question whether female communicants shall have a right to vote. The final decision of this matter was again referred to the next Assembly. The only other act which we shall mention is the resolution to appoint a delegate to represent the Free Church in this country. The Reverend William Cunningham, D. D., the gentleman selected for this service, is now among us, and will no doubt be cordially welcomed by the churches of America.

Egypt and the Books of Moses, or the Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt: with an Appendix. By Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theology at Berlin. From the German, by R. D. C. Robbins, Abbot Resident, Theological Seminary, Andover. 1843. 12mo. pp. 300.

This is a very interesting discussion of the bearing of recent researches into the antiquities of Egypt upon the Mosaic history. Egyptian antiquities have been made the ground of two separate and inconsistent attacks upon the authenticity of the Pentateuch. It has been alleged that some of the statements of Moses are at variance with information imparted by the Egyptian monuments; as, for example, his mention of brick as a building material

whereas the brick was a Babylonian and not an Egyptian element of construction; his allusion to the vine as one of the products of Egypt, whereas the vine is said, upon other authority, never to have grown in the land; and several other like discrepancies. On the other hand it has been alleged that the resemblances between the Mosaic laws and institutions and those of Egypt are so minute and extensive as to prove that the one was but a surreptitious copy of the other. This objection is as old as the time of Simplicius. Dr. Hengstenberg disposes of these objections completely, and succeeds in deriving from the monumental history of Egypt many incidental confirmations of the sacred record. His work is divided into two parts, first the negative part, in which he disproves the pretended mistakes and inaccuracies of the author of the Pentateuch; and second, the positive part, in which he brings forward the evidence afforded by Egyptian antiquity in favour of the books of Moses. The result of the whole investigation is, as might have been anticipated, that the sacred volume, so far from being invalidated in any of its allusions or statements in relation to Egyptian matter, receives new confirmation from every addition made to our knowledge of its manners and customs, its history and its civil polity. Dr. Hengstenberg has no doubt in some few instances, pursued the parallel between the Egyptian and the Jewish economy to a fanciful extreme, but these do not affect his general argument which is, from its nature, cumulative in character, and remains possessed of ample strength after all necessary abatements are made.