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ART. I.—*Annual Report of the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America. Presented to the General Assembly, May,* 1849.

As a fruit of the Spirit of Christ in the church, and of the motions of that Spirit towards its proper manifestation, the Annual Reports of our Board of Missions are signs of the times. These yearly statements of the aims and results of our activity in the natural and legitimate direction of true Christianity, indicate a method and a scale of operations, honorable to the zeal and wisdom of the Board and its agents, and gratifying to the church; and while these operations are far behind the ability of the church and perhaps behind our advancement in some other things, they come from the spirit of the gospel, and are destined, as the gospel prospers, to a vast enlargement. While the same is true of the other Boards of our church, we would here offer a few hints concerning the ground of our system of Domestic Missions, for the sake of the bearing of our remarks on the nature and extent of our work.

The first Christian Missionary was the Lord Jesus Christ. He was sent from the bosom of heavenly love to seek and to save that which was lost. He bore the missionary toils and privations. He came from light into darkness. Though rich, he became poor; made himself of no reputation, took upon him the form of a servant, lived and laboured, in a condition assumed entirely for his benevolent ends, amongst the wicked and the miserable, and as it were, away from his glorious home.

Jesus Christ was a Domestic Missionary. We refer to his relations according to the flesh. He came to his own. From the days of Abraham he had had a people in the world whom he called his own, as distinct from all others as a people could be. Through the ages preceding his earthly mission, while its nature, its objects, and its very time, were the theme of prophetic celebration, it was strictly defined as having immediate and primary reference to the people he called his own. The Salvation of Israel, the Hope of Israel, the Deliverer of his people, and other like expressions, have their origin in this patriarchal idea; and when other people are mentioned as sharing the benefits of this mission of the Son of God, they appear as accessions to Israel. "Nations that knew thee not shall come to thee."

At the advent of our Lord, this view of his national relationship is revived with solemn emphasis and decision. The register of genealogy is produced to prove his Jewish descent, and even to secure for him the advantage of a name the most honourable in the annals of the nation. He acknowledges and honours his countrymen. He keeps their civil and religious laws. The fathers, the prophets, the patriots of the nation, he venerates for the nation's sake. He vindicates the religious distinction of that people, and declares his purpose of exalting the memory of their tribes forever. To the woman of Samaria, he asserts the religious superiority of the Jews, and implies his own acknowledgment of affinity and identity with them. "Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews." He speaks of showing favour to a woman of Syro Phenicia as casting the children's bread to the dogs. He pronounces his blessing on the house of Zaccheus with peculiar emphasis, "forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham." He enforces his self-defence for healing on the Sabbath by stating

that the sufferer is "a daughter of Abraham." And as a comprehensive explanation of his general course, he says, "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

This national partiality of the Saviour made its impression. The disciples felt it, and revealed it. By this apparent exclusiveness of their Lord, their own Jewish predispositions seemed to be allowed, and even commended and enjoined. So firm was the prepossession which survived his personal example, that Peter made conscience of refusing to teach a Gentile, till relieved from his scruples by a special revelation.

The divine election of that people to such a connexion with the spiritual dispensation, suggests an important view of the relation of a Christian nation as such to the kingdom of Christ. This view we wish here to unfold.

When the Word was made flesh in the bosom of a national organization he taught the national relations of Christianity. The earthly life of Jesus was spent in the sphere of a citizen. The Saviour of the world became a member of a civil and religious community. He became in fact, and in spirit, a Jew. How many of his acts and words seemed the genuine offspring of love for his Hebrew kindred. The eternal scheme of his mediation, while it guided all his earthly movements, allowed him the free adoption of his temporary and earthly associations. Though he always spoke the words and did the works of his Father, though he spoke and acted under the general direction of those laws of his mission which lay remote from human observation, his proximate reasons for saying and doing every thing then and so, were the exigencies of his occasions. His plan involved the national element; his earthly life assumed accordingly the national relations and spirit. He came as the great Expected of the Jews. He was in covenant with them from times of old. He had made their history a catalogue of wonders. While he deprecated and denounced their degeneracy, and wept for their misery, he still glorified their name. He espouses their cause as being himself a Jew; allows his national affinities to pervade his whole spirit; promises those of his people who should receive him, peculiar peace and honour in his kingdom, announces his new administration as only a sequel to the old covenant established upon better promises, and gives his

earthly labours to the land of his birth, and to his brethren according to the flesh.

We feel no motive for attempting to divest our Lord of the proper national partialities. We are deterred from such an attempt by the whole tenor of his earthly history. We concede to him all the patriotic sentiments natural to a good man, and are free to allow them the influence over the Saviour's feelings and actions towards his people which belongs to them as principles of a pure mind. When we witness the subjection of his divine powers to the conditions of humanity in this world, and remember how commonly he wrought his divine works under human impulse; when we hear his withering sentence against the fig-tree which had failed to supply his human want; when we see him calling the dead from their graves with the tear of compassionate humanity in his eye; we discern no repugnance between the laws of the human nature in their full scope, and the laws of the divine; and nowhere does the harmony of the two appear more clear and more glorious than in this free adaptation of himself and of his kingdom to the national instinct of mankind.

The merciful regards of the Saviour embraced the world. His missionary precept required the propagation of the gospel "to every creature." But without turning to follow the spirit and power of the gospel in its great work of Foreign Missions, we would trace the law of national Christianization; a principle evidently respected by the Saviour in his earthly life, and in the methods of his spiritual administration;—a principle requiring earnest obedience from any people who wish to belong to the kingdom of Christ, and who wish to conduct their efforts for the world abroad, with due efficiency and success.

Christianity in its sure and universal diffusion, is destined to regard the national ties. The Saviour yielded most condescending regard to the principle of national unity. This points out the social character and motions of Christianity on its way to its destined triumph. The law of national unity is everywhere presupposed in the Saviour's scheme of gospel propagation, and will help us here to the true explanation of his way of introducing himself and his gospel to the world.

To prepare the way for the national relations of his incarnation, he rears a nation in the course of nature; calling first an

individual as head of a household, making a covenant with him as the progenitor of a peculiar people, and assuring him that the dispensation of heavenly favour should proceed in the line of his posterity, and upon the national scheme; an instructive and sublime anticipation of his future personal connexion with the world. He elects of old, and maintains for ages as his own, the people with whom he purposes in due time, to join himself by blood. He sanctifies the national affinities to his service, as he has always done those of the family. He encompasses himself with these sacred relationships. He comes as an Israelite to deliver Israel. As the Redeemer of men took not the nature of angels, but the nature of man, to communicate grace through human affections, so the Redeemer of Israel took not the nature of a Gentile, but of the seed of Abraham, to communicate grace through the national ties. Tracing his lineage on the public records from David, the heart and centre of the Hebrew nationality, he falls, as the heavenly gift of light and life, into the bosom of the nation, and blends his immaculate humanity with the earthly qualities and conditions of his chosen people. In his person Christianity revealed its national predisposition. It teaches the religious unity of a nation; and the ground of that religious responsibility of a nation as such, which appears so prominent in the dealings of God with mankind.

The nation, as to its elements, begins in the family. There, the unity of interest and character leads us to expect a unity of accountability and destiny. As a system of life, a natural organization, the family is as really one, as a man is one. The prosperity and honour of the family each member enjoys, the adversity and disgrace of the family each member suffers. The family is, in an interesting sense, an enlargement of the individual. By joining families in a community, you create a further enlargement, and have unity still. You have multiplied the members, but have yet one body. There is one interest, one character. The prosperity and honour of the community each citizen enjoys, the adversity and disgrace, each suffers and laments. The family is an enlargement of the individual the nation is an enlargement of the family.

The nation, as one, has its duties to itself and to others. When men, according to their nature, have taken their social organization, they become national subjects of the Government of God.

There are divine laws for nations as for individual men. Their rewards and penalties, though confined to the present life, the only life of nations, are often distinctly set forth, are dispensed by rule, and are employed as incitements to virtue in the individual members. God speaks to nations, as such. He directs, warns, reproves, threatens them. There are national sins; and ways to punish them. When men join hands to work evil, and use their social organization to break the law of God, he is wont to send his judgments through the instruments by which they broke his law, to cause their social organization to hasten the work of destruction to the wicked and to make it the more dreadful. When men do right by nations, joining hands to honour God and keep his laws, he has national blessings for them. He can send his rewards through the national organization to individual hearts, and make the government that honours him a blessing to all the subjects. Nations, like men, are righteous or wicked, and their righteousness blesses or their wickedness curses their members. Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.

The Lord calls nations as such into his service. When they offer their homage through their rulers or other official organs, he accepts it; and often through those organs, in return, does he distinguish them with national powers and honours. "The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. Kings shall minister unto thee; the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish."

It belongs to this plan of taking a nation in the mass for religious purposes, that the mass be Christianized throughout. A general evangelical virtue, congenial to the work of the Spirit on individual men, must be diffused through the nation. As God rears a plant from the soil no less by tempering the hemisphere than by specific appliances to the root and the blade, so he conducts his moral discipline of men as much by the common allotments and motions of a nation as by direct dealing with particular persons. "The kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom is given to the people of the saints of the Most High." The nation, impregnated with a religious virtue, instinct with that intellectual vigour and refinement, and those sentiments of order and peace which please God and adorn mankind, becomes the garden of the Lord for the culture of the

spiritual man, where every element of soil and air yields nourishment and strength and beauty to the plants of grace. "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life or death, or things present or things to come, all are yours."

Such a vineyard of the Lord is the glory of the earth. God is her wall of defence. A nation formed and pervaded by the spirit of the Gospel is impregnable. No weapon formed against her can prosper. Her power will be chiefly known as an agent of benevolence; her science shall waken and guide the intellect of the world; her arts shall win and humanize mankind; her wealth shall be at once the fruit and nourishment of her virtue, and her morals the sensible pulsations of inward truth and righteousness. When the church thus takes up the social organizations of men as the instruments of her work, puts on the natural refinements as a part of her beautiful attire, commands the wealth of the world for her works of love, and breathes the spirit of her doctrines into the social habits of the people, she reveals the true nature and power of her life, and accomplishes her earthly destiny.

The heritage of citizenship in such a nation is the greatest of earthly blessings. It brings our temporal destiny into connexion with that of the kingdom of Christ. A truly Christian country is the sanctuary of all that is dear to man on earth. Knowledge is there, and liberty, the security of all personal rights, and true and progressive civilization; incitements to pure thought and beneficent action; the aids of spiritual growth, and the encouragements of hope; all the beauty and all the fragrance of a field which God hath blessed. The Lord provides, in such a country for the furtherance of his work in the hearts of men. The Christian owes religious duties to his country. They are duties to God. God and our country! The Christian citizen of an evangelized nation may regard his country as an abode of the church, and love his country the more without loving the kingdom of Christ the less. The more he is a patriot, the more he may be a Christian. His Christian spirit and obedience may flow largely through the patriotic

channel; and he will seek the prosperity of his country, for the same end for which the Lord upholds it;—the glory of Christ.

All complete religion in this world partakes of this patriotic element; the high principle which represents a man to himself as a free and accountable constituent of a nation, whose character he contributes to form, and whose history involves his own. This is one of those nobler sentiments of human nature, which Christ cherished, and which are taken up, refined and exalted by the Spirit of Christ in the Christian. He is the Christian patriot who loves his country as the garden of the Lord; who delights to view it as the spot where the Lord has planted and is nourishing a branch of his vine; where "the powers that be" are a defence and a help to Zion; where the policy and the laws of the nation presume Christianity, recognize its obligations, and in their way and measure do it honour. It is one of the clearest dictates of piety to embrace such a country with fervent love, and serve it with unmeasured devotion.

The confluence of patriotism and piety in a sincere and intelligent Christian forms a living continuation of the patriotic submission and sympathy of the Saviour. He regarded and treated the nation as one; a large family; and there was the more consanguineous import in this view of the Jewish nation, from the relation of the whole, except proselytes, to Abraham their common father. But this blood relationship was not the essence of nationality; as mere consanguinity is not the sole ground of the family constitution. The confederate tribes of Israel had their national institutions common to all, and their national character and interests. Their one government gave unity to the body; and made them one organization; and with that body thus made one they became personally incorporate, and treated the whole as vitally concerned in his mission. He recognized their nationality in his offer of the Gospel. Not less solemnly and impressively did he recognize it in their rejection of the Gospel. The individuals who believed received their spiritual salvation; while even they, as parts of the rejected nation were exposed to memorable calamity and distress. The nation, by the act of its supreme authority, had set the Son of God, at nought, and by wicked hands, had put him to death. The guilt of the deed was a national guilt. It brought a national retribution. The religion of Jesus Christ gained no

place in the public councils of that people. It received no homage from their laws and customs; no respect from their public proceedings. On the contrary every national demonstration was against it. The acts of Christ were wrested into constructive violations of the civil and religious law of the nation; and the sin of crucifying the Lord of glory, in which a few only were actively engaged, was visited upon the whole. The catastrophe of that people is an awful example of God's dealing with men by nations, to show each man how much his welfare depends on the course of the nation to which he belongs.

The natural grounds for such indiscriminate visitations commend themselves with peculiar force to the Christian citizen. The civil organization, with its unity of action, of interest, and of aim, may fitly bear a unity of responsibility. Its texture of interest and sympathy facilitates the diffusion of suffering; while such compendious retribution from the righteous judge of nations satisfies the common sense of mankind, from the presumption that among the individuals involved in the suffering there has been a common assent to the sin. We thus bring our civil affinities and interests into the kingdom of God, and extend our religious regards to whatever belongs to our country. The Christian patriot carries his country on his heart before God; laments her sins, and confesses them with the same humiliation he feels for his own, and regrets every law of the nation and every usage which expresses or occasions disrespect for the law and the Gospel of God. The moral degeneracy of his country he feels as his own dishonor. A lack of religious instructions and of Christian privilege, in any quarter, he feels as his own privation. He hears the voice of God to the nation as addressed to himself. In his daily confessions he answers to God for the sins of the nation; and prays for the power which can guide the public sentiments and acts in the way of righteousness. As a member of the body politic, he receives the divine word as a national blessing, and owning his responsibility for its due improvement, he takes heed that the light which is in his country be not darkness.

In no other country on the face of the earth can these sentiments glow with such warmth, and act to so high purpose as in our own. Let a Christian contemplate himself in the character of an American citizen; let him consider his country as a

nursery of the Church, and dwell upon those facts of her youthful life which have made her already the light of the world. Every chapter of her history is original; without precedent, without parallel. Many shores have been colonized by adventurous enterprize. But there is known to history one land only which was colonized by Christians to obtain for themselves and their posterity the free enjoyment of their religion. The colonists of this country were not heathens, who first filled the land with their idols, and were afterwards converted by the missionaries of Christianity. They were not men of mere worldly ambition who sought room for the expansion of their restless enterprize. They were Christians, who desired to worship God with free and pure hearts; who felt a check upon their freedom, and came hither to escape it; and whom God sent to raise up a nation on this ground from Christian blood. With the word of God in their hands, and his spirit in their hearts, they organized their communities, founded their schools, built their sanctuaries, and arranged the order of their worship. They withstood the encroachments of power by the instinct of conscious right. When their favorite principle of liberty was assailed, they rose in its defence. When protection hardened into oppression, they severed the political ties and stood for independence. And now, to the descendants of those Christian heroes, and the heirs of their freedom, their memory is consecrated by their zeal for the Gospel. The Christian relations of our civil polity have come from that source. Those laws which guard the church in the use of her rights and powers, the civil authorities which stand as an inclosure of Zion here, have risen on that foundation. We are a temple of God; its courts, the state; its sanctuary, the church. May church and state fulfil their glorious design.

Look, now, through our social constitution upon our prospects. In the mutual relation of church and state, our country appears to us just as we would have it, in the perfection, not indeed of social and moral condition, but of adaptation to the work of religious culture. Only let the people be intelligent enough to understand their moral interests, and virtuous enough to consult them; let knowledge, patriotism and Christianity unite in our character, and direct our course, and we have the perfection of external arrangements for religious improvement. The sup-

porters of Christianity here are not the rulers, but the people. Whatever the character, the principles, the aims of men in power, while our constitution remains inviolate, the keys of knowledge and virtue are held by the people. It belongs not to our government to build our churches, to appoint and sustain our ministry, or to assign its duties. It is not through the civil arm that the people support their Christian institutions. They apply their support to the church with their own hands. No paternal sovereignty judges for us how many or what sort of religious institutions will be best for us. The people judge for themselves, and when the Christian sentiment of any branch of the church deems it desirable to increase the religious privileges of any portion of the country, it can do it in its own way. This is one of the advantages of the friends of Christianity in this land.

This country, which we may gratefully call our own, and not the dominion of any earthly monarch, distinguished already above all other lands, and destined, as we hope, and as many signs foretel, to unparalelled exaltation as an abode of the church, has received the light of life as a national blessing. It is a gift to the nation. Every citizen has a share in it. Every citizen is, in his measure, responsible for the due improvement of it. We have a joint interest in the moral welfare of this nation; an interest which may well reconcile us to our joint responsibility for the proper use of our Christian institutions. How can a Christian citizen of such a country be content to see any portion of his country covered with spiritual darkness. It must seem to him as a blemish in his own estate. A Christian, in these United States, however sound and comprehensive his doctrine, and peaceful his religious experience, unless he is afflicted for the spiritual desolation of his country, must yet accuse himself of views too narrow for an American citizen. He has not yet grown into a proper and essential constituent of his Christian state. A nation of such Christians would not be a Christian nation. His Christian element does not yet flow into the channel of his civil relations. He is a Christian only in part. He may be a Christian parent, interweaving all his religious practices, with his domestic relation; he may be Christian in his occupation, pursuing his labor with Christian motives; but he is not a Christian citizen. His religion reaches

not his country. His patriotism is unevangelized. His Christian sentiment and character, shrunk far within his civil dimensions, denied a share in the defence and use of his civil rights, and not pervaded by his natural affinity for his country, leave to him the form of citizenship, without the power. As a patriot he is not risen to newness of life. One branch of affection in him has only its natural properties. It has not yet been grafted in, and partakes not of the root and fatness of the olive.

Imperfectly as it has been considered by our people how much depends on them in the diffusion of the light of life through our country, it has not been wholly overlooked. A large and efficient portion of the Christian church have long acted and are still acting under a sense of their resonsibility in this matter. Many Christians of nearly all denominations, survey the spiritual wants of our people with patriotic and pious concern, and unite their zeal and strength to spread the work of God and its institutions. They are moved to it by love to God and man, and co-operating with this love is the powerful element of national affinity. The distant and scattered population of our southern and western regions, are a part of our civil body; fellow-citizens, partners with us in the blessings of liberty, and in toil and sacrifice for its support. Their property, their arms, their blood, must contribute, with ours, to the common defence. Our country is their country. But they have not the gospel;—our national heritage from God, given to the nation as much for their sake as for ours. The spiritual circulation of our country is too feeble. The life blood does not go with force enough to the extremities; and those extremities are cold and weak. They are a part of our living system, but have not their due share of life. Yet the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus is exerting itself to supply the defect. It recognizes the civil relation, it blends itself with the national sympathies; it prompts the Christian citizen to give the gospel to his own, as the Saviour came to his own in person. Here is reproduced the Saviour's soul of patriotism, striving to penetrate and illumine the national organization with the laws and the spirit of his holy kingdom.

Thus germinates the system of Domestic Missions. The national instinct is self-conservative; and no sooner is the gospel recognized as a defence and glory to the nation, than the patri-

otic impulse takes the direction of gospel propagation. The Christian instinct is evangelical, spreading the glad tidings of salvation; and in union with patriotism, with which, as we have seen, it was connate in the Saviour, it holds the gospel as the heritage of the nation. This is history. The motions of Christian patriotism in supplying and preventing spiritual destitution appear in the earliest period of our history. And they were, in some points more marked and decisive than they are now. The colonial history of this country contains records of activity, patriotic as well as religious, for the vigorous establishment of gospel institutions among all the people. A community without the gospel was no more to be found than a community without a magistrate. When the time for political independence came, the men who fought and bled for liberty were the men who spread the gospel in the land. And to those primitive Christian patriots, under God, we owe the present enlargement of the church on these shores, the vast facilities for our work of missions, and not improbably, the very existence of our present efficient system. They sent the vital circulation of their social system in full force to the extremities.

Our Domestic Missions are, then, the legitimate offspring of Christian patriotism. As the Christian is a patriot, he lives for his country. As the patriot is a Christian, he claims his country for Christ. This law of Domestic Missions, residing in the nature of a Christian citizen, may be a natural ground of our hope in God that our country shall be supplied with the gospel. The patriotism of Christianity may be expected to do its work wherever Christianity finds a home. For parts of a Christian country to be destitute of the gospel, were as unnatural as for some members of a family to starve while the rest are fed. The water of the same pool never rests at different levels. Our unity as a Christian people necessitates the diffusion of the gospel throughout our borders. The self-diffusive force of Christianity must as surely send its equal impulse through the nation as the nation remains one, and our Christianity retains its virtue.

In this view our Domestic Missions assume the aspect of great power and high promise. They reveal their living contact and incorporation with the Spirit of Christ in the church. Their two elements, patriotism and religion, pertain, the one to

the natural life of civilized man, the other to the life of God. The divine principle joins itself to the human. We might reasonably hope for the Christianization of our country by the sure obedience of Christians to the Missionary precept of the Saviour, as an appeal to their love for him, and their reverence for his authority; for all active Christians respect that command, and are chiefly moved by it to send the gospel to all the nations. Or, we might rest a strong Christian hope for our country, on the natural philanthropy of pure minds, always enlivened by union with pure religion. This also lends its impulse to missions for the world. But to all this we may add to insure the fidelity of our people to their Domestic Missions, that profound and undying love of country, which exerts such power in all right-minded Christians, and was allowed such scope in the Saviour himself. A noble principle,—a sanctified love of country,—the love of Christ in a patriotic heart. We cannot despair of the country unless we despair of the church that is in it.

Our Domestic Missions, then, form one of the brightest features in the aspect of our country. They imply at least a small degree of resemblance to the Saviour. They are a fruit of our religious life. They are an instrument of our religious activity. They confer a great dignity on us as a Christian people. Such is our own Board. It has the seat of its life in the hearts of the members of our church. Through all its process of growth to its present eminence and power, it has been nourished by the spirit of Christ in the hearts of his people. It is not the mere offspring of a calculating policy, either civil or ecclesiastical. It has come not alone from a general philanthropy, nor from sectarian zeal, nor even from the missionary injunction of our Lord, as an expression of authority. It rises out of the national spirit of our Christian people. On this deep and broad foundation it is destined to stand so long as the true gospel dwells in any part of our country, and other parts have need.

The Domestic Missions of this country have every advantage which can commend them to the people and facilitate their work. In this land where church and state have their separate organizations, the church may extend her bounds and fulfil her destiny by her own resources and in her own way. Where church and state are united the church acts through the com-

mon organization, upholding and extending itself by the civil agency. The state becomes agent for the church in spreading the gospel through its jurisdiction. A people unanimous in their Christian views, and united in their Christian work, might find great conveniences in such a system. It would be the natural system for them. But such unanimity has never yet existed where the people were free. There is as yet no free and intelligent country on the face of the earth, where the church can operate through the civil organization without hindrance to her proper work. The state can do the outward part of the work of church extension. It can build houses of worship. It can appoint and maintain an officiating ministry. But the difficulty of keeping the spirit of religion diffused through the public and formal proceedings of a civil government has been found insurmountable wherever the attempt has yet been made. Governments will tend to be as secular in managing the affairs of the church as in other things. Every impulse of the missionary work must come fresh from the hearts of the people.

In this respect our facilities for the propagation of the gospel in our country can hardly be improved. The church in this country has her own organization. She stands separate and complete in herself. Her government is in no way interwoven with the government of the state. She has a circulation and a system of life of her own. She is not compelled to mingle her life blood with the frigid and impure humours of a secular organization. Her divine light is not, by any social necessity absorbed in the opake body of the state, and lost in the vapors of political strife. She has her character and her destiny to herself. Her members come into her communion, professing her principles and bound to her service. The springs of our missions are in them. The gifts of the church for the spread of the gospel come spontaneously from the people; carrying with them to every point of their application the savour of her sacredness, and then at once, suggesting their origin and ensuring their success.

Thus went such proceedings under Christ and the apostles. The disciples who were sent out two and two were to look for their support directly from the people among whom they laboured. They received only what was willingly given. What

the apostles applied to their own use and the relief of the poor, they received directly from the hands of Christians. The contributions were religious charities. They were not exacted in the name of the government, assimilated to the civil revenue, and appropriated according to political expediency, and as a part of the civil expenditure. They went in their Christian character, and to their Christian ends. The religious interests of this country are under God immediately in the hands of our Christian people. The constitution of the nation leaves this charge on us. The responsibility is our own; and for doing our work effectually, and in the most convenient way, we have all the facilities we can wish.

The broad and firm principles of human nature and religion above stated form the ground of our Domestic Missions. They involve the security of our success. They embody the great persuasive to faithfulness in the cause. Every sincere and intelligent Christian will feel their power. We must either quench both the Spirit of Christ within us and our natural patriotism, or we must give a vigorous support to our system of Home Missions. The example of Christ, and the tendency of the spirit of Christ in his people;—the one objective, a matter of devout and thankful contemplation, the other, subjective, a matter of peaceful and joyful consciousness;—these are the chief sources of action to the true Christian. Let the members of the church of Christ in this country, then, while moved by these principles, consider the connexion of this part of their work with the true prosperity of their country, the welfare of the human family, and the glory of God.

Our country, as we have said, had a Christian origin. We have a high character to maintain. It will be no light matter for us to walk worthy of our early history; it will be no small shame to walk unworthy of it. Our infancy was such as no other nation ever had. Our manhood must correspond to it. Our dereliction would bring a memorable reproach upon Christianity. With a character emblazoned in literature, science, and art, the traces of which can never, without some signal catastrophe, be obliterated from the world; with industry, commerce, wealth, and power, fostered by illustrious Christian endowments, and ample for almost unlimited beneficence, we cannot hope that the disgrace of our delinquency would ever be

forgotten. The republics of antiquity fell without such reproach. It is rather a wonder that they ever lived, than their shame that they died; for they had not "the law of the spirit of life." They had not Christianity. But shame to us, if we quench the light that is in us. Our infamy would be abhorred forever. And where, except in our Home Missions, can we find security against this degeneracy? Without this scheme of carrying the lamp of life before the footsteps of our active and migrating millions, how soon should we see a majority strong, vicious, and bold enough to give us the character, and consign us to the doom, of an ungodly nation.

The proportion of our country, subject, as to its destiny, to the control of our Domestic Missions, gives this cause an overwhelming greatness in our view. Our people will scatter as long as there is room. They will live as far asunder as they can. Our "West" would have no western boundary till it reached the Pacific; and now that we rule from ocean to ocean, our people so abhor a vacuum that they instantly compass and occupy the whole. What but a vast and vigorous system of Domestic Missions can plant the gospel in this immense dispersion, and prevent the small remainder of religion in the settlers from total extinction. When we consider how few of our migratory people have the disposition or the ability to establish and maintain religious institutions for themselves, we see what the older and denser portions of the church have to do. Three-fourths of our whole territory and population, to speak far within the bounds of truth, have already received, or have yet to receive, the beginnings of their religious institutions as a missionary benefaction. The infinite activity of our increasing population leaves no habitable region uninhabited within our bounds. The people will live too far apart, and be too poor, to maintain the institutions of the gospel, and by the time they gain the numbers and ability they will lose the disposition. Over the vast extent of our new settlements, the gospel must be planted by Domestic Missions; and few, very few are the counties in our whole Union, where the church, by her missions, has not something to do.

By our Domestic Missions, the Christians of this age have the character and happiness of the future millions of this country largely in their power. Even by helping to support the

ministry in small congregations, stationary in numbers and ability, and not expecting to become independent, we are acting for coming generations. Such congregations may be thought to be few. Doubtless most beneficiary churches, may be expected to become more willing to exert themselves for their own support, and, without increase of numbers or ability, may be expected soon to sustain themselves. But not a few have their self-sustaining period, indefinitely remote. They are a permanent part of the missionary field. It is a blessed work to give them the gospel ministry; for almost entirely have we the religious character and happiness of those people and of their posterity in our power. But of the new communities, rising with unparalleled rapidity all over the land, especially in the new states and territories, what may we not say? The inhabitants of new settlements are peculiarly susceptible of religious impressions. They have some childlike traits. They amalgamate with each other more readily than the same persons would in older communities. Their first religious teachers will, in a majority of cases, impress on the community its leading features. These impressions are a germ. The future character of the people will be a growth from them. Every one of the old thirteen states bears yet the features of its colonial infancy. It belongs to our Domestic Missions to impress on the infant communities of the land a character which will never fade away.

The Domestic Missions of this country will bear an important part in preserving the union of the states, and in making it a blessing. With such territorial extension as we now have, and such as we seem to many destined to acquire, it were folly to hope for continued union and prosperity, without an equally extensive and operative Christianity. Without religion, there are not interests and sentiments enough common to all our people to give them a ground of unity. In the productions of the earth there is no greater difference between any two continents on the globe, than between different sections of our country. In social institutions and habits, we are as unlike as any two nations on earth who speak a common language. Nothing but the fact of union and a relish for its benefits, can any more bind together the people on opposite sides of the Potomac, the Ohio or the Mississippi, than the people on opposite sides of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes or the Rio Grande. The argu-

ments for union from geography and from economy, are no stronger for states now united than for states now divided. The existence of the union, and the certainty that division could come only of evil and produce only evil, are the two considerations on which we must rely to perpetuate our national unity. For the required effect of these considerations, our people must duly appreciate the evil which would lead to disunion and that which would follow, and be content with the compromises and faithful in the mutual offices of morality, covenant and friendship involved in the support and exposition of the constitution. In other words, our security is in our virtue. This virtue comes only of Christianity; and to establish Christianity in three-fourths of our country is the work of our Domestic Missions.

These missions assist the posperity and glory of our country by hastening the mutual assimilation of our people. We must have one standard of taste and of morals. We must judge alike of the nature and value of liberty, and of the means of preserving it. We must speak one language. We must have manners and customs as similar as our difference of climate and of occupations will allow. We must have a common zeal for the universal education of the people. All facilities must be created for mutual alliance from acquaintance, interest, and love. All this must be sought after with earnestness and on a large scale; for our country is becoming a field for the conflict or the conciliation of all that is heterogeneous in humanity on the face of the earth. Nothing but our Christianity can assimilate our people and by no other means can our Christianity do this than by our Home Missions.

As to the bearing of our Domestic Missions on the condition of the human family: first, it is here alone as yet that the world witnesses a salutary and commanding operation of the true law of liberty. In this view we are a wonder to the nations, and may well be a wonder to ourselves. We are the light of the world. The rays of the sun of freedom which have fallen on this land are reflected with great power on other nations, and though few of the nations seem fully prepared to walk in the light, yet many are now putting forth genuine signs of life. Wo to the world and ourselves if we suffer our liberty to outrun our religion; if we wake the people of the nations to

a consciousness of right and of power, without commending that righteousness by which alone right and power are safe; if we apply to the present susceptible generations of humanity the corrosive compound of freedom and licentiousness. To prevent such shame and wo, will be an invaluable service to mankind. All we do for ourselves in this cause we do for the human race. Our Domestic Missions are doing more for the world than all our other institutions could do without them. Indeed without that thorough diffusion of Christianity among us for which we must rely on Domestic Missions, our political example will do the world more harm than good. If the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted.

We are destined to serve all nations by taking many of their people to ourselves. The eyes of all the pilgrims of the world are towards our shores. Thousands of the people of God come here from other lands to lighten their temporal burdens, and breathe the air of spiritual health. Thousands of nominal protestants, with little piety and with none, come hither to seek a worldly portion. To these we have the privilege of tendering the living word, by the hand of our missions. Thousands of Catholics come hither, under a wise direction and for gracious purposes, which they themselves never think of, but the remembrance of which must guide us in our reception and treatment of those people. We should bid them welcome, give them a share of our heritage of freedom. It is not ours to monopolize. It is ours to offer to them. It belongs to all men. We cannot shut out the oppressed of other lands who are drawn hither by the fame of our freedom and happiness, but must give them a place so long as they find their advantage in coming. Even though we had less ambition to multiply, we have other and higher reasons against exclusiveness; and while our statesmen for their reasons, are not exclusive in their laws, how much less shall Christians, for their nobler reasons, be exclusive in their feelings. We must learn not to dread the flow of Romish corruption and infirmity into our ocean of purity and health. If Romanism can flourish in the atmosphere of spiritual truth and freedom with which we trust the merciful Lord is surrounding our country, we need not labour to destroy it; if not, let it come hither to die. It is for us, through the potent agency of our Domestic Missions, and the blessing of the Lord, to keep

the healing virtue of the waters so strong that all the impotent who step into them shall be made whole. This is an important part of the office which we are bound to fulfil, and are partially fulfilling for the world.

Our Home Missions work mightily for the world in the department of commerce. We do business with all mankind. We send to all the nations the harvests of our fields, the products of our workshops, the fruits of our invention, the treasures of our learning, the maxims of our political wisdom. We are to send them also the blessings of our religion. But how shall we ever do this in a measure proportioned to the wants of the world? How small and feeble the rills which are flowing from us to refresh the nations. Fill the fountain that the stream may rise. Elevate the fountain that the stream may flow faster. Cleanse the fountain that the stream may be pure. In other words, enlarge and strengthen our system of Domestic Missions, till the spirit of our purest Christian churches shall pervade the land; till Christian seamanship shall guide all our vessels on the sea, and Christian enterprise engage all our communities on the land; every seaman under our flag being a gospel missionary and every dweller on our shores a labourer and a suppliant for the conversion of the world.

Our Domestic Missions owe a valuable service to the world in the name and behalf of the protestant form of Christianity. Whether the original claim to this continent, either from discovery or settlement be catholic or protestant, whether many catholics or few shall call this land their home, it is here that God is bringing together, for the first time in the Christian era, the three potent elements of religion, intelligence, and freedom, to do their work on all the people of a great nation. Either our favourite theory concerning the natural and appointed relation between freedom of conscience and pure religion is false, or we must expect that the gospel effectually administered here will yield the protestant forms of Christian faith and practice. The progress of the gospel in any country where the popular mind is enlightened and free, must exclude all forms of worship and of government which tend to fetter either the understanding or the conscience. But in order to this, the free mind of the people must be applied to gospel truth. Otherwise we shall have, not probably Romanism, but an ignorance of Christianity and

a perversion of it, and a prostitution of our moral nature, not less criminal and pernicious than the most benighted Romanism; and for this, American Protestantism will be accountable. It is only through the agency of Home Missions, that our protestantism can be saved this reproach. It is only by this that we can prove our antipathy to popery to be the opposition of true piety against sin, and not a mere natural prejudice against those who differ from us. We have the name of a protestant nation. We have to show that, in the only nation under heaven where the people enjoy entire religious freedom, protestantism is not to be associated with infidelity. If our Home Missions may, by the divine blessing, be our instrument of accomplishing this, they will perform an important office for the world.

We only remark further, that it is by these means more than by any other, that our country is to promote the glory of God. She will thus become the glory of the earth, and it will be known and acknowledged in all the world as the handiwork of God. It will be seen that his word is our light, that his laws are the foundation of our government, and that his Spirit is the life of our religion. We are becoming a great and mighty people. Though we sought no conquests, waged no wars, cherished no ambition for national glory, praised not ourselves nor coveted praise from others, if the Lord preserve and bless us, our name must be great in the earth. With such people, territory, climate, science, arts, commerce, laws and religion, for us to exist is to have renown. If we make our Board of Missions the angel flying in the midst of our heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach to all our people, we can regard ourselves as the people of God, and our land as the dwelling place of his glory. By blessing us, he will bless the world and all the ends of the earth shall fear him.

These are only hints of the views which must often arise on this subject to the intelligent Christians of our country. They have great force for the people of our communion. If ever we had a call from God, we have one now, for a vast and speedy enlargement of our Domestic Missions. Men are wanted; men prepared and willing to serve Christ in the ministry wherever a place can be found. Means of support are wanted. Our scale of income and disbursement must be greatly extended. Means must be provided to support men of suitable qualifica-

tions to superintend the operations in the various sections of our great field. Means must be had to support distant and efficient missions on a scale of expenditure equal to that of some of our most expensive foreign missions. And means must be at hand to give the labourer a suitable reward; for no American Christian, worthy of the name, can ask or allow his brother to forego the ordinary comforts of life, in order to serve the church in the Christian ministry.

The last report of our Board, like its predecessors, gives us a view of the gratifying progress of our missions, of the vastness of the field which the Board consider it their duty to occupy, and the energy and faithfulness with which they apply to the work all that is given them by the churches for that purpose. We see the greatness of the work which we have committed to the hands of our Board of Missions; let us promptly supply the means of doing it well.

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Art. II.—1. *An Inquiry into the alleged Tendency of the Separation of Convicts, one from the other, to produce Disease and Derangement.* By a citizen of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle. 1849.

2. *Prisons and Prisoners.* By Joseph Adshead. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman. 1845.

3. *The Twentieth Annual Report of the Inspectors of the Eastern State Penitentiary of Pennsylvania. Transmitted to the Senate and House of Representatives, March,* 1849. Philadelphia: Printed by Ednund Barrington & George D. Haswell. 1849.

4. *Report on the Condition of the New Jersey State Prison; embracing the Reports of the Joint Committee, Inspectors, Keeper, Moral Instructor, and Physician. Read January* 16, 1849, *and ordered to be printed.* Trenton: Printed by Sherman & Harron. 1849.

5. *Annual Report of the Inspectors of State Prisons of the State of New York. Made to the Legislature, January* 19, 1849. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., Public Printers.

The reform in the methods of imprisonment and the treat-

ment of prisoners is far less known and appreciated among us, than its remarkable character deserves. It has long been among our general purposes to give our readers some account of the subject; and the materials for the purpose had accumulated upon our hands till it would have been impossible for us to have remained silent much longer. At this juncture, the pamphlet, whose title we have given above, by a citizen of Pennsylvania, came into our hands. So far as the leading controversy in regard to the rival systems of prison discipline is concerned, it seems to us to cover the entire ground with singular ability, and to leave us little else to do than to give a brief account of the nature and progress of the reform, and then refer our readers to the masterly, and as we think, conclusive reasoning of the pamphlet in question.

There is one point of view in which the history of this subject strikes us as important and highly interesting, viz: as an exponent of the ameliorating tendency of that form of civilization which is moulded upon the scriptures, and whose vital element is the religion of the New Testament.

When Howard was appointed Sheriff of the county of Bedford, in England, in 1773, his Christian sensibilities were shocked by the abuses and wretchedness and corruption among the prisoners of all classes, with whom his official duties threw him in contact. Such was the horrible condition of the prisons of that day in England, that the effluvia so affected his own apparel that he assures us that in a post-chaise he could not bear the windows drawn up; and was therefore obliged to travel commonly on horse-back. The leaves of his memorandum-book were often so tainted, that he could not use it till after spreading it an hour or two before the fire; and even the vial of vinegar which he was accustomed to smell as an antidote while he was in these dens of malaria and death, after using it in a few prisons became intolerably disagreeable.*

He also cites cases where the infection from prisoners at the bar proved so malignant, that "the lord chief baron, the sergeant, the sheriff, and some hundreds beside, died of the gaol-distemper."

In these fearful holes were confined all classes of prisoners

* Howard's State of Prisons. p. 7.

indiscriminately, some of whom were declared by the verdict of a jury, *not guilty*, some, on whom the grand jury did not find such an appearance of guilt, as subjected them to a trial, and some whose prosecutors did not appear against them, who after being confined a few months were dragged back "to *rot* in gaol," because they were unable to pay sundry prison fees.

Such moreover was the moral corruption bred in the association of these haunts of crime, that in the language of Sir John Fielding, "a criminal discharged generally by the next sessions, after the execution of his comrades, becomes the head of a gang of his own raising." It was this state of things which originated the immortal labours of Howard. And this was the beginning of the noble Christian work of prison reform. The only objects originally contemplated by Howard, were to rescue those prisoners who were held by no crime except inability to discharge prison debts, to classify those who were to be permanent prisoners, so as to check the contaminating effect of unrestricted intercourse, and to improve the sanitary condition of the goals, and furnish better accommodations and better food to the prisoners.

The existence of precisely the same evils and abuses in our our own land, led, simultaneously with the philanthropic labours of Howard in England, to the formation of a society in Philadelphia, "for the alleviation of the miseries of public prisons." After years of untiring effort on the part of the members of this society, to mitigate these miseries, they were driven to the conclusion that any material reform or at least any that offered the least hope of reforming the prisoners themselves, was out of the question, so long as the convicts were allowed to to associate at all. No classification could prevent the propagation of depravity among prisoners; for such is the nature of depravity that it grows and spreads with certain and fearful rapidity, by the mere power of self-development and self-propagation, independently of the corrupting tendency of more consummate villainy.

This put the Philadelphia Society upon devising a plan for effecting the entire separation of prisoners from each other. It should be observed that this idea resulted from a regard for the moral welfare of the prisoner. It deserves therefore to mark a new era in the history of prison discipline. Heretofore the

whole object had been to punish crime with a view of protecting society. We now find the introduction of a new idea, viz: that of caring for the moral well-being, and if possible, achieving the moral reformation, of the convict. This is essentially a Christian idea; and the effect of its introduction was a complete and radical change in the whole system of discipline, to which criminals were to be subjected. This, therefore, we regard as the true germ of the whole modern reform. It was the insertion of a new life; and the result has been the development of a new organization, in the entire method of treating criminals. It takes off the ban of utter and hopeless condemnation and restores them to the privileges of humanity and makes them in common with all their race the prisoners of hope. All that has been since done, and all that yet remains to be done is but the legitimate carrying out of this idea. It is the wide, and everlasting interests involved in this Christian idea, which explains the deep and engrossing, and when mingled with human passions, in some quarters even fanatical interest, which the discussion of this subject, as we shall see, has aroused.

The form first and most naturally assumed by this idea, was that of solitary confinement without labour. This form, however, was never reduced to trial, and was soon abandoned, on the ground of its undue severity as a punishment. After years of unwearied and philanthropic effort by the Society of Philadelphia and its friends, in developing and advocating their idea of a penitentiary or reformation-prison, the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act in 1821, authorizing the erection of the Eastern State Prison or Penitentiary near Philadelphia. The principles to be observed in its construction were these two: 1. That the prisoners were to be kept entirely separate from each other, so that their very persons should be mutually unknown; and 2. that they should be furnished with suitable and sufficient employment. The object of the legislature in adopting this plan, was to repudiate, on the one hand, all attempts to prevent the evils of association either by classifying the prisoners, as in the European gaols, or by allowing them to associate for work during the day, while all intercourse should be prevented by enforcing absolute silence, as in the Auburn Prison; and on the other hand to repudiate equally the plan of entire solitude, by

allowing the requisite amount of intercourse with other persons besides their fellow criminals, and that of shutting up their thoughts to prey not only upon their crimes but upon themselves, by allowing them sufficient daily employment to relieve the tedium of confinement, and furnish agreeable mental occupation. Such were the principles originally laid at the foundation of what is now well known all over the world, as the Pennsylvania system of prison discipline.

In June, 1825, four years after the passage of this act in Pennsylvania, and while the Eastern Penitentiary was in process of erection, a society was formed in Boston "for the improvement of public prisons." The organization of the Boston Society, though long subsequent to that at Philadelphia, was an independent movement, suggested by the very same evils existing in the State Prison at Charlestown. The executive represented the state of things to the Legislature of Massachusetts in a light so revolting, that in 1826, a law was passed, ordering the erection of a new building in Charlestown; the main object of which was to secure the separate confinement of the convicts, and to prevent that association of prisoners to which the fearful evils referred to were justly ascribed. Under the joint recommendation of the executive of the State and the Boston Society the plan adopted for the new prison was that previously in use at Auburn, in New York;—which provided for the separation of the prisoners at night, and allowed their association during the day, while it sought to prevent the corrupting evils of convict-association, by enforcing the most rigid silence.

The true ground upon which this plan was originally adopted at Boston, no doubt, was that it seemed to answer the desired purpose of preventing the contaminating influence of convict society. This was the great root of all the apparent evils which produced the movement towards reform. There was no reason apparent, therefore, for adopting the more cumbrous and expensive and difficult method of providing for the complete separation of the convicts. Having adopted the system known as the Auburn, congregate, or silent system, on the ground just mentioned, the gentlemen at Boston were naturally committed to its defence. It soon became apparent that there were other evils besides the single one of corrupting criminal association, and which this system did not provide for;—as for

example, the fact of being a recognized convict, so discouraging in any attempt to regain public confidence and esteem, and so dangerous in the hands of designing villains, after the term of imprisonment had expired. And moreover it became very questionable, whether the great Christian idea from which the whole reform received its true life,—that, namely, of attempting the moral reformation of the prisoner, could be adequately carried out, upon the congregate plan. It was the view of these considerations rendered perfectly familiar by their longer expeperience, and their humble but laborious and often disappointed Christian efforts, which had induced the projectors of the Pennsylvania system, to aim at a more complete separation of the prisoners, so as not only to prevent every corrupting association, but all personal knowledge of each other. When these considerations began to urge themselves upon the attention of the gentlemen at Boston, they naturally felt themselves called upon to defend the system to which they were committed. To do this successfully, it was very evident they must be able to produce some valid objection to the Pennsylvania plan of separation, which bore upon its very face the presumption of superiority; on the ground that it not only accomplished more perfectly the great object which all parties had in view, but a great deal besides, to which the congregate plan could make no pretension. It is easy to see how in this state of the case, the reports of the Boston Society came to be filled with strictures and criminations of the Eastern State Penitentiary at Philadelphia. The only possible method of carrying the verdict of society in their favour, was to show that the provisions of the Pennsylvania system were either unnecessary, inoperative or cruel. It so happened that the management of the controversy fell into the hands of parties who were so deeply implicated in the matter, as to render them unscrupulous; and without observing that these several grounds of argument were incompatible, they undertook to establish them all. It was obvious, however, that the most available method for carrying public sentiment was to plant the main battery upon the last mentioned ground. Hence the most extraordinary statements, and the most fanciful, as well as exaggerated pictures of the cruel effects of what was falsely stigmatized as "solitary confinement," in producing bodily disease and mental fatuity, were annually sent forth in the

Reports of the Society. The more they felt the pressure of the difficulties at home, the more violent became their assaults upon the rival system, in order to bolster up their own confidence and that of the community at large. In this course they were encouraged by two accidental circumstances. In the first place the friends of the Pennsylvania system, relying with calmness and confidence upon the ultimate triumph of truth, and with that modesty which belongs to those who feel that they have the truth on their side, took no measures to counteract the statements of their adversaries, or trumpet the achievements of their favourite measures. And in the second place, the vital statistics of the Philadelphia Prison, for reasons which we shall explain hereafter, furnished some show of foundation for the representations of the Boston Reports.

Under these circumstances it was not strange that the one-sided controversy should gradually run into extreme exaggeration; and as in all other cases that exaggeration gradually worked its own cure. It was as plain as any axiom in mathematics, that gentlemen who had proved their intelligent, untiring and elevated benevolence, by half a century of self-denying devotion to the social and moral welfare of the neglected criminal, could never tolerate, much less become parties in the administration of abuses and cruelties, so inhuman and horrifying as those attributed to the discipline of the Eastern Penitentiary. The inevitable effect of this overdone extravagance, was first to awaken suspicion as to its truth, and next to stimulate the desire to know what the real facts of the case were. Such was the result, as we shall see, not only in Boston, but among the members of the very society from which these statements were annually sent forth; until the work of misrepresentation was at length arrested, four years ago, and a new era in the controversy was opened.

Meantime, however, the Boston Reports had been disseminated with the most commendable diligence and zeal, not only in our own country, but also in Europe. The governments of the old world had been aroused by the labours of Howard and his noble coadjutors and successors, to the enormities practised upon prisoners, to the scandal of every Christian nation on the continent. The earnest discussions waged upon this subject in the United States, found, therefore, not only a philanthropic, but also a national sentiment awakening to its importance; and the

comparative merits of the rival American systems soon became familiar topics of debate, in nearly every country in Europe. The effect of the Boston Reports was precisely what we have described. The statesmen and philanthropists to whom the matter belonged, were soon convinced that those reports were not to be relied upon as impartial sources of knowledge; and having no other means of information accessible to them at home, they wisely determined to send commissioners to America, to investigate the whole matter upon the ground. These commissioners were in all cases men of distinguished abilities, and accomplished education, as well as deeply interested, both as philanthropists and statesmen, in the right settlement of the disputed points. Arbiters better qualified to adjudicate upon the question in debate, could not have been found in Christendom. And so far as any prepossessions could be supposed to exist, the friends of the Auburn system should be the last to complain; for up to the period of their respective visits to America, they had exclusive possession of the ear of the commissioners. And although the manifest unfairness of their special pleading had awakened doubts as to the candour of the argument, or the full truth of their statements, yet it was true in point of fact, as any one might naturally suppose, that most of the commissioners were pre-occupied with some degree of prejudice, against the Pennsylvania system. They came among us, and explored personally and in the fullest manner, both the principles and the working of the respective plans, scrutinizing their results even to the minutest particulars, and studying their bearings in every direction. Now it is a curious fact, considering the liability to prejudice from previous representations, as well as the liability to the adoption of different opinions, in the most unbiassed and candid view of the same facts, that in every case, without a single exception, they reported in favour of the Pennsylvania system; and on the strength of their reports, that system has been introduced by governmental authority, into most of the countries of Europe. It would, we think, be difficult to procure a more fair and conclusive adjudication of any great moral or social question: and if the verdict be not accepted as final by all parties, surely it must be admitted as conclusive against the cry of cruelty and inhumanity, so long and pertinaciously urged by its foes against the plan of separation, and

so commonly admitted by many, who on other grounds would be its fast and unhesitating friends.

In this series of embassies, the first was that deputed by France, and was composed of M. De Beaumont, and M. De Tocqueville. Of the intelligence, ability, and thoroughness of this commission, it is needless to say a word; and the result of their inquiries is well known to have been a decided recommendation of the separation-system. Not perfectly satisfied with this report, as there had been so general and deep a prejudice against the principles it advocated, a second deputation consisting of Messrs. De Metz, Blouet, Davaux and Verel came over; some, if not all of whom, avowed a strong anterior prejudice against the Pennsylvania system. In their report they declare that "since they have seen the system in operation, their opinion has undergone a total change; and it is that very system, which they feel in conscience bound to propose and advocate."* At a still later period M. Ardit, of the department of the Minister of the Interior, M. Paul Guillot, Avocat de Paris, and M. Epren were sent by the government to England, to inspect the Model Prison at Pentonville near London, constructed on the Pennsylvania or separate plan. After this mature and enlightened consideration, a *projet de loi* was laid before the French Chambers in 1844, by M. Duchatel, Minister of the Interior, and M. Passy, Under Secretary of State, under the authority of the Crown, providing for the national adoption of the separate plan of confinement. The speech of M. Duchatel, introducing this bill, is one of the most comprehensive and powerful arguments, in brief compass, we have ever seen; passing in review every material question in both systems, and giving his final and decided judgment in favour of the plan of separation. The bill was, after full discussion, adopted by the Chambers; and thirty different prisons have been since erected in accordance with its provisions.

After many unsuccessful attempts to mitigate, and if possible remove the crying evils and enormities of the public prisons in England, on the old plan, the Government sent a commissioner to the United States in 1832, to investigate the workings of our Prisons. The commissioner, Wm. Crawford, Esq., fulfilled his

* See the original letter of M. De Metz addressed to the government.

duty faithfully, and in 1834 presented an elaborate Report, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The valuable information embodied in that report, together with the views of the Commissioner, and other evidence on the subject, led to the determination of the government to erect what is termed a Model Prison at Pentonville near London, which was modelled even to its very architecture after the Philadelphia penitentiary, with only some modifications in its details in no way affecting the fundamental principles of the Pennsylvania system.* In this prison which went into operation in 1842, these principles have again undergone a most thorough and scrutinizing inquiry. Among the Commissioners to whom its supervision was entrusted by the government, we find the names of Lord Wharncliffe, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Devon, Lord John Russell, Hon. Charles Shaw Lefevre, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Sir Benjamin Brodie, one of the most distinguished surgeons in England. The Annual Reports of these distinguished individuals to Parliament, furnish a body of the most conclusive testimony, on all the topics brought into the debate. The effect of the confinement upon the health and the mind of the prisoners, as well as upon their moral feelings and character, has been closely observed by the highest medical authority in the kingdom; and the reports before us contain the result. That of 1845, the last we have seen, states that "the health of the prison had been excellent." "During the past year, and up to the present time no case of insanity, hallucination or mental disease of any kind has occurred." "There have been three cases of mortality for seven hundred and forty-one prisoners, or at the ratio of one in two hundred per annum." An inquest was held upon the bodies in each case. The Coroner examined a number of the prisoners, taking the precaution first to remove all the officers of the prison. The jury returned a verdict of natural death; and volunteered a written statement to this effect—"we cannot separate without expressing our satisfaction at the general treatment of the prisoners at this prison." And the value of this unsolicited testimony is the greater, as the Coroner, Mr. Wakley, declared that he had previously been prejudiced against the prison.

* See Prisons and Prisoners, by Jos. Adshead, London, 1845.

The result of the scrutiny which this model institution has undergone has been to settle the question of its humanity, and in its place to raise another, viz.: Is the discipline sufficiently punitive? This question, however, is abundantly answered by the mere statistics of prison offences and punishments. At Pentonville the cases of prison delinquency were eleven and a half per cent. per annum; while at Coldbath Fields Prison, one of the best conducted prisons upon the silent and congregated system, they numbered within a fraction of one hundred and sixty-two per cent., showing the remarkable difference of one hundred and fifty per cent. in this significant item in the moral effect of imprisonment.

The effect of the experiment tried at London, has been decisive for England. In 1845 there were in process of erection prisons on the Pentonville model at not less than fifteen or twenty different places with an aggregate of twelve thousand cells; one of which, that at Liverpool, comprising no less than eleven hundred cells, is the largest in the United Kingdom.

In Prussia the controversy was waged about the same time and with perhaps still greater zeal in high quarters. Doctor Julius, who ranks high among the philanthropists of our age, was deputed by the King of Prussia to visit the United States, and spent three years among us studying our institutions and collecting information on the subject. The effect was, as in all the other cases, to convert him into a staunch, able, and leading advocate of the separate system. The King himself, while in England visited the Model Prison at Pentonville and minutely inspected its construction, arrangement, discipline, and effects both moral and sanitary. Such was the impression made upon his mind and feelings, that he declared upon the spot, "*My determination is now fixed:*" and it is hardly necessary to add that he has carried out that determination with intelligence, wisdom and perseverance. Five prisons of large size, were immediately erected by his order, in various parts of the kingdom.

Frederick William is not the only crowned head in Europe who has entered the controversial arena upon this interesting subject. The King of Sweden has studied and written largely and ably on the subject, and exerted his personal and official influence with great zeal in promoting the cause of prison discipline. Eight prisons, on the separate plan, have been built

under the joint auspices of the King and Diet of Sweden: and the Pennsylvania system may now be considered as completely nationalized in Sweden.

In Poland the reform began in 1829, and in 1835 a large separation-prison was opened at Warsaw, and since that period at least two others have been added. In Denmark there are eleven either finished or in course of erection. In Norway the principle has also been introduced and a large penitentiary has been constructed at Christiana, the capital of the country. In Belgium the same principle has prevailed. The celebrated Maison de Force at Ghent has been remodelled and a large prison at Liege erected on the separate plan: and a *projet de loi* was submitted to the House of Representatives by the Minister of Justice three years ago, which, if we remember rightly, was adopted, for introducing the separate system in the case of all the male adult convicts in the kingdom. In Switzerland, Holland, Hamburgh and several of the German Dutchies, the discussion has likewise terminated in the adoption of the Pennsylvania or separate system.

For the purpose of harmonizing, maturing, and propagating the views which had thus sprung up independently in different parts of Europe, a general Congress of those friends of humanity who were especially interested in the welfare of prisoners, assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in September 1846. "It embraced seventy-five members, viz.: Germans, forty-six; Englishmen, six; Frenchmen, six; Swedes and Norwegians, six; Dutchmen, six; Swiss, two; and one each from Belgium, Denmark, Poland and the United States. Of professions, there were from Germany alone eight Judges or Presidents of tribunals; seven Professors of law at the Universities; six Governors or superintendents of prisons; five prison Chaplains; six Physicians; five advocates; four members of legislative bodies; and from other countries there were several chiefs of the administration and inspectors-general of prisons; Presidents and Secretaries of prison societies; prison Architects, and Editors of prison journals."

The great principles of the prevailing penitentiary systems were thoroughly discussed for three successive days, and the results of wide observation and mature experience over the civilized world were well considered, and carefully compared,

and at the close of their sessions a series of resolutions was passed, fully recognizing the *separation of all prisoners*, accused and convicted, on long or short sentences, as an *essential feature of the discipline.*"* And this decision was fully approved and confirmed by a second Congress called for the same purpose, which was held at Brussels, in the following year, and composed of representatives of sixteen different nations. With such a response rolling back upon them from Europe like the voice of many waters, it was no wonder that the doubts raised by their own common sense about the fairness and truth of the monstrous enormities charged against the Pennsylvania prison in the Boston Reports, should have grown into settled unbelief, on the part of many of the friends and even some of the members of the Boston Society itself. When the Report for the year 1845 was presented to the society, these doubts were boldly avowed and enforced by considerations which arrested its adoption, and procured the appointment of a committee to inquire into the matter, and if need be, inspect the Pennsylvania prisons in person, and incorporate the result of their inquiries with the forthcoming Report. This committee were constrained to adopt views so incompatible with the prevailing tenor of the Report, that the Board of Managers refused to publish the result. In 1846 a similar fate awaited the annual Report. "It was suspended by the side of its fellow;" and a second committee was appointed to take the whole matter in hand.

It so happened that just at this crisis a new city prison was to be built in Boston; and the new party in the Society, were bold enough to propose that it should be on the separate plan.

A very intelligent and highly respected citizen of Boston, George Sumner, Esq., who had been residing in Paris long enough to become possessed of the enlightened views, which the governments in common with the philanthropists of Europe had so unanimously adopted, addressed a letter to the Mayor of the city, putting him in possession of the views thus ascertained and settled, and expressing his surprise that any doubt should be entertained upon the subject at home. This letter contributed greatly to strengthen the hands of those who were striving to set right the public opinion formed by more than twenty years of

* See An Inquiry, &c. pp. 151, 152.

uncontradicted misrepresentation. It was not to be expected, however, that an entire change could be effected so easily in a community which had grown up in its present belief, and which was committed to its opinions by heavy pecuniary forfeits, in addition to the mortification of recanting not only argument but abuse; and every one of whose public presses was under the dominant faith. That an opposing belief should have sprung up at all under these circumstances, was itself a powerful testimony to the truth. To clear that truth of the accumulated and hardened concretions of years of prejudice, and enthrone it in the convictions even of intelligent and candid men, must be the work of time. Accordingly when the society met in 1847, the suspended Annual Reports of the two preceding years, together with the reports of the select committees thereon, and the draft of the Annual Report for the year just closed, all came up for consideration. The discussion was very warm and was prolonged into a series of evening meetings, which attracted great attention, and finally terminated by the adoption of the last of the three Annual Reports;—that, namely, for 1847. Alarmed at the danger impending over their long cherished institutions, the surrounding organs lifted up one simultaneous howl, upon the same old key-note, against the cruelties of "solitary imprisonment." The truth however has been lodged in the bosom of the intelligent and inquiring; and its fruits may already be clearly seen in the structure now rearing for that very prison, the determination of whose plan, precipitated the discussion we have described.

We have been thus minute and circumstantial in giving the history of this controversy, because we believe, with the old rhetoricians, that a clear and true narration is often the most conclusive argument. Such we think is the case in the present instance. If any one has had the patience to follow us through this brief, and yet we fear somewhat tedious, history of the discussions and proceedings relating to the subject of prison discipline, we can hardly conceive it possible that he should fail to be convinced in regard to the main point in the controversy. If this is a matter to be determined by adjudication at all, and if there is any such thing as conclusiveness in experience or human testimony, how can it be more conclusively settled than it has been?

The whole reformation in the treatment of prisoners, let it be

remembered, sprang from the conviction that something was due to the convicts, not merely on the score of common humanity, which was outraged before, but likewise with a view to their moral well-being. This latter object sub-divided itself into two distinct ends or stages:—first that which aimed to prevent the monstrous moral evils incident to the association of prisoners of all shades of character, and criminality. And secondly that which was instinct by the higher Christian idea, of attempting the moral reformation of convicts, and restoring them to society as better citizens, because educated into a knowledge and belief of the Christian law of morality, with its inward sense of obligation, and its outward and everlasting sanctions.

The adjudication between the congregate and separate systems can be made intelligently and justly, only in the view of both these objects. In applying the first as a test of their comparative merit, there can be no question that the presumption of superiority lies on the side of the Pennsylvania prisons. There is no possibility of corrupting association, because the separation is complete and constant. The inmates neither know each other's names, nor see each other's face, nor hear each other's voice. Their isolation is perfect.

On the other hand, the friends of the Auburn system argue, 1. That the same object is attained in the congregate prisons, by the rigid enforcement of silence, without resorting to the needless rigour of preventing all personal association. 2. They contend that to prevent all communication among prisoners, is impossible, and therefore it is useless to try. 3. They appeal to the *argumentum ad crumenam;* and cypher out a small balance against society, amounting at the Philadelphia Penitentiary to ten or fifteen dollars a year, for each prisoner. 4. Lastly and chiefly, they declaim against the cruelty and inhumanity of dooming men to solitude; and insist upon it that it is destructive to the body and the mind of the prisoner.

To all this the friends of the convict separation system reply substantially as follows:—1. In regard to the forced silence of congregated convicts they argue, in the first place, that it is far more tyrannical and grinding to the spirits to bring human beings together, and yet forbid them to speak, or exchange signals of recognition, under penalty of the lash, than to prevent communication by keeping them entirely and personally separate. Let any one

ask himself which would be the most tantalizing and tyrannical, and which would most stir his sullen anger, or provoke his efforts at resistance. The number and proportion of the punishments inflicted at all the congregate prisons abundantly show the truth and force of this consideration. It appears from the comparison of statistics on a large scale, that five times as many punishments have been inflicted in the congregate prisons for this single violation of the rules, as were found necessary among the same number of separate prisoners, for all offences whatsoever. 2. This stern regimen is not only galling but inoperative. The prisoners will manage to elude the closest vigilance. Congregated human beings cannot be prevented from communicating with each other.* This is abundantly clear from the vast number of cases that are detected and punished. And of course these bear but a trifling proportion to the cases which are undetected. Desperate as the propensity to communicate with a fellow being at one's side must be, yet the poor convict would hardly venture the risk of the *cat*, or that more terrific instrument *the douche*, unless the numerical chances were greatly in favour of his escaping detection.

And besides, suppose the iron silence to reign unbroken under terror of the lash, and no word to be uttered during the livelong day, yet who is so ignorant of human nature as to suppose that men have no language for communicating character, feeling, or thought, but the conventional language of words. Nor do we refer merely to such obvious signs as may be prohibited equally with words. Who does not know that there are incessantly streaming from the mere presence of a human being, influences, sentiments and feelings, which are perfectly intelligible and perfectly efficient for moral purposes, without the intervention of any conventional language whatever. Who has not seen and felt this power in congregated masses of men, where not a word has been uttered. It really seems almost incredible, that wise men should build an argument even in an extremity, and much less a great scheme involving the moral and material well-being of countless thousands, upon so flimsy a foundation as this. Who would feel that the moral interests of his child

* "Experience has shown the impossibility of keeping silence in society, and the certain effect of the law of silence is to encourage hypocrisy and teach fraud." —Third Report of the New York Prison Association, Second Part, p. 94.

were safe, especially if he had disclosed already a proclivity to vice, if he were shut up to labour day after day, surrounded and pressed upon by a gang of corrupt and hardened criminals, even admitting, what is impossible, that no word or look were interchanged. The supposition is absurd. Vice is too infectious to be kept from spreading by any such precaution. And finally, the mere knowledge of each other's person, acquired in the Auburn prison is itself decisive against the plan; because it enables the designing and unscrupulous villain to seduce into crime, or failing in that, to levy black mail without mercy, upon his well disposed prison acquaintances, when he happens to find them striving to re-establish among strangers, a character for virtue and integrity. The history of prisons and prisoners contains some recitals of this sort, that might move the pity of a fiend. In the Philadelphia Prison, and we presume in the separate prisons generally, the convicts are designated by their numbers and not their names, so that there may remain no trace of their criminal history to identify them in after life, in case they should be disposed to cover over that period of guilt and shame, by an honest and reputable career. 3. The most conclusive test of the comparative merit of the two systems, arises from their respective adaptations to the higher end of penitentiary discipline;—that, namely, which aims not merely to arrest, but to counteract the workings and transform the leaven of corruption. Which system furnishes the best facilities and holds out the strongest hope of sound and thorough reformation, based on true Christian principles? The answer to this question seems to be determined by these three considerations. In the first place the hope of repentance and reformation is conditioned upon the removal of every cause tending to support the guilty individual while bearing the burden of his punishment, or to blind his eyes to the enormity of his crime. Now every one must see at a glance how completely this condition is broken, by placing the culprit in a society composed exclusively of other criminals. No one can fail to observe the supporting power of mere companionship in guilt. We all know how easily the early kindlings of repentance can be quenched in the heart, by a cold unsympathising look, and how the first purposes of amendment can be scattered to the winds, by the leer of sarcasm or contempt, or by the sullen aspect of defiance, or hatred, or scorn.

These are influences which no rigours of silence can check, and from which nothing less than complete personal isolation can deliver the convict. It is like the virus of malignant contagion, propagated by mere contact, not only without the intervention of any verbal communication, but without even the necessity of any distinct intention. It is this consideration which satisfies us of the inexpediency of the device introduced in the Model Prison at Pentonville, for bringing the convicts together in the chapel of the institution for religious worship; notwithstanding the arrangements are such as to prevent the prisoners from seeing each other. The power of sympathy is undoubtedly a most potent instrument for the propagation of sentiment as well as feeling. In seeking to avail themselves of this instrument, so efficient in the worship of ordinary Christian congregations, the projectors of that institution seem to have forgotten that the sort of influence which it propagates depends upon the dominant sentiments of the assembly. So far, therefore, as it is of any effect at all,—and without some effect it would of course, not have been resorted to,—the effect cannot fail to be unfriendly to the end sought, just because an assembly of prisoners is always to be presumed to be predominantly vicious in character, if not in feeling. In accordance with these views, grounded on the obvious principles of human nature, we have been informed by the excellent Warden and Moral Instructor at the Philadelphia prison, that they constantly find individuals affected by the truths which penetrate their separate cells, in a way and to a degree, that would be obviously improbable, if not impossible, if the convicts were brought together even on the restricted plan of the Pentonville prison.

A second condition necessary to any reasonable hope of reforming prisoners, is that their instruction and treatment should be adapted to the peculiar circumstances and mental state of each individual. On the importance of this condition, it is needless to enlarge. Obvious as its application is, in the case of several hundreds of criminals, of all shades of character and training, it is equally obvious that its whole force falls into the scale of the separate system.

The third condition necessary to any complete and lasting reformation, and which seems decisive in the view before us, is that the incipient convictions and resolutions of the unhappy

convict should be fostered and encouraged most sacredly, by every possible means; and above all, that every hindrance should be taken out of his way, and that the hope of perfect recovery, and ultimate restoration to the confidence and respect of society, should be allowed to shine upon his darkness, and sweeten the bitter cup of his penal sorrows. How all this can be done, when he is daily mingling not only in the companionship of acknowledged and mostly hardened criminals, but exposed as a criminal himself, to the curious gaze of unthinking and unsympathising crowds,—branded publicly, and by name, as a convict, and liable any where and at any time to be recognized as such;—how such a discipline as this is compatible with any reasonable hope of regaining virtue and respectability, passes all our comprehension. To suppose it favourable to such a result, is too absurd to admit of argument.

2. In regard to the comparative expense of the two classes of prisons, we have but a word to say. The proceeds of labour in the Philadelphia Prison have always fallen short of the expenses of the establishment, by about twelve or fifteen dollars a year, for each prisoner. Some of the New York congregate prisons, we notice, have failed equally the last year to meet their expenses. On the other hand the State Prison at Trenton, New Jersey,—on the separate plan—has paid all its expenses, including some extraordinary outlays; and has a surplus to the credit of the state, amounting to upwards of four thousand dollars. Surely this should satisfy the most scrupulous economist, even if the moral interests of society are to be weighed against dollars and cents. We are not meaning, however, to deny, that the congregate system may be made the most lucrative to the state. But has it come to this, that the character of our great penal institutions, involving the temporal and eternal welfare of thousands of guilty human beings, and the security and peace of society, is to be determined by the amount of revenue, which can be wrung from the labours of the convicts?

Thus far we have found plain sailing. The case is almost too plain for argument. Now comes the real tug of war. What avails the greater security, the greater efficiency, the greater moral and reformatory power of the separation principle, when the mind sinks into idiotic fatuity, and the body finally succumbs under the intolerable and crushing night-mare of abso-

lute unbroken solitude! Here, as all the world knows is the great point of the onset. To this point, therefore, we must, in concluding, address our defence.

And in the first place, the whole argument is emasculated at once, by the simple remark, that there is no *solitude* in the case. There never was a more perfect example of a fallacy lying hid in a word. There is, as we have seen, but one single principle, which is essentially characteristic of the Pennsylvania system; viz, the separation of the convicts from each other, for the objects and the reasons already specified. As the only feasible method of attaining that end, the plan was adopted of building a separate prison for each convict. It is simply as if one of our best conducted county prisons contained but a single prisoner. This is the whole mystery, about which such a storm of controversy has been raised. The phantom that has been conjured up, of a lone human being, confined in a damp, dark cell, whose solitude is unbroken day after day, by a single human voice, or uncheered by a single ray of sun-light, or unenlivened by any motion or sound emanating from the outward world of activity or life, is as purely imaginary, as the horrible stories with which nurses used to frighten naughty children. The inmate of a Pennsylvania prison has plenty of light, breathes the sweet air of heaven, has an open yard to his cell, sufficient employment to occupy his thoughts, as many books as he can profitably use,—at least, and by necessity four or five visits every day from officers of the prison, with a chance of twice as many from official or friendly visitors, with whom he converses freely, besides stated and frequent interviews of considerable length, with the Moral Instructor and the School Master; is taught a useful trade, if he has none, and to read, and write, and cypher, if he does not know before; and to crown all, enjoys regular religious instruction, and divine worship every Sabbath, while perfectly secluded from all hardening and corrupting influences, and shielded from the spirit-breaking reflection of being an exposed, known, and recognized convict. It is no wonder that when men who have received their impressions from Boston, come to see the real facts of the case, their views of the nature and tendency of the system should undergo a complete and radical change.

In regard to the health of the prisoners whether of body or

mind, the friends of the system join issue with their opponents, and offer to try the cause either on the ground of its intrinsic principles and necessary tendencies, or by the competent opinions of the highest medical authorities, or by an appeal to the facts of the case, as they are in evidence before the world.

As this is really the only point which can be seriously brought into controversy, it may be worth while merely to say, that if experience should ultimately show, contrary to all apparent evidence at present, that the amount of society actually enjoyed in the Penitentiary at Philadelphia, or any other particular prison on the separate plan, is insufficient to sustain the spirits and mental vigour of the convicts, that amount may be increased indefinitely, without the least infringement of the principle; provided only, that the association be derived from any other quarter than the other convicts. It seems impossible, therefore, that the system should break down at this point, because there is no necessary limit to the amount of association from virtuous quarters; unless the extraordinary ground should be assumed, that the silent presence of other convicts, is the only and sure specific against the dangers of imprisonment, both to the body and the mind.

In regard to this point it should be borne in mind that some degree of injury, from confinement, and friction of temper, is unavoidable, in any mode of prison life. It is a necessary condition of its punishment. The health of a company of convicts cannot, therefore, be fairly expected to equal that of the same number of persons in respectable out-door occupation. The tendencies to an undue proportion of disease, both bodily and mental, among convicts, arise from the following causes. 1. Vitiated hereditary constitutions, so frequently existing among that class of persons from whom prisoners are generally taken. 2. Bad habits, irregularity, intemperance and exposure, incident to habits of vice before commitment. 3. Hence germs of disease partially developed, are very often found in prisoners at the time of their commitment. Of twenty-two deaths in one year at the Philadelphia prison, no less than sixteen were registered as diseased at their admission. And this has been about the usual proportion. 4. Bad and inadequate nutrition. To this cause Dr. Woodward, Physician during six years to the Connecticut State (congregate) prison, attributes mainly, the large

proportion of dyspeptic and tubercular diseases, terminating in marasmus and consumption in that prison.* 5. Secret vice, which more than any other cause, tends to depress and exhaust the physical powers, and induce insanity and even fatuity of mind. 6. Change of life, from free exercise in the open air, to constant confinement in narrow limits, generally at sedentary, and sometimes dusty, employments. To see the effect of this item, it is only necessary to compare the sallow and unhealthy appearance of shoe-makers or weavers, in the close aud dirty suburbs of a manufacturing town, with the full and ruddy form of butchers or drovers. 7. The depressing influence of moral causes, which invariably attend in crowds upon criminals, and especially when overtaken by the punishment of their transgressions.

It is obvious that all these causes of disease are entirely independent of any particular method of prison discipline. Accordingly the intelligent physician of the Auburn Prison, says, (Report for 1849, p. 128.) "From all the observation I have been able to make, I am satisfied that few men can bear imprisonment eight or ten years, without becoming both mentally and physically debilitated; and many middle aged men, when they leave the prison, appear to be broken down in mind and body." This is the testimony from a *congregate* prison; and confirms the conclusion to which we had come from an extensive and careful comparison of statistics, as well as from the very nature of the case, that the separate prisons, taken on a wide scale, are decidedly more favourable to the health of the prisoners, both mental and bodily, than the congregate prisons. In the case of the Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia, from which the unfavourable statistics have been invariably drawn, it should be remembered that its tables of disease, insanity and mortality, are fed by the most vitiated and wretched population any where to be found,—the miserable colored population of Southwark and Moyamensing. At the close of six years professional attendance, the first physician, Dr. Bache, says, "My reports clearly show that more than four-fifths of the mortality are to be charged to the presence of colored convicts:" although at no time did their numbers exceed one-third of the white prisoners.

* See an Inquiry, p. 58.

Besides this character of the population, we think we observe a tone of decided dissatisfaction pervading the report of the present physician, Dr. Given, in regard to the hygienic arrangements of the prison, and having no connexion with the principle of separation. If this be so, it should command the instant attention of the proper authorities; for this prison, from its peculiar relation to the controversy, has filled, and deserves to fill, a large space in the eye of all who are interested in the question. It is certain that its sanitary statistics make a much less favourable exhibit than those of many, perhaps most, other prisons both in this country and in Europe on the separate principle. And although we regard the noble cause, for which humanity owes so much to the projectors and managers of this institution, as already safely established, and destined ultimately to a complete triumph throughout the civilized world, yet these gentlemen owe it to themselves and to their cause, to make their own institution as perfect as it is possible, under the circumstances, for an institution to be.

But as the vital question of the influence of the separate system upon the health and the minds of the prisoners, is, after all, a simple matter of fact, to be established like any other fact by experience and testimony, we close our remarks by citing a few of the authorities, on which we may rest the conviction of its safety and superiority; merely saying again, that for a skillful elimination of the sources of error in estimating the value of the testimony on both sides, and for a heaping up of evidence, almost to superfluity, from every quarter under heaven, not even excepting Boston itself, we must once more refer our readers, to the "Inquiry, &c.," by a citizen of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Jas. B. Coleman physician to the New Jersey State Prison at Trenton, says, "You will find by them (the monthly health reports) that but one death has occurred—and that a suicide. It is not necessary to mention again, in detail, what you already know, that the management of the prisoners is such as to ensure as great an amount of health and comfort as can be found amongst an equal body of men, under any circumstances. From diseases contracted in the prison, where there are under discipline two hundred and sixty persons, the deaths do not average one a year."—*Report of the New Jersey State Prison, Jan.* 1849.

Dr. Darrach, Physician to the Eastern Penitentiary of Penn-

sylvania, says, "I have no hesitation in saying, that the white mortality in the Eastern State Penitentiary is nearly, if not quite, as small as in the community at large, and the excess of mortality among the colored convicts, is not to be attributed to anything peculiar in the discipline of the institution, but to the depraved and degraded condition of this class of prisoners, who constitute only about one-third of the whole prison population, while they give two-thirds of the mortality.—*Tenth Report of the Eastern State Penitentiary, p. 22. Quoted by a citizen of Pennsylvania, p.* 62.

Dr. Hartshorne, successor to Dr. Darrach, says: "The per centage of mortality in five State prisons on the Auburn or congregate plan, derived from the ratio between the aggregate number of deaths and that of the prisoners within the year is 2.41. That of three penitentiaries conducted on the separate or Pennsylvania plan, is 2.11; which shows a per centage of three-tenths in favour of the latter, notwithstanding the miserable character of the low black and wretched white vagrants that are crowded upon us from the dens and purlieus of the city."—*Fifteenth Report of the Eastern State Prison*, p. 32, cited in the Inquiry p. 69.

Dr. De Balzac, Professor of the Royal College of Versailles, speaking of the separate prison for the Department of the Seine in France, says, "The sanitary condition of the cellular prison is *incomparably better* than that of the prisons in common. Experience has shown that the system (of separation) is favourable to the health of the prisoners, and that it has no deleterious influence on their intellect."—*Field on Prison Discipline, cited in the Inquiry, p.* 153.

The Physician of the separate prison at Montpelier, in France, says, "Out of six hundred and fifty-eight men, and one hundred and sixty-six women, received in the prison, three men and one woman have been put under treatment for mental derangement, but each one of these had shown signs of insanity before coming to the prison, and experience shows that the system of isolation, with its attendant visits, instead of increasing, has a tendency to moderate and quiet the predisposition to insanity." *Inquiry p.* 153.

M. Ardet, Honorary Inspector of the prisons of France says, "The most perfect unanimity is found in the observations of

the medical attendants of the separate prisons in France, some of whom have feared the effects of the discipline upon the health of prisoners. All acknowledge that sickness is found less frequently, and of shorter duration. Epidemic disorders, and sickness occasioned by the change of the seasons, rarely penetrate the cells, whilst under the old system the inhabitants of the prison never escaped. They frequently see prisoners weak, emaciated, and languishing, gradually recover all the outward signs of good health. Thus several physicians formally declare that the cellular system ought to be accepted as a benefit on account of health,"—[M. Ardet, Honorary Inspector of the prisons of France, at the Frankfort Congress, 1846.—Cited by Field, vol. ii. p. 363.]

The only remaining testimony we shall cite is that of the Count Gasparin, equally eminent as a Christian and a Statesman. "Every Government," says he in his letter to Mr. Sumner, "which in the actual state of society, and of the progress of Social science, adopts any other than the separate system, will expose itself to the necessity of having before long to reconstruct its prisons."

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## Art. III.—*The Apostleship a Temporary Office.*

In a former number* an attempt was made to prove that the highest permanent office in the church is that of Presbyter, by showing that the primitive Presbyters exercised the highest ministerial functions. In opposition to this doctrine, some allege the superiority and perpetuity of the Apostolic office. If this office was superior to that of Presbyter, and if it was designed to be perpetual, it follows of course that no church authority can rightfully be exercised, except by those who have succeeded the Apostles in the powers which belonged to them as such, and as distinguished from the Elders of the Church. Let it be observed, however, that in order to justify this conclusion, two things must be made out. If the Apostles were not an order of church officers, distinct from and superior to the Presbyters or Elders,

* See p. 116 of this volume.

the strongest proof that the office was perpetual only proves that that of Elder was designed to be perpetual, which all admit. If, on the other hand, the Apostolic office was a temporary one, it matters not how far it may have been superior to that held by Presbyters, who still remain, in that case, the highest permanent office-bearers in the Christian Church. In order then to the decision of the controversy, two distinct questions are to be determined. 1. Were the Apostles superior to Presbyters? 2. Was their office, as distinct from that of Presbyter, designed to be perpetual? By some Presbyterian writers both these questions have been answered in the negative, while all Episcopalians, who assert the jus divinum of prelatical episcopacy, answer both affirmatively. In the remainder of the present argument the first point will be yielded to the adverse party; that is to say, it will be granted that the Apostles were church-officers superior to Presbyters or Elders. At the same time an attempt will be made to prove, exclusively from scripture, that the Apostolic office was a temporary one.

I. The first argument in favour of this proposition is that the continuance of the office is no where expressly stated.

To this it might be answered, that an office being once created, its continuance must be presumed, without an explicit declaration to the contrary.

The general principle is not denied; but in this case there are peculiar circumstances which afford strong ground for a contrary presumption.

1. The original Apostles are uniformly spoken of as constituting a distinct and well-defined body of men, not only in the gospel history, but in the latest books of the New Testament. "But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before by THE APOSTLES OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, how that they told you there should be mockers in the last time who should walk after their own ungodly lusts." (Jude, vi. 17, 18.) This mode of expression seems to intimate, that "the apostles" belonged to a preceding period, and that most of them were actually gone. Jude would hardly have expressed himself in this way, if the title had already been extended to a multitude of others. "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy APOSTLES AND PROPHETS; for God hath avenged you on her." (Rev. xviii. 20.) Can there be any doubt that this apostrophe is ad-

dressed to the original Apostles? And would John have so described them if the name, in his day, had been rightfully assumed by many others, equal and equally "supreme" in power? That he was not familiar with any such extension of the name, may also be inferred from Rev. xxi. 14, where he speaks of "the twelve apostles."

It may be urged, however, that the case of Paul destroys the force of the presumption drawn from the mention of the Apostles as a limited number; for he was a thirteenth, and if one might be added, why not more?

This objection would be valid, but for one consideration, which converts the case of Paul into a strong corroboration of the doctrine against which it is alleged. That case is every where referred to and described as an anomalous exception. He speaks of himself as the least of the Apostles (1 Cor. xv. 9,) and not only as morally unworthy to be called one, but as almost too late to be an Apostle, as one born out of due time, (1 Cor. xv. 8,) while at the same time he asserts his equality with the rest as to official rank and power. Now if the Apostolic office was intended to be regularly continued, and if many others were to be brought into it, and invested with its "supreme powers," even during Paul's life-time, and by his agency, how was he like one born out of due time? Or how could he call himself the least of the Apostles? Can any degree of humility make it consistent with his truth and candour, to pronounce himself inferior, as an Apostle, to Timothy, Titus, Epaphroditus, Silas, Junias, and Andronicus, who were all officially his equals on the supposition which we are opposing? Since then the case of Paul is represented by himself as an anomaly, it serves, as a sole exception, to confirm the general statement that the Apostles are referred to as a limited body, not to be increased. This is the first ground of presumption that the office of apostle, as distinguished from all others, was intended to be temporary.

2. A second is, that some of the apostolic powers are acknowledged by both parties in this controversy to have been temporary. The presumption, therefore, is, that all the rest were temporary likewise, except so far as the continuance of any can be clearly shown from scripture. Now it is not and cannot be denied, that some of them were thus continued, and

that for this very purpose the offices of Presbyter and Deacon now exist. But this very fact adds greatly to the strength of the presumption, that the apostolic office was a temporary one. For if the cessation of some apostolic powers makes it *a priori* probable that all the rest ceased likewise, how much more does the acknowledged transfer of some of the remaining powers to distinct church-officers, continued in existence for that very purpose, make it *a priori* probable, that all the apostolic powers, which did not thus cease, were thus transferred.

3. The power exercised by the Apostles was a general ambulatory power, not confined to particular districts. This was exactly suited to the incipient condition of the church, but could not supersede the necessity of permanent and local officers, after the planting of particular churches. Now the elders and deacons, of whom we read in the New Testament, are the elders and deacons of particular churches, after whose appointment the irregular supervision of the Apostles might be expected to cease, as being no longer needed. On the hypothesis, that the Apostles were commissioned merely to plant the church in various countries, and ordain permanent officers who should exercise such of the apostolical powers as were necessary for the continued existence of the church, while all the others ceased;—on this hypothesis the course of things could hardly have been different from that which is recorded. This then affords a third ground of presumption that the supposition is coincident with fact.

4. A fourth ground is, that the apostolic functions which all admit to have been subsequently exercised by Presbyters, are precisely those which, in their own nature, are the most important, viz. the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments. However important the powers of ordination and discipline may be, they derive their importance from the others. The end of discipline is to preserve purity and exclude the unworthy from the peculiar privileges of the church. The end of ordination is to secure a valid administration of the word and sacraments. If the Head of the Church had left this ministration to any one who chose to perform it, without special ordination to an office, whatever inconveniences might have attended that arrangement, it could not have impaired the intrinsic value of the word and sacraments. But if, on the other hand, there were no word and sacraments, ordination

would be useless. And the same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of government or discipline. These then (ordination and discipline) are subsidiary functions which derive their value from the relation they sustain to others. Now if the office of a Christian Presbyter had been invested with powers of a subordinate nature, i. e., such as derive their value from their being necessary to the exercise of others, it might have been alleged, with some degree of plausibility, that the Apostolic office was designed to be perpetual for the sake of those functions which were not bestowed on Presbyters, but which were essential to the being of the Church. But when we find that the lower office was invested with those powers which possess a necessary and intrinsic value, this, to say the least, adds strength to the presumption that the Apostolic office, which was thus succeeded by another order, in its most important functions, was intended to be temporary.

5. On the supposition, that some apostolic powers were neither shared by Presbyters nor discontinued, there is no means of determining what these reserved powers were. For if it be said that all which were not extended to Presbyters were thus reserved, this, in the first place, presupposes the decision of the question whether Presbyters ordained and governed; and, in the next place, supposing that they did not, the successors of the Apostles must, according to this rule, possess the power of working miracles, which certainly belonged to the original apostles. If it be said that this was a temporary gift of an extraordinary nature, then the power of bestowing the Holy Ghost was also temporary. But this our opponents are unwilling to admit. There is, in fact, no unity among Episcopalians, as to the precise powers which have been continued in their Bishops as successors of the Apostles. Some confine their claims to ordination. Some add discipline, as rightfully belonging only to the Bishop. Others add the power of bestowing the Holy Ghost. This last is inseparable from the gift of miracles. Whenever the effects of the gift of the Holy Ghost, conferred by the Apostles, are described, they are of a miraculous nature. The power of bestowing the more inward and spiritual influences of the Holy Ghost, is not only never claimed, but is expressly disclaimed. The Church of Rome is therefore more consistent than the advocates of High Church Episcopacy,

in claiming not only the power of conferring the Holy Ghost, but also its inseparable adjunct, that of working miracles. Our present design, however, is not to disprove the possession of this power, but to show the want of harmony among those who maintain that certain apostolic powers are continued in the church, by means of ministers distinct from and superior to Presbyters. And the design of showing this is to illustate the impossibility of drawing any line between the powers which ceased or were transferred to Presbyters, and those which are alleged to have been continued in the apostolic office. And the use which we propose to make of this impossibility is simply to strengthen the presumption which has been already raised in favour of the doctrine that the Apostolic office, as distinct from that of Elder, and superior to it, was a temporary one.

The grounds of the presumption, then, are (1) that the twelve apostles are referred to in the New Testament, as a well-known body of men, limited in number, and not to be increased, except in the extraordinary case of Paul, which he himself describes as a remarkable exception—(2) that some of the powers exercised by the original apostles are no longer in existence—(3) that some which still exist are exercised by Presbyters, and were so exercised in apostolic times—(4) that those which are thus exercised by Presbyters are in themselves the most essential to the existence of the church—(5) that the office of Presbyter has been continued in the church for the very purpose of succeeding the apostles in these functions, and with a view to permanent action within fixed local bounds—(6) that the advocates for the perpetuity of the apostolic office are not agreed among themselves as to the powers which now belong to it, and that this want of agreement arises from the silence of scripture, and the impossibility of fixing any principle, by which a line may be drawn between the powers which are thus continued and those which have ceased or been transferred to Presbyters.

Waving the positive conclusions which might not unreasonably be deduced from these premises, we shall merely insist upon their furnishing a strong presumption, that the apostolic office was intended to be temporary, bearing the same relation to the permanent ministry that a constituent assembly or convention bears to the legislative body which succeeds it. We say there is

presumptive proof of this, so strong that it can only be countervailed by positive evidence from scripture. The facts, which have been stated as the grounds of this presumption, may be clearly proved from scripture. It is not too much to ask, then, that if another fact is to be added to the list, viz. that some of the apostolic powers were neither discontinued nor transferred to Presbyters and that for the exercise of these reserved powers the apostolic office was itself continued, some explicit declaration of the fact may be adduced to countervail the strong adverse presumption. And this brings us back to our first position, that THE CONTINUANCE OF THE APOSTOLIC OFFICE, IN ADDITION TO THOSE WHICH RELIEVED IT OF ITS MOST IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS, IS NO WHERE EXPLICITLY ASSERTED IN THE SCRIPTURES. As the presumptions are so strong against the supposition of a permanent apostleship, the very silence of the scriptures might be urged as a decisive proof. It cannot be denied, however, that the force of this negative argument would be destroyed by proving that the scriptures *indirectly* recognize the Apostolic office as perpetual. This leads us to another view of the subject.

II. A second argument in favour of the proposition, that the Apostolic office was a temporary one, is that the name Apostle, in its strict and proper sense, is not applied, in the New Testament, to any persons who were not of the original thirteen.

The passages, in which such an application of the title is alleged, are the following. 1. "But the multitude of the city was divided and part held with the Jews, and part with THE APOSTLES," [meaning Paul and Barnabas]—"which when THE APOSTLES, Barnabas and Paul, heard of, they rent their clothes," &c. (Acts xiv. 4, 14.)—2. "Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among THE APOSTLES, who also were in Christ before me" (Rom. xvi. 7.)—3. "Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labour and fellow-soldier, but your messenger (ἀπόστολον,) and he that ministers to my wants." (Phil. ii. 25.)—4. "Whether any do inquire of Titus, he is my partner and fellow-helper concerning you; or our brethren be inquired of, they are the messengers (ἀπόστολοι) of the churches, and the glory of Christ." (2 Cor. viii. 23.)—5. "Paul and Silvanus and

Timotheus unto the church of the Thessalonians" (1 Thess. i. 1,) compared with "Nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome AS THE APOSTLES of Christ," (1 Thess. ii. 6.)—From these texts it is inferred by some that Barnabus, Andronicus, Junias, Epaphroditus, Silas, Timothy, and certain brethren who accompanied Titus to Corinth, were Apostles, in the same sense in which Paul was an Apostle; and from this the obvious conclusion has been drawn, that the Apostolic office was intended to be permanent.

It might well be made a question whether the strong antecedent probability that the Apostolic office was a temporary one, could be wholly set aside by the application of the title in five places, however clear the application might be, and however obvious the sense in which the word was used. The advocates of this interpretation themselves protest against all objections to their system which are founded on the scriptural use of the word *Bishop*, which they own to be convertible with *Presbyter*. They have no right, therefore, to make that of the word *Apostle* the foundation of a perfectly exclusive system. If the *lawfulness* of a superior order were the point in question, incidental proofs of this kind ought to have due weight; but when attempts are made to prove, that the continuance of the Apostolic order, as distinct from that of Presbyters, is essential to the being of a church, and that in the face of such presumptions to the contrary as have been stated, a sober reasoner would have good cause to hesitate before receiving, as conclusive evidence, the application of the name in a few cases, even if the proposed interpretation of the passages referred to were undoubtedly correct.

But this is very far from being certain. Of the five texts cited, there are two, in which the very application of the title is at least very doubtful. 1. In the first epistle to the Thessalonians, the word ἀπόστολοι is not in juxtaposition or apparent connexion with the names of Timothy and Silas, but separated from them by fourteen intervening verses. It is not even alleged, that the joining of other names with Paul's, in the beginning of a letter, makes it necessary to refer the whole of its contents to all the persons thus included in title; because, after such a joint address, he often uses the first person singular. Nor is it, on the other hand, alleged, that the use of the plural *we* re-

quires such a reference; because that mode of speech is so habitual with Paul, that it may almost be regarded as one of his characteristic idioms; and, as if to guard against such a construction, he says, near the conclusion of this very passage, "Wherefore we would have come unto you, EVEN I PAUL, once and again." (1 Thess. ii. 18.) This explanation is, at least, sufficient to outweigh the argument derived from the plural form ἀπόστολοι, which is, no doubt, strictly, inapplicable to a single person, but not when preceded, as in this case, by a particle denoting resemblance or comparison. Though Paul could not call himself "the APOSTLES of Christ," he could assert his right to do a thing "AS the apostles of Christ." He could disclaim having sought glory of them or of others, when he might have been burdensome AS the apostles of Christ collectively had a right to be. This construction of the sentence is, to say the least, as natural as that which makes the plural form in chap. ii. 6, refer to Timothy and Silas, who are mentioned only in the title (i. 1,) and neither there nor elsewhere as apostles.

But even granting that this is a more probable explanation of the plural form, which is a mere gratuitous concession, it would not follow necessarily that Timothy and Titus were Apostles in the sense contended for; because another supposition is still open to us, namely, that ἀπόστολοι is here used in another sense. For which is it easier to believe, that Silas and Timothy were as much Apostles as Paul himself, but nowhere called so except here by implication and remote allusion—or that when he calls them by that time, he uses it in a wider sense, than when it is employed to designate our Lord's immediate followers? We are willing that this question should be answered without any reference to the reasons, hereafter to be stated, for believing that the word *apostle* is employed in a plurality of meanings. Even if there were no other reason for attaching to it a double sense, this case would be just as good a reason for supposing one, as it is for supposing Silas to have been an Apostle, in the absence of all proof from any other quarter. The one argument is this: Paul says, "we the apostles of Christ," and as Silas and Timothy are mentioned with him in the title of the epistle, they must be included; they were therefore Apostles, in the same sense in which Paul was one. The

other argument is this: The Apostles were a limited number, and Paul elsewhere speaks of his addition to it as an extraordinary thing; but Silas and Timothy, though often mentioned, are no where else called Apostles; therefore, when Paul so calls them, he uses the title in a wider sense. If these two arguments be only *equal* in conclusive force, they balance one another, and the passage cannot be employed as proof, that these two persons were "supreme Apostles." This is the case be it observed, on the supposition that the ἀπόστολοι in ch. ii. 6, refers to all the men named in ch. i. 1. But we have already seen that this reference is doubtful and that a different construction is, at least, as plausible. The adverse argument, then, rests on two assumptions; (1) that ἀπόστολοι in ch. ii. 6 refers to Timothy and Silas, as well as Paul; (2) that it must be taken in its strict and highest sense; whereas it is at at least as probable that it does not refer to them, and that if it does it does not denote Apostles in the strict sense. To say the least, then, after every concession, this passage is too doubtful to be made the basis of an argument to prove, in opposition to such strong presumptions, that the office of Apostle was continued.

2. The other case, in which there is a doubt as to the application of the name APOSTLE, is Rom. xvi. 7. Here the phrase ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις may mean either *eminent apostles* or *highly esteemed among* (i. e. by) *the apostles.* Admitting, for the sake of argument that the former is the better construction, we are not shut up to the conclusion that Andronicus and Junias (or Junia, as Bishop Onderdonk writes it, even while claiming him or her as an apostle) were Apostles in the strict sense. We have just as much reason to believe, that they were Apostles in another sense. Even supposing, for the present, that no such sense of the term can be proved from usage, we have just as much reason to infer it from this passage, as to infer that these two persons were Apostles in the strict sense. For against this inference lies, first, the whole weight of the strong presumption that the apostolic office was a temporary one; and, secondly, the extreme improbablity that two eminent apostles, in the strict sense of that title, would be thus named among a crowd of private Christians, and never heard of elsewhere. Is it easier to believe this than that the word apostle has a double meaning, even supposing this to be incapable of proof from any other

quarter? We are not now determining the true sense of the passage. We are only showing that a passage which admits, first of two grammatical constructions, and then (assuming that contended for by our opponents) of two interpretations, cannot be regarded as decisive of so difficult and grave a question as the one respecting the perpetual or temporary nature of the apostolic office.

In these two cases, it is doubtful to whom the name Apostle is applied; but in the other three there can be no such doubt. We admit that Barnabas, Epaphroditus, and the brethren who accompanied Titus, are expressly called ἀπόστολοι; and from this the inference is drawn by our opponents, that the Apostolic office, strictly so called, was conferred upon these persons, and that it consequently did not cease with the original incumbents. This inference involves the assumption that the term ἀπόστολος has always the same meaning, viz., that of Apostle in the strict sense, as denoting one of the original thirteen, or a person equal to them in official rank and power, as supreme ruler of the church under Christ himself. In order to estimate the probability of this assumption, it is necessary to refer to the analogy of other terms, used to denote office in the Christian church.

The other terms admitted, upon both sides, to be so employed are πρεσβύτερος, ἐπίσκοπος, διάκονος, ποιμήν, διδάσκαλος, προφήτης, ἄγγελος. Now let it be observed that, of these seven words, not one was invented for the purpose, or derived from the Hebrew. They are all pure Greek words, used by profane writers, and already familiar to the Jews who spoke that language, before they were appropriated to the use in question. From this state of the case it would be natural and reasonable a priori, to conclude that all the words would have, at least, a double sense, as used in the New Testament, viz. a wide or popular meaning, according to their etymology and previous usage, and a stricter technical meaning, as appropriated to the designation of ecclesiastical office. How far this natural presumption is confirmed by the actual usage of the New Testament, may be forcibly stated, as to some of these terms, in the words of a well known episcopal writer.

"Many words have both a loose and a specific meaning.

* Εὐαγγελιστὴς is omitted, because its precise meaning is a matter of dispute. As to the rest, there is a formal agreement.

The word 'angel' is often applied loosely, (Acts xii. 15. Rev. i. 20, ix. 14), but distinctively it means certain created spirits. The word 'God' is applied to angels, (Deut. x. 17. Ps. xcvii. 7, cxxxvi. 2), and idols, (Ex. xx. 3, xxiii. 24, &c.) and human personages or magistrates, (Exod. vii. 1, xxii. 28. Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6, cxxxviii. 1. John x. 35); but distinctively it means the Supreme Being. The word 'deacon' means an ordinary servant, a servant of God in secular affairs, and any minister of Christ; but a Christian minister of the lower grade is its specific meaning. So with the word 'elder'; it is sometimes applied to the clergy of any grade or grades; but its appropriate application is to ministers of the second or middle order. The above remarks, it is hoped, will enable those who feel an interest in consulting scripture on the subject before us, to do so without any embarrassment from the apparent confusion of official names or titles." Episcopacy Examined and Re-examined, p. 14.

"We would also advert to the fact that, however distinct may have been the three above latin names for the three grades of sacerdotal office, those names of office were, in the Greek, and at an earlier period, applied but loosely. At least, they were so in the New Testament. Thus we read 'this ministry [*deaconship*] and *apostleship* (Acts i. 25)' for the office to which Matthias was admitted. 'I am the apostle of the gentiles, I magnify mine office [my *deaconship*], the ministry [*deaconship*] which I have received,' 'approving ourselves the ministers [*deacons*] of God,' (Rom. xi. 13; Acts xx. 342; Cor. vi. 4), are passages applied by St. Paul to himself. We also read, 'who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers, [*deacons*] by whom ye believed?' (1 Cor. iii. 5), and 'do the work of an *evangelist*, make full proof of thy ministry, [*deaconship*]—thou shalt be a good minister [*deacon*] of Jesus Christ,' are admonitions addressed to Timothy, (2 Tim. iv. 5; 1 Tim. iv. 6.)" ib. p. 20. "It may not be improper to add some further illustrations of the uncertainty of official names. Thus we say the Jewish 'priesthood,' including in that term, with the priests, the superior order of high priests, and the inferior one of levites. Thus also we have the phrase 'ministry [literally *deaconship*] of reconciliation'; and the expressions, 'that the ministry [*deaconship*] be not blamed;' 'seeing we have this ministry, [*deacon-*

*ship*]', 'putting me into the ministry, [*deaconship*],' and more especially 'apostles, prophets, evangelists, &c.,' are all said to have been given for the work of the ministry, [*deaconship*], (2 Cor. v. 18, vi. 3, iv. 1.; 1 Tim. i. 12; Eph. iv. 11, 12,) in all which passages the word *deaconship*, διακονία, the appellation strictly of a sacred body of men, or of their office, includes, nay, signifies chiefly, those who were superior to deacons. The word 'presbytery,' therefore, being no more definite than 'ministry' or 'deaconship,' cannot explain itself in favour of our opponents." ib. p. 21. "The mere expression *presbytery*, therefore, does not explain itself, and cannot of itself be adduced in favour of parity." ib. p. 21.

We make these quotations from an argument against the doctrine which we are defending, not for the sake of the specific application which the author makes of an important principle, but for the sake of the principle itself, which is, that names of office "do not explain themselves," and "cannot of themselves be adduced in favour" of either side of the question. An obvious deduction from this rule is that the mere use of the name "apostle" can prove nothing as to the precise rank of the men to whom it is applied, which can only be determined by a careful collation of the general usage with the context in any given case. Let us proceed to this comparison; but first let us consider the analogous usage of the other titles which have been enumerated, and which are employed to designate ecclesiastical office. In order to secure a satisfactory result, we shall survey them *seriatim*.

1. Πρεσβύτερος sometimes means *older*, as an adjective in the comparative degree, (Luke xv. 25; John viii. 9); sometimes an *old man* in the proper sense (1 Tim. v. 1, where it is put in opposition to πρεσβύτερα); sometimes an officer or magistrate under the Jewish commonwealth, (Matt. xxi. 23; Mark xv. 1; Luke vii. 3. Acts iv. 8, &c.); sometimes an officer of the Christian Church, (Acts xv. 2, xx. 17; 1 Tim. v. 19.; Tit. i. 5; Jas. v. 14; 1 Pet. v. 5.)

Ἐπίσκοπος (which only occurs five times in the New Testament) in one case is applied to the Lord Jesus Christ as the Head of the Church, or the spiritual guardian of the souls of all believers, (1 Peter ii. 25). Elsewhere it denotes the official

overseer of a particular church or congregation, (Acts xx. 28; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 7.)

3. Διάκονος sometimes means a menial servant, a domestic, (Matt. xx. 26, xxii. 13, xxiii. 11; John ii. 5, 9); sometimes a minister or agent either of good or evil, (Gal. ii. 17; 2 Cor. xi. 15); sometimes a secular representative of God, (Rom. xiii. 4); sometimes a minister of the old dispensation (Rom. xv. 8); sometimes a minister of the Christian Church generally, without regard to rank, (2 Cor. iii. 6, xi. 23; Eph. iii. 7, vi. 21; Col. i. 7, 23, 25, iv. 7; 1 Thes. iii. 2; 1 Tim. iv. 6); sometimes a *deacon*, the lowest order of church-officers, (1 Tim. iii. 8, 12.)

4. Ποιμὴν sometimes means a literal shepherd, (Matt. xxv. 32. Luke ii. 8, 15, 18, 20); sometimes a spiritual pastor, both in reference to Christ himself, (Matt. xxvi. 31; John x. 2, 11, 12, 14, 16; Heb. xiii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 25), and to his ministers, (Eph. iv. 11.)

5. Διδάσκαλος sometimes means a teacher generally, as opposed to a learner or disciple, (Matt. x. 25; Rom. ii. 20); sometimes a public teacher of religion, (Luke ii. 46; John iii. 2; Heb. v. 12; James iii. 1), especially the founder of a school or sect, (Matt. ix. 11, vii. 24; Luke xviii. 18); sometimes an official teacher in the Christian Church, (Acts xiii. 1; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29; Eph. iv. 11; 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11, iv. 3.)

6. Προφήτης once means a poet, regarded by the heathen as inspired, (Tit. i. 12.) Elsewhere it means, sometimes a prophet of the old dispensation, (Matt. i. 22, viii. 17, &c.), sometimes an inspired teacher in the Christian Church, (Acts xiii. 1; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29, xiv. 29, 32, 37; Eph. iv. 11.)

7. Ἄγγελος sometimes means a human messenger, (Luke ix. 52); sometimes a spirit, good (Matt. i. 20, &c.) or bad, (Matt., xxv. 41; 2 Cor. xii. 7); sometimes an ecclesiastical superior (Rev. i. 20, ii. 1, 8, 12, 18, iii. 1, 5, 7, 14.)

Now if ἀπόστολος has one invariable meaning in the New Testament, it is contrary, not only to what might have been expected from the origin and previous usage of the term, but also to the analogy of the other terms used in the New Testament, to designate ecclesiastical office. The only probable supposition *a priori* is, that it would have the same variety of meaning as the rest. Now of the seven terms, which we have been considering, the three which occur most frequently in application

to ecclesiastical office, have a threefold usage perfectly distinguishable. They are all used in a popular sense, in a general religious sense, and in a specific ecclesiastical sense. Thus πρεσβύτερος is used, in a popular sense, to signify an old man; in a general religious sense, to signify a minister of any rank; and in a strict ecclesiastical sense to signify a Presbyter. The popular sense of διάκονος is a servant, its more restricted sense a minister, its most restricted sense a deacon. The widest sense of διδάσκαλος is a teacher of any kind; its more restricted sense a religious teacher; its most restricted sense, an authorized official teacher in the Christian Church. The three corresponding senses of the word ἀπόστολος would be (1) a messenger of any kind; (2) a religious messenger or missionary; (3) an Apostle, in the strict official sense before described. And this distinction, suggested by analogy, is verified by usage. The first of these senses occurs in John xiii. 16, "the servant is not greater than his lord, neither he that is sent (ἀπόστολος) greater than he that sent him." Here ἀπόστολος stands in the same relation to the *sender*, as the *servant* to the *lord*. The second sense occurs in Rom. xi. 13, where ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος means not merely a Christian teacher of the highest rank, but one *sent out* as a missionary to the heathen. The same idea is still more clearly expressed in 1 Tim. ii. 7, where the collocation of the words connects ἀπόστολος, in a peculiar manner, with κήρυξ and διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν. The very same form of speech is repeated in 2 Tim. i. 11. In neither of these cases would the word *bishop*, in the modern sense, seem natural in such a position. If ἀπόστολος is here used in the technical sense, without any special reference to its etymology, why is it thus twice placed between the titles *preacher* and *teacher of the Gentiles*? We are of course, not endeavouring to show, that Paul was not an Apostle in the strict sense, but that the word is sometimes used with special reference to its etymology, and in its secondary sense of a religious messenger or missionary. The third or strict sense is the usual one, and need not be exemplified.

Let us now apply this usage of the term to the three cases which remain to be considered. 1. It appears from Phil. iv. 10—18, that the Philippian Christians had sent a present to Paul at Rome, by the hands of Epaphroditus. For this act of benevolence the apostle heartily commends and thanks them in

he passage just referred to. It is a certain fact, then, that Epaphroditus was a *messenger* from them to Paul, for the speeifie purpose of supplying his neeessities. When, therefore, in a former part of the same letter, Epaphroditus is deseribed in these terms, "Epaphroditus, my companion in labour and fellow soldier but your ἀπόστολος," which is more probable, that it means an Apostle in the striet sense, or a messenger? The solution of this question is made still more easy by the words whieh are added—"and he that ministered to my want"—which are clearly explanatory of τὸν ἀπόστολον ὑμῶν. This interpretation of ἀπόστολος not only deduets one from the alleged proofs of an addition to the number of apostles, but adds one to the proofs that ἀπόστολος is sometimes used in the sense of messenger.

2. It appears from 2 Cor. viii. 16, 17, that Titus, in compliance with Paul's request, and his own strong inclination, was about to visit Corinth, and that Paul sent with him "the brother whose praise was in the gospel throughout all the ehurehes," and also another "brother, whom (says he) we have oftentimes proved diligent in many things, but now mueh more diligent upon the great confidenee whieh I have in you." Of these two persons who aeeompanied Titus, one is expressly said to have been "chosen of the ehurehes to travel with us [i. e. Paul], with this grace which is administered by us, to the glory of the same Lord and declaration of your ready mind." He was therefore a messenger of the churehes, and both he and the other companion of Titus were messengers of Paul to the church at Corinth; and the other would even seem, from the last elause of v. 22, to have been a messenger from that ehurch to Paul. These facts afford sufficient data for the decision of the question as to the sense of the word ἀπόστολοι in the following sentence. "Whether any do inquire of Titus, he is my partner and fellow-helper concerning you; or our brethren be inquired of, they are the ἀπόστολοι of the churches, and the glory of Christ." (2 Cor. viii. 23.) Here are two eases, then, in which the word is applied to persons, who are not known to have been Bishops, but who are known to have been messengers, and are so described in the context. This prepares us for the only remaining case, that of Barnabas.

3. Acts xiv. 4, 14. In order to understand this case aright, it is neeessary to bear in mind the nature of the work, in which

Paul and Barnabas were then engaged. This we shall state in the words of a favourite episcopal writer. "That this transaction at Antioch [Acts xiii. 1] related only to a special missionary 'work,' will be found sufficiently clear by those who will trace Paul and Barnabas through that work, from Acts xiii. 4 to xiv. 26; where its completion is recorded—'and thence sailed to Antioch from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God for the *work* which they fulfilled.' This 'work,' their missionary tour, being 'fulfilled,' all was fulfilled that had been required by the Holy Ghost, when he had them 'separated' or 'recommended to the grace of God' 'for the work to which he had called them.' This call, therefore, this separation, this 'work,' related only to a particular mission. And this laying on of hands was no ordination, but a lesser ceremony, which has no bearing on the controversy between parity and episcopacy."* "When the latter [i. e. Barnabas] had been made an Apostle, we know not; neither do we know when James the brother of the Lord, Sylvanus, &c., were admitted to that office."†

The case then stands thus: two men are called ἀπόστολοι, one of whom we know to have been an Apostle in the highest sense; but when the other "had been made an Apostle, we know not." From this application of the term our opponents infer that both were Apostles in the strict sense. To this we might reply that Barnabas is here called an Apostle in the strict sense, or rather included in the term ἀπόστολοι, for he is never so called separately, although often mentioned, and several times described, (Acts iv. 36; ix. 27; xi. 24; xiii. 1; xv. 35;) merely because he was Paul's colleague in this work, just as Silas is included in the description "Roman citizens," (Acts xvi. 37, 38,) for no reason that appears but this connexion with Paul, who is expressly and repeatedly declared to have been a Roman citizen, (Acts xxii. 25, 26, 27, 29; xxiii. 27.) Even granting, therefore, that ἀπόστολος is here used in its strict sense, it is by no means certain that it could have been applied, in that sense, to Barnabas alone; the rather as we have found no other case, in which it is so applied, either to him or any other person not of the original thirteen.

So too on the other hand, even admitting that he is individually styled an ἀπόστολος, it does not follow that he is so styled in the

* Episcopacy Examined and Re-examined, p. 17. † Ib. p. 18.

strict sense of the term. The word, as we have seen, is used in three distinct senses—(1) a messenger of any kind—(2) a religious messenger or missionary—(3) an Apostle in the strict sense. The name is here applied to a man who is no where else called an apostle, or described as one, but who was, at the very time referred to, engaged with Paul in "a special missionary work," a "missionary tour," to which the Holy Ghost had called them; for "this call, this separation, this work, related only to a particular mission." Under these circumstances, which is more probable, that ἀπόστολος, as thus used, means a *missionary*, or that it means a supreme ruler of the church, equal in rank to the original thirteen? If it means the latter, it is singular, to say the least, that Barnabas, who is so often mentioned and repeatedly described, is no where else called an Apostle, which, in the case supposed, was his grand distinction. But if, on the other hand, he is so called in the lower sense, it is easy to explain why he is no where else so called, viz. because his apostolic character was temporary. "This work, this missionary tour, being fulfilled, all was fulfilled that had been required by the Holy Ghost, when he had them separated or recommended to the grace of God, for the work to which he had called them. This call, this separation, this work, related only to a particular mission." True, he afterwards went out upon a similar mission, but not, as it would seem, under church authority, nor is the narrative of that mission upon record. Paul, on the contrary, was still an Apostle, and is still so called, which makes it at least probable that he was an Apostle in a higher sense than Barnabas.

Still it may be argued that as both are called Apostles, and as Paul was certainly one in the highest sense, the inference is plain that Barnabas was also an Apostle in the highest sense. This would be valid reasoning if it were not equally certain that Paul was an Apostle in the lower sense too. One of the senses of the word applies to both; another applies certainly to one of them. Which is more reasonable, to infer that the latter applied also to the other, or to infer that the former is the sense here intended? In the one case, this solitary passage is adduced to prove what is no where else recorded, viz. that Barnabas was strictly an Apostle. In the other case, nothing is assumed or supposed to be here proved, but what is clearly

revealed elsewhere, viz. that both Barnabas and Paul were missionaries.

The argument admits of a familiar illustration. In the foreign missions of our own and other churches, the word "missionary" has a double sense; a strict one applicable only to ordained ministers or clergymen, and a wider one including lay-assistants. The first is considered the most proper and is certainly the most usual sense; but the other does undoubtedly occur, even in the official documents of missionary boards, especially when several or all of those engaged in the work are spoken of collectively. Let us suppose then that in a certain mission, two persons, A and B, have long been labouring, the first as a preacher, and the second as a lay-assistant; but that in some one report or journal, they are twice mentioned by the common name of *missionaries*, and it becomes a question with some readers of the document, whether B was not an ordained minister. On examining the series of reports and journals, it is found that B is no where else even called a missionary, and that in the case in question, no act is ascribed to him which necesarily implies that he is an ordained clergyman. From these premises two opposite inferences are drawn. The one is, that as A is certainly a clergyman and as both are called missionaries, B must be a clergyman also. The other is, that as B is no where else represented as a clergyman, and as both he and A are certainly missionaries in a wider sense, that is the sense in which the term is used. Without insisting on a choice between these opposite deductions, as entirely conclusive, we may ask what would be thought of an argument to prove a doubtful point, as to the organization of the mission, from the mere application of the term in such a case. But in the case of Barnabas there is this distinctive circumstance, that the antecedent probability is in favour of the supposition, that the apostolic office, in the strict sense, was confined to a certain number of persons, among whom Barnabas was not; and that this presumption can only be removed by positive proof that he was an Apostle.

The amount, then, of the argument from names is this, that of five cases, in which the name apostle is said to be applied to persons not of the original thirteen, there are two in which the application is itself disputed, and at least so far doubtful as to

render them unfit to be relied on as proofs; while in these cases, and in all the rest, the word either requires or admits another sense than that of an Apostle proper. These cases, therefore, make no change in the truth of the general proposition, that the extension of the Apostolic office to persons not of the original thirteen, is no where taught in scripture, either directly, by explicit assertion of the fact, or indirectly, by the application of the name Apostle, in its strict and highest sense.

III. A third argument in favour of the proposition, that the Apostolic office was a temporary one, is that the qualifications for the Apostleship, as a permanent office in the church, are no where stated. Even supposing that an explicit statement of the fact might easily have been omitted, which we do not grant, and that the absence of any unequivocal application of the name may be accounted for, which seems impossible, the question still arises, why are the qualifications of an "Apostle-bishop" not revealed? It is not enough to say, because Paul or Peter has not left epistles to those who were to consecrate Apostle-bishops. Granting the fact, why was not such a revelation made? Were the instructions to Timothy and Titus, as to "Presbyter-bishops," given without necessity? If not, why was not an occasion sought or made for giving the qualifications of Apostles? Because this office demands none in particular, or because it is less important than the others? It may be said, indeed, that we have no right to inquire why certain things have been revealed and others not. But this would be a mere evasion of the argument by the misapplication of an acknowledged principle. The question is not what should have been, but what has been revealed; and if both parties are agreed that certain offices are recognised in the New Testament, and the qualifications for those offices carefully detailed, and if one of the parties alleges that another office is there recognised, the other party has a right to ask how the omission of its qualifications is to be explained upon the opposite hypothesis. This would be the case, even if the disputed office were the lowest. If, for example, the qualifications of Deacons had no where been given, the evidence of such an office, as a permanent order in the church, would be much less conclusive than that of the Presbyterate, although Deacons are expressly mentioned, in connexion with the Presbyters or Bishops, in two of Paul's

epistles. How much inferior, then, is the evidence that Apostles were permanent officers of the church, when both these proofs are wanting. And how much weaker still when we consider the paramount importance attached to the apostolic office by the adverse party.

Even admitting, then, that no occasion does present itself in the New Testament, as it stands, for the detail of the qualifications of Apostles, that very circumstance increases, in a high degree, the improbability that such an office was intended to be permanently established. But this admission is gratuitous. By whom were subsequent apostles to be consecrated, if not by their predecessors in the office? If, then, Timothy and Titus were apostles, and addressed as such in Paul's epistles, why does he not instruct them in relation to the paramount importance of admitting only qualified men to that high station? Is it because the same qualifications which are required in presbyters are also required in apostles? Even if this were so, the great alleged superiority of the apostolic office would entitle it to the honour of a separate enactment, especially as presbyters and deacons are distinctly treated, though the qualifications for these two offices are almost identical. This difficulty is not merely theoretical but practical; for how are the qualifications of Apostle-bishops now to be determined? By what test shall they be judged? Those described in the first chapter of Acts are totally inapplicable to all modern cases. How then is it to be ascertained whether those admitted now to the alleged rank of Apostles, are as certainly possessed of the necessary qualifications as Presbyters and Deacons who are tried by the directions which Paul gave to Timothy and Titus? We do not maintain that this omission is itself sufficient to disprove the perpetuity of the Apostolic office, but merely that it renders it so far improbable as to require the most explicit proof to establish it.

But even this is not a full view of the subject of apostolical qualifications. It is not only true that no account is given of the qualifications of Apostle-bishops, as permanent officers in the church, after it had been planted by the original Apostles; but also that the qualifications which are given of an original Apostle, are of such a nature as to discountenance, in a high degree, the opinion that the office was intended to be perma-

nent. When the death of Judas made a vacancy in the apostolic body, the disciples proceeded to elect a successor, and Peter, in the name of the eleven, declared the qualifications which were requisite. These were (1) that the candidate should have been one of Christ's original followers; (2) that he should be a witness of the resurrection. (Acts i. 22.) The obvious *prima facie* inference from this is certainly that none could be apostles who were destitute of these qualifications. And this is very much confirmed by the case of Paul, who seems not to have known the Saviour personally, during his abode on the earth, but who, in vindicating his own claim to an equality of rank with the eleven, says expressly, "Have I not seen the Lord Jesus?"—thereby admitting that to have seen him was necessary to the apostolic character. This might be urged, with plausibility at least, as a direct proof that the apostolic office was a temporary one, because the number of those who had actually seen Christ after his resurrection, was limited and must soon be exhausted. All that we now allege, however, is, that the absence of express declarations, that the Apostolic office was continued in the church, is the more difficult to be explained on the opposite hypothesis, because when the qualifications of church officers are given, in two separate epistles, those of Apostles are not included; and because the only requisites prescribed in the election of a man to fill a vacancy in the original apostolic body, are precisely such as cannot be possessed by any men at present.

It may, however, be alleged, that, although the permanence of the apostolic office is not explicitly asserted; and although the qualifications of Apostle-bishops are not given; and although the name Apostle, in its highest sense, is not applied to any but the original thirteen; others are, nevertheless, spoken of as actually exercising apostolic powers; and that as it is the thing, and not the name, which is really in question, this is sufficient to establish the perpetuity of the Apostleship. Before proceeding to examine the grounds of this allegation, there are two preliminary observations to be made upon it.

1. The omission of the name Apostle is by no means an unimportant circumstance. The title was not so regarded in the original institution. It did not grow out of circumstances, nor was it, in any sense, the result of accident. It is not said, in an inciden-

tal way, that the twelve were called apostles, as it is said that the disciples were called Christians at Antioch; but we are told, that our Lord "called unto him his disciples, and of them he chose twelve, whom also HE NAMED APOSTLES." (Luke vi. 13.) The office and the name were conferred by the same authority. When the persons thus chosen are afterwards mentioned, it is commonly by the name which Christ bestowed at first, or by that of "the twelve," denoting their limited number. This is especially the case after our Lord's ascension, when there seems to be no case of the Apostles, in the strict sense, being called by any indefinite name. Now these two facts, viz. that the name was coeval with the office, and is recorded as a matter of some moment; and that the original Apostles are almost always, and after Christ's ascension always, called by it or some other title equally definite—render it *a priori* highly probable, that if the office was to be continued, the name would be continued with it; and that if continued in common parlance it would be applied in the New Testament; and that if applied at all, it would be applied with greater frequency than ever after the name had been extended to a multitude of persons. How is it that as the number of apostles increased, the mention of the name becomes less frequent, even when the organization of the church, and the qualifications of its officers, are the subject of discourse? These considerations will, perhaps, suffice to show, that the failure to establish the explicit application of the name Apostle to the alleged successors of the original thirteen, is by no means a matter of indifference, even if it can be shown that they possessed and exercised apostolic powers. Not that the actual possession and exercise of peculiar apostolic powers does not prove them to have been apostles, but that the omission of the title makes it harder to establish the fact of such possession and exercise, and entitles us to call for more explicit proof than would otherwise be necessary.

2. Before the exercise of apostolic powers by persons not of the original thirteen can be adduced in proof of the permanent continuance of the apostolic office, it must be determined what are apostolic powers. It cannot mean all the powers of the original apostles; for some of these are admitted, on both sides, to have ceased. It cannot mean any of these powers indefinitely; for some of them are admitted, on both sides, to be lawfully

exercised by presbyters; and this would prove that presbyters are the successors of the apostles in the highest of their powers which did not cease. If the possession of any apostolic powers is a proof of the succession, then the succession is in presbyters. If the possession of all the apostolic powers is necessary to establish a succession, then there is none at all. Either of these conclusions would be fatal to the adverse argument, which cannot have the slightest force, except on two conditions—(1) that the apostolic powers, shown to have been exercised by persons not of the original thirteen, be such as are not acknowledged to have ceased—(2) that they be such as were not exercised by Presbyters. For if they were powers possessed by Presbyters, their exercise proves nothing but the continuance of that office, which is not disputed; and if they were powers which have ceased, their exercise in apostolic times proves nothing as to the rights and powers of any office now existing in the church. With these preliminary observations, we here leave the subject, reserving to a future time the full exhibition of our fourth argument against the perpetuity of the Apostolic office, which is, that no peculiar apostolic powers are said in scripture to have been exercised by any person, who was not either an original apostle or a presbyter.

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ART. III.—*Ignatius von Antiochien und seine Zeit. Sieben Send-schreiben an Dr. August Neander;* von C. C. J. Bunsen. Hamburg. 1847.

The personal history of Ignatius can be told in a few sentences; his writings, including all that bear his name, could be published in a single newspaper of ordinary size: while a full account of the controversies to which his writings have given rise would fill a considerable volume. According to a tradition intrinsically probable, and generally received, he was in his youth a scholar of the Apostles. He was settled in the pastoral charge of the church of Antioch, about A. D. 70; and remained in that important post, until his martyrdom A. D. 110–113. The emperor Trajan on his way to the east, stopped for some

time at Antioch—the third city in the world for wealth, extent and population, and the capital of the orient; during the sojourn of the emperor, Ignatius is summoned before him to give an account of his faith; for his noble confession of Christ, he is condemned to die, and ordered to be sent to Rome, to be exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheatre. As he slowly travelled towards the distant scene of his martyrdom, he wrote letters to personal friends and to Christian congregations, which, with similar productions of his contemporaries, Clement of Rome, and Polycarp of Smyrna, constitute the oldest uninspired monument of Christian literature.

The writings of these apostolical fathers no more form part of our rule of faith, than the works of the Reformers; but to the ecclesiastical historian they are of inestimable value. Indeed, next to the sacred record, there is no ancient document, of which it is so important that we have the *ipsissima verba*, as of these letters; the official position of their authors, their intelligence, and devoted piety render them perfectly reliable witnesses as to what was the faith of the church, and what the form of her government in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles. Accordingly we find that the controversy respecting the Ignatian Epistles fills a much larger space, and has been more earnestly prosecuted than any similar discussion respecting any other author of the first three centuries. Why the falsifiers of early days, who really seem to have adopted the principle that forgery "is good if a man use it lawfully" selected Ignatius in preference to others, that they might convert him into a witness to doctrines which he never held, and an author of works which he never wrote, is uncertain. But that he has been thus treated,—that testimonies in favour of prelacy, and of Arianism have been put into his mouth, is a point—we may almost say—universally conceded. With respect to the first of the topics just mentioned, the pious forger, however, executed his work in a very bungling way; he has contrived to invest the venerable father with a lordly character, wholly unlike that of his contemporaries, but he has not succeeded in making him testify in favor of Prelacy, as it now exists. For even allowing the genuineness of the longer epistles, the kind of Episcopacy developed in them is not diocesan but parochial. Still it is quite obvious, from the tone of the interpolations and additions, from the

great importance attached to them by modern Prelatists like Hammond and Pearson,* and their zealous defence of their purity, that the aim of the falsifier was to secure for the hierarchy of the fourth century, the apparent sanction of one of the most eminent fathers of the first.

The earliest editions of the Greek text of Ignatius, viz., those of Pacaeus 1557, Gesner 1559, contained the twelve longer epistles. Among the first who questioned their genuineness, were the Magdeburg centuriators, though they did it in a cautious and hesitating tone. Calvin, with his usual perspicacity, saw through the fraud, and expressed himself respecting it in just such terms as might be expected from a man of his thorough honesty. "Nihil enim naeniis illis," said he, "quae subnomine Ignatii editae sunt, putidius." Cartwright, Perkins, Scultetus and other leading divines of the Protestant church, adopted the same opinion, partly on internal evidence, and partly from the great diversities which were found to exist in the manuscripts. With the exception of such high-church Anglicans as Whitgift, who insisted upon the genuineness of everything bearing the name of Ignatius, the whole Protestant world agreed in regarding only seven of these epistles, viz., those to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrneans, and Polycarp, as the productions of Ignatius. Even these seven though held to be in the main genuine, were believed on good grounds to have been considerably interpolated. Under the influence of this belief Primate Usher engaged in those researches which resulted in the discovery of a Latin translation exhibiting a text materially differing from that of the received Greek. It contained the seven recognized epistles, but in a greatly abbreviated form—hence called the *Shorter Epistles.* He published an edition of it in 1644. About the same time that Usher made his discovery, Isaac Vossius found in the Medici library at Florence a Greek manuscript copy of the same epistles, agreeing very nearly with the Latin translation. From the first appearance of the Shorter Epistles, the same difference of opinion existed, as had previously obtained re-

* Inea (Controv. Episcop.) autem tractanda magni ponderis merito habita est S. Ignatii viri apostolici et martyris auctoritas, cujus dissertissimo locupletissimoque testimonio, cum Episcopalis causa fulciatur, et paritatis Presbyterianae antiquitas nuper excogitata concidat. Pearson Vind. Ignat. cap. I.

specting the Longer;* the high churchmen, who had so pertinaciously maintained that every line of the latter came from the pen of Ignatius, quietly abandoned a position which they suddenly found no longer tenable, but without learning either wisdom or candour from the past, they just took the same stand in favour of the absolute purity of the shorter text; on the other the leading theologians of the Reformed churches insisted that it was corrupted, though they did not pretend to be able to identify the interpolations. The whole subject was thoroughly discussed by Bishop Pearson on the one side in his *Vindiciae Ignat*, and by Daillē in his *De Scriptis Ignatii* on the other; by Bishop Beveridge, Hammond, Cotelerius, LeClerc, Blondel, L'Arroque and Jameson. In fact, it was one of the chief theological questions of the latter part of the 17th century; and incidentally the discussion has been often renewed since. High churchmen have all along asserted that the Shorter Epistles are unadulterated, with the same pertinacity with which the Whitgifts and the Bilsons defended the Longer; though not a few candid Episcopalians of later times have owned that all the passages in the Ignatian epistles bearing on the episcopal office are more than suspicious. Still it could not be proved with absolute certainty that they are not genuine; and it seemed as if the controversy about what Ignatius did, and what he did not write was one which must remain forever undecided.

The appearance of M. Bunsen's work forms a new era in the history of the Ignatian controversy. If party interests had not so much to do with the formation and the maintenance of opinions, if men were as open to the force of evidence as they claim to be, we should look for a change of sentiment on this subject quite as great as that produced in the days of Usher, by the discovery of the shorter recension. However this may be, one thing is certain, that every candid reader of the work before us will be compelled to admit that the views of Blondell and Daillè are completely established, and that the testimonies so often quoted and so highly prized by the advocates of the hierarchy are the worthless coinage of pious fraud. In a word, the long

* Thus Grotius in a letter to G. Vossius, dated 22d Aug. 1643, says of Blondell: "Ignatii epistolas quas filius tuus ex Italia attulit puras ab omni bus ils quae eruditi hac tenus suspecta habuere? admitte non vult, quia episcopatuum vetustati clarum praebent testimonium."—Erudit Vir Epist. H. Wetstein, p. 825.

agitated question respecting the Ignatian epistles is settled, by the discovery of the Syriac Version of them which M. Bunsen has been at the pains to edit and illustrate.

It was long ago intimated by Usher, by Dr. Fell of Oxford and by Renaudot of France, that if ever the genuine text of Ignatius was found, it would be in a Syriac translation. The discovery by the two Assemanni of a Syriac manuscript containing "The Acts of the Martyrdom of Ignatius" awakened the hope that such a version would yet be brought to light. More recently Mr. Cureton of the British Museum, found among the papers of the late Mr. Rich a Syriac manuscript containing a portion of the "Martyrdom," and appended to it a part of the epistle to the Romans. In 1839 Dr. Tatam the learned Coptic scholar, presented to the British Museum a large number of Syriac manuscripts which he obtained from the monasteries in the Lybian desert. On examining them, Mr. Cureton to his great delight found in a manuscript of the early part of the 6th century, the Letter to Polycarp in a Syriac version evidently made by a man of learning, and with great care. The curators of the Museum at once resolved thoroughly to explore a field whose first fruits were so precious and promising; they accordingly, in 1842 sent Dr. Tatam to Egypt, with orders to make the fullest search, and to secure all the remaining manuscripts, at any cost. His mission was crowned with success; and in March 1843 he returned with two hundred and forty-six manuscripts on parchment, and seventy on paper. Some of them are probably the oldest manuscripts in Europe, their dates ranging from A. D. 411 to 1292. Among them is a Syriac version of the long lost Theophania of Eusebius. At the end of a work of an unknown author (the first few pages being lost) is the following inscription—"*The First Epistle of the holy Ignatius to Polycarp.*" At the end of this letter, in the middle of the page, and without any break or dividing space, is "*The Second Epistle of the same to the Ephesians.*" At the end of this letter and again without a break, comes "*The Third Epistle of the same to the Romans.*" The whole concludes with the following remarkable statement: "Here end *The Three Epistles of Ignatius*, Bishop and Martyr."

This version was probably made early in the 2d century by Procopius, who according to Eusebius translated many works

into the Aramean. That was the flourishing period of Syrian literature; and when we remember, that next to the Holy Scriptures, the Syrian church most highly prized the letters of their oldest pastor, it is quite supposable that they were translated soon after the death of Ignatius. However this may be, it is evident that the translator was a native Syrian, that he was well acquainted with Greek, and that he translated only three of the Epistles, and these too in their shortest form. M. Bunsen's position is, that these three Epistles as given in the Syriac version are the only genuine productions of Ignatius, and in this volume he investigates the subject under the guidance of the established principles of philological and historical criticism.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first is entitled "Ignatius und seine Zeit," and consists of seven letters addressed to Neander, for whom he manifests the most affectionate veneration. The second is addressed to Lachmann, and contains, 1. The Greek text of the three genuine letters restored from the Syriac, with a German translation. 2. A comparative view of the various recensions of the genuine epistles, viz. the Restored Greek, the Syriac in a literal Latin version—the Medicean—the Longer, and at the bottom of the page, the Latin version found by Usher. 3. The four suppositious epistles in Greek and Latin; to each of the seven are appended critical scholia.

M. Bunsen sets out with a discussion of the question, "Is the Syriac translation of the three letters to Polycarp, the Ephesians and the Romans only an abbreviation of the original text, or does it exhibit that text?" In replying to this inquiry he first of all deals with the probabilities of the case. Which, he asks, is the most probable that the Syriac is an abbreviation, or the common text an enlargement of the genuine? Mr. Cureton, with all his Anglican prejudices in favour of the system which the latter is supposed to support, is forced to admit that the balance of probabilities is decidedly on the side of the Syriac. For example, the passages which it wants, consist of three classes; the first includes those (decidedly the most numerous) which refer to the divine authority of bishops; the second, those which bear upon the doctrine of the Trinity; the third, personal narratives and greetings of particular friends by name.

Now as respects the last class, there is no conceivable reason for their omission by the Syriac translator; on the contrary, it

might be supposed that these personal and local references would to Syrians possess a peculiar charm. How, or why then, should these passages, if genuine, be left out? They are not long; there is not the shadow of proof that the translator was careless or unfaithful; his work in fact, from first to last bears the character of a translation prepared with painful care. And then as to the other two classes, perhaps it may be argued that the translator did not believe in the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and was opposed to the Episcopal constitution of the church. But Mr. Cureton has proved by indubitable evidence that he was a decided friend of the orthodox faith. Nor can it be said that a falsifier would not have dared to put into the mouth of a venerable martyr like Ignatius words and sentiments which he never uttered, for ecclesiastical literature abounds with similar interpolations, of so early a date, that even the fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries were suspicious of them.

The force of this argument in favour of the truthfulness of the Syriac version, is greatly enhanced by considering the history of the Syrian church. From the time of the council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, this church was decidedly Nestorian. Hence it would not be surprising, if we found in a Syrian collection of the letters of Ignatius—supposing it to have been made after the date just mentioned—some traces of Nestorianism. No such traces are to be discovered in this translation; it contains passages directly opposed to this system. In truth, nothing can be more improbable than the supposition that it is the work of a Nestorian; on the contrary, all the proofs in the case go to show that it was made long before the days of Nestorius himself.

Having thus disposed of the probabilities of the case, M. Bunsen next proceeds to institute a careful and minute comparison between the Syriac version, and the common text of the three epistles. The first of these—to Polycarp—has been hitherto regarded by critics as the most corrupt in the whole collection. Even Halloix the Jesuit, one of the most zealous defenders of the Medicean text, declares that it contains many things very stumbling to him, particularly the tone used in addressing a brother bishop. Usher too, though hardly willing to allow a doubt to be cast on the purity of the common text, excludes it from the number of the genuine epistles of Ignatius. Yet there is really nothing remarkable or stumbling in the letter, when we bear

in mind that it consists of the last words of a venerable servant of Christ, just ready to seal his testimony with his blood, addressed to a young fellow-labourer. All the objections to its genuineness rest upon passages whose true meaning has been darkened or perverted by false readings. The whole letter may be divided into four parts; the first containing counsels to Polycarp with reference to his faith as a Christian and a pastor; the second relates to his conduct as a bishop, in his commerce with the world, and his contests with the times, closing with a noble exposition of the comparative value of the temporal and the eternal; the third lays down rules of conduct towards the several classes of which his pastoral charge was composed; and thus he is naturally led, in the last place, to speak of the collective assembly. In giving direction as to the proper management of the various classes of the congregation, Ignatius refers to those who were in bondage, and on this subject holds the same language with Paul in 1 Cor. vii. 21.* He knew that the mighty power of the gospel, if allowed to have free course, would in due time correct this and all the other evils of the social state; but he also knew that any attempt to remove them by the mere force of ecclesiastical laws would be not only fruitless but pernicious.

Thus far all is coherent; but now comes a statement which completely breaks the natural train of thought. "Flee evil arts," τας κακοτεχνιας φεῦγε; μᾶλλου δε περι τούτων ὁμιλιαν ποιοῦ.† Mr. Bunsen is strongly of opinion that there could be no ground for giving any such direction to a man like Polycarp; and as the reading is found both in the Syriac and the common text, he thinks that an error consisting of two letters had very early crept into the text. He amends it by changing τεχνιας into τεχνους, making the whole passage refer to the female members of the congregation, who are expressly mentioned in the next sentence: "Likewise command my sisters that they love their own husbands," &c.

The closing sentence in the Syriac version is short and natural: "A Christian has no power over himself, but ever waits upon God: I salute him who shall be deemed worthy to go

* M. Bunsen translates this passage—"kannst du frei werden, so bediene dich lieber der Freiheit; sonst bedenke, das du frei bist in Christus."

† In the Larger Epist. the reading is μη ποιου.

to Syria in my place, even as I directed you." Instead of this brief and simple statement, which is precisely such as we should expect from Ignatius in his circumstances at the time, the Medicean text has a long passage amounting to two sections, in which the natural order of ideas is entirely destroyed. With this exception, the epistle to Polycarp has been much less corrupted than any other. In our present investigation, it is of great importance because it supplies a test by which to try the other letters, as to their style, structure and contents. We discover in it a compressed brevity, a sharply defined personality, and a simple style remote from everything like rhetorical amplification. The language is good Hellenistic Greek, formed on the model of the epistles of Paul and John. On the other hand, the falsified passages exhibit a corrupt Hellenism, and a style extremely redundant. This observation particularly applies to the epistle to the Ephesians, which has been largely interpolated for the obvious purpose of magnifying the prelatic office.

In order to judge of this rightly, it is necessary to look at the general scope of this epistle, and the coherence of its several parts. These are four. In the 1st, or the introduction, Ignatius thanks the Ephesians for the affectionate interest they had manifested for him, and expresses his confidence in their piety. In the 2d, he declares to them the indispensable necessity of a holy life—"live," says he, "a God-pleasing life, as those who are living stones in the true temple." The 3d part counsels them how to act towards those beyond the pale of Christian fellowship. They should diligently labour for their salvation, and should manifest in their conduct an ever active, all enduring love, which is the essence of Christianity, and the most efficient means to attract those who are without. Then follows a highly animated passage—a sudden burst of holy feeling, excited by a glimpse of the glories of the cross—"My soul sinks down before the glory of the cross, so full of mysteries concealed from the princes of this world," &c. What thoughts could be more natural than these, or more suitable in a farewell letter to a beloved sister congregation?

Now in the Medicean copy, the two sentences—"Thanks be to Him who has given you grace to be worthy of such a bishop —But since love does not permit me to be silent, I entreat you to

run together in the will of God"—are separated by an interpolation of two long sections, and are followed by another of no less than four. In one of these passages Burrhus, Euplus, Crokus and Fronto, are spoken of as members of the embassy sent to him from Ephesus, while the genuine text names Onesimus alone; in the others, absolute obedience to the bishop is insisted upon, as an essential condition of holiness and salvation. "Being subject in all things to the bishop and the presbytery, ye are sanctified." "Let us hasten therefore to be obedient to the bishop, that we may be obedient to God." "When any one sees the bishop silent, let him be so much the more afraid." Such are the expressions employed on this subject with an excessive frequency. A little farther on, we meet with a still more violent disruption of two closely connected sentences. —"Strive not to imitate the unconverted, but be imitators of the Lord, for who was ever so much abused as he.—But this (imitation) is not a mere profession, it is rather done by those alone who continue to the end in the power of faith." Between these two sentences, which so obviously ought to follow each other, a long passage amounting to four sections has been foisted in. The limits of our article will not permit us to notice all the other interpolations of this epistle; the examples already adduced may serve to give some idea of the manner in which the letters of Ignatius have been treated, and of the extent to which they have been corrupted; but the strong contrast between the two texts, the natural, truthful, life-like air of the Syriac version, and the precisely opposite features of the common text can be fully appreciated only by those who will be at the pains to read the two consecutively.

The epistle to the Romans—which is next discussed—casts more light on the personal character of Ignatius than either of the others. According to the Syriac version, it was written by him when near the end of his journey to the capital; the Medicean text, on the other hand, represents it as written at Ephesus. The Syriac account on this point is much the most probable, because it agrees best with the whole tone of the epistle, and with the design of Ignatius which seems to have been, to induce the Romans to throw no obstacles in the way of his winning the martyr's crown. The interpolations of this letter however are neither so numerous nor so important as those of the epistle

to the Ephesians; we therefore forbear entering into a particular notice of them.

Before leaving this epistle Mr. Bunsen examines a question, which critics hitherto have not been able satisfactorily to answer, viz: why was Ignatius sent to Rome? Some have held that this journey never was made; but the fact however explained, must be admitted, or else all the epistles bearing his name must be set aside as forgeries, for we find allusions to it in each of them. Scaliger, Rivet, and Basnage put the case in this form. If Ignatius was a Roman citizen how could he be condemned to wild beasts? If he was not a Roman citizen, how could he appeal to the emperor, and in virtue of his appeal be sent to Rome? Here is a dilemma, both horns of which are unpleasantly sharp, and the advocates of the common text not knowing which to choose, have concluded that the safest course is to be silent on the subject. Not a word, however, is said in any of these epistles about an appeal; Ignatius simply describes himself as one who had been condemned to fight with beasts, and was therefore sent to Rome under military escort. Vossius attempts to get over the difficulty by referring to a passage in the Pandects in which, as he says, provincial governors were authorized to send the ring-leaders of insurrections to Rome; but in the place alluded to, the persons mentioned are not "ring-leaders," but men of remarkable strength and skill. The passage in question, however, warrants the inference that before the days of Severus, governors of provinces were allowed under certain circumstances to send malefactors to the capital, with a view to their gratifying the people, by taking a share in the cruel sports of the amphitheatre. No citizen, whether Christian or pagan, could indeed be condemned to such a death. That Ignatius was not a citizen is expressly asserted by himself, as M. Bunsen thinks, in the following words;—"I do not command you like Paul and Peter; they were apostles, I am a prisoner; they were freemen, I am even now a servant,"—words, as he holds, which must be understood in their literal sense. But our limits warn us not to enlarge on points of this kind.

M. Bunsen having thus shown the superior claims of the Syriac text of the three letters found in that version, and which he affirms are the only genuine epistles of Ignatius, proceeds to examine the remaining four, viz. to the Magnesians, the

Trallians, the Philadelphians, and the Smyrnians, and to adduce the evidences, that they are entirely suppositious. We have already had occasion to remark that the undoubted and the interpolated portions of the genuine epistles are each marked by peculiar features. In the latter we always find the same style; instead of the compact brevity of Ignatius, great prolixity; instead of his fullness of thought sharply defined and strongly expressed, rhetorical flourishes, in which the poverty of ideas is proportioned to the multitude of words. Even when we encounter an Ignatian idea, it is feebly and awkwardly brought out. Now if these identical features are found in the four epistles above named,—if between the four doubtful epistles, taken as a whole or in their particular parts, and the three undoubted epistles there is the same contrast as between the undoubted and the interpolated portions of the latter, the presumption that the former are wholly false is very strong. If in addition to this, we find the author in the polemical parts of the epistles contending against heresies which were unknown until long after the death of Ignatius, the presumption of falsity rises to indubitable certainty. Let us then, as briefly as possible, examine these epistles in the order in which they stand in the Medicean manuscript.

The first is addressed to the Magnesians. It consists of two parts, the first including the chapters from the first to the seventh. The Magnesians are commanded to yield implicit submission to their bishops as standing in loco Dei. The injunction is repeated usque ad nauseam;—the whole passage is manifestly the product of the same pen which composed the portion of the epistle to the Ephesians, where the episcopal office is so highly glorified. Widely different is the whole tone of this letter from that which the true Ignatius uses when addressing Polycarp on the same subject. In the latter he exhorts the Christian people to manifest a proper respect for those set over them in the Lord, or in other words to honour the ministry as an institution of Christ; but in the letter to the Magnesians, the bishop is every thing, and the people nothing; they must render absolute obedience to his behests, and no man must presume to exercise his own mind, or to think differently from "the lord over God's heritage."

But the second part—extending from chapter eight to the

end—contains the most decisive proof that the whole thing is a forgery. It is found in the passage in which the Magnesians are warned against "other doctrines and old and useless fables." The heresies referred to are:—1. That of the Sabbatarians, who observed the seventh instead of the first or Lord's day: 2. The doctrine that Christ did not proceed eternally from the Father, but was the offspring of eternal Silence (Σιγη): 3. That the death of our Lord, and his whole earthly life were not realities, but merely seemed to be such. Now this last heresy, as all who have investigated the subject agree in holding, originated in the school of Valentinus. This man, according to Irenæus, came to Rome about A. D. 130, was in great repute there from A. D. 133 till 154, and was still living, A. D. 163.

Pierson, who undertook, as we have already stated, to establish the genuineness and the purity of all the epistles, found this a very troublesome place. How does he get over it? By asserting that the reference is not to the heresy of the Docetæ but to that of the Ebionites, and by translating the passage in a way which violates the plainest rules of grammar. If the doctrine of the Docetæ be really described here, why he asks with singular simplicity—why did not Irenæus quote it when discussing the tenets of that sect? For the very good reason that there was no such passage to quote; it was clearly impossible for him to adduce a testimony from Ignatius, against a heresy which was never heard of until long after he was in his grave.

The next is the epistle to the Trallians. Artistically considered, it is decidedly inferior to the preceding. The Introduction is to the last degree bombastic—so that it is scarcely possible to make any sense of it. It abounds with commands to honour and obey the bishop, conveyed in language even more offensive than that employed in the epistle to the Magnesians. We also meet with warnings against heresies which had no existence in the days of Ignatius, viz. of those who denied the reality of our Saviour's human nature, his earthly life, and death upon the cross. There is one circumstance connected with this epistle, which Mr. Bunsen regards as furnishing conclusive evidence that the forged letters and the interpolations in the genuine are the productions of one and the same man; it is the fact that the last section has been transferred from the epistle to the Romans where it properly belongs. As it stands in the

letter to the Trallians, the passage is almost senseless, while in its proper place it is full of meaning. There is an indirect allusion in it to the contrast between the oriental and the Roman mind,—the speculative, mystical tendencies of the former as displayed in its conceptions of the Christian system, and the decidedly practical turn of the latter. Ignatius tells his Roman brethren that there were many things connected with the heavenly world about which he might discourse to them; but he forbore to do so, as he was aware that topics of this kind, while peculiarly interesting to an oriental, would not be so well relished by a Roman—whose taste ran upon the ethics of the Gospel rather than its mysteries. He does not say this in so many words; but such is undoubtedly the drift of the passage.

Each of the remaining two epistles—to the Philadelphians and the Smyrnians—contains evidences of falsity, of precisely the same kind with those already adduced and just as conclusive. There is the same glorification of the episcopal office—and warnings against the Docetian heresy similar to those addressed to the Magnesians and the Trallians. It is therefore unnecessary to enlarge upon this branch of the subject, as it would be a mere repetition of what has been said already.

We have thus indicated as briefly as possible, the grounds on which it is maintained that the Syriac version includes all the genuine epistles of Ignatius, and exhibits these in their purest form. Of its high antiquity there can be no doubt, yet no one pretends that it was made directly from the originals. The copy from which it was derived probably was not immaculate; the translator may have mistaken the sense in some places; and even his work, like all similar writings, probably has suffered somewhat by transcription. That there are some false readings in it, M. Bunsen thinks is not only probable but certain; at the same time it conveys far more exactly than any other recension, and with as much accuracy as we may ever hope to attain, the views of Ignatius respecting the essential doctrines of the Christian faith, and those principles of church polity which have occasioned, in past ages, and still call forth so much discussion.

Thus far the investigation has been mainly of a philological character, and a negative result has been reached; in other words, there is evidence derived from the established rules of

criticism, that a large part of the writings bearing the name of Ignatius must be rejected as spurious. Is there any positive proof of the genuineness of the residuum? Baur, and others of the Tubingen school maintain that all are spurious—that all the letters ascribed to Ignatius, Clement, and Polycarp, are forgeries. Mr. Bunsen devotes a large space to the refutation of this Tubingen conceit—much larger than it deserves—and conclusively establishes the fact—admitted by all historical inquirers, a few such men as Baur alone excepted, that the letters of the apostolic fathers are in the main, what they claim to be. In doing this, he portrays the times of these fathers, taking a rapid but comprehensive view of the condition of the church, her subjective faith, her discipline and government during this period. With reference to the Ignatian epistles, he asks, do the *three* which remain after having subjected the whole to the test of philological criticism, bear the positive impress of the Ignatian age? Do they, so far as they go, exhibit the faith of the church at this precise epoch, and the form of polity which then obtained? He answers these questions in the affirmative; the three epistles as given in the Syriac version, have the true stamp, and only these. This branch of the argument is by far the most interesting and important, because it involves the practical inquiry what doctrines, and what polity did Ignatius hold—with which one of the various parties in later times, that have been accustomed to appeal to his authority, has the genuine Ignatius the strongest affinity?

On the first of these points—the doctrinal character of his letters—it may suffice to say that the views of Ignatius respecting the fundamental truths of the Gospel, the person and work of Christ, the way of salvation, the nature, necessity and author of sanctification, are exactly those which obtain among evangelical Christians of the present day. The city of which he was pastor, was the centre of primitive missions to the Gentile world—a sort of metropolis of Gentile Christianity, a circumstance which may have led him to study the character of the great apostle to the Gentiles, and imitate its peculiar features; whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that the cast of Ignatius' mind, and the tone of his theology are decidedly Pauline. He magnifies the riches of that grace which contrived and executed the scheme of redemption; with him, Christ is all in all. Not a syllable can be

found in any of his epistles, which even seems to countenance the noxious tenets of those who teach that the water of baptism necessarily regenerates, and who put the church in the place of her Divine Lord. We cannot find the first trace of this system of doctrine in the Ignatian epistles. But we pass on to consider their bearing upon the second point—ecclesiastical polity.

In bringing out the views of Ignatius on this subject, Mr. Bunsen is led by the necessities of his argument to trace the successive changes in the government of the church, from the days of the apostles, down to the era when the hierarchy was fully developed. He begins by observing that a reader of the New Testament who had never heard of the theological contests of the last two centuries, would hardly believe it possible that any one could be found to deny that Bishop and Presbyter or Elder are convertible terms. That they are used to designate the same officer, is sufficiently evident from 1 Tim. iii. 1–7, compared with Tit. i. 5–9; it is equally plain from other passages of the New Testament, that, towards the close of Paul's life, i. e. a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem, each church was governed by a college of elders or presbyters aided by a bench of deacons. In Acts xx. 17–28, the same persons, in one part of Paul's address are styled "presbyters (or elders) of the church," in another "bishops" or overseers. Again, in Phil. i. 1, "Paul and Timothy the servants of Jesus Christ" send their greeting "to all the saints which are at Phillippi with the bishops and deacons." These are the only places in the New Testament where the word *Bishop* occurs. Rothe, has directed attention to the fact that Peter, whenever he has occasion to speak of the overseers of the church, always uses the term *Presbyter* because it was one with which the Jewish Christians were familiar, just as the Gentile Christians were with the word Επισκοπος which Paul employs. In the epistle to the Hebrews a phrase differing from both these is chosen (ἡγουμενοι) "obey them *that have the rule over you.*" Coming down to a still later period, in the Apocalypse of John we meet with the term *Angel* as a designation of the pastor of a church. And finally, near the close of the first century, we have in the third epistle of the same Apostle, (as Rothe further remarks,) not indeed the title of *Prelate,* but a picture of one; a prelate who seems to have possessed great power in the congregation, and

who exercised it in the way of "casting men out of the church," with an energy not inferior to that of Henry of Exeter in modern days. His name was Diotrephes—the first historical Prelate. Here the records of inspiration terminate; after this, no man, no church can pretend to *know* any thing respecting the organization of the early Christian societies, beyond what may be learned from the epistles of Clement written about the end of the first century, and those of Ignatius about the beginning of the second;—epistles, which, as mere human, though we doubt not, truthful testimonies respecting matters of fact, are not to be put upon a level with the infallible word of God, our only rule of faith.

The passages in the New Testament bearing upon the earliest constitution of the church are not numerous; but few as they are, there cannot be two opinions as to their meaning among readers free from partisan prejudices. By what steps did the church pass from her earliest form to the organization existing in the second and third centuries? This question has been often asked; by the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, by the reformers of the sixteenth, by theologians of the seventeenth, by historians of the nineteeth. In answer to it we observe that the commission given to Timothy and Titus casts light upon the state of things during the period extending from the date of the earliest epistle of Paul down to the oldest of the apostolical fathers. The Apocalypse and the third epistle of John seem to indicate that in Ephesus and in other congregations in Asia Minor, even before the destruction of Jerusalem, a slight change had been made in the form of government, each of these churches, instead of having a college of presbyters, was under the charge of a single pastor. We find, for example, at the close of the first century, Clement the pastor of the church at Rome, Ignatius at Antioch, Polycarp at Smyrna; gradually this plan extended itself, and before the end of the second century, it was universal. Each church had a single pastor—to whom the Greco-Roman term *Episcopos* was applied;—he was assisted by a council of presbyters, all holding the same rank as the bishop, and having the same authority to preach, govern and ordain. Episcopalians indeed maintain that a much greater change was made than that, from a collective pastorate to a single pastor; they affirm that the Apostles or such of them as survived

the destruction of Jerusalem, placed at the head of each church, a bishop, in the modern sense of the word, investing him as the representative of the unity of the church with peculiar powers, and that they established this as the only lawful form of government, and which therefore should be observed by the church universal in all future time. The advocates of this theory have been accustomed to rely upon the authority of Ignatius, of course, taking it for granted that the commonly received text of his epistles is genuine. If they can make out this part of their theory, we are ready to admit their pretensions to the apostolical succession. But the evidence must be decisive and irresistible; for the question to be settled, as Mr. Bunsen remarks, is one of more than ordinary moment; the real point in debate is not merely whether a certain class of men have a divine right to exercise a spiritual authority over the Christian people, but, whether it belongs to them exclusively and unconditionally to determine what is truth, by authoritatively declaring what the Bible means. Did the fathers of the primitive church claim either for themselves individually, or for the collective ministry any such prerogative? Do they any where teach that the Head of the church directly, or through the medium of the Apostles, invested them and their lawful successors with a power like this? How far they were from making such lofty pretensions, may be gathered from the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. The church of Corinth was rent by intestine divisions. One party claimed that the congregation had the right to compel the presbyters to resign their office, however blameless their conduct, and to appoint others in their place. This power was not only asserted, but exercised. Those who sided with the excluded presbyters complained of the proceeding as unrighteous, at last they agreed to refer the matter to the pastor of Rome. In his reply, there is a long passage in which he says, that the apostles, as they went from city to city preaching the Gospel, ordained in every church "bishops and deacons," who should retain their offices for life, unless guilty of some crime. This passage, which is too long to be quoted, has been subjected to all kinds of torture, in order to make it testify that the Prelate is the true and only successor of the apostles; but no such testimony has been or can be got out of it.

If the Episcopal theory were well founded, Clement should

have addressed the Corinthians in some such strain as the following—"the apostles provided that after their death the bishops should be invested with their authority; now if such successors of the apostles, worthily discharge the duties of their high office by governing the church, ordaining presbyters and deacons, it is a great sin in any people to compel them to resign their bishoprick." But there is nothing like this in his whole letter; it contains not a word about the appointment of successors to the apostles; there is not even the most distant hint that the church of Corinth was under the charge of a single bishop of any kind. On the contrary, he distinctly intimates that it was governed by a college of presbyters. "What a shame—says he—that the old congregation of the Corinthians, through the instigation of one or two persons, should be involved in an uproar against *their Presbyters.*"—"I will go where you like, I will do whatever the people (i. e. the congregation) require, only let the flock of Christ be at peace with *their appointed Presbyters.*" "You who have occasioned this disturbance submit yourselves *to the Presbyters.*" Such language is utterly inexplicable on the supposition that there was a Prelate or Bishop on the spot. If there had been such an officer in the church of Corinth at this time, he could not possibly avoid taking part in the controversy which distracted it; he must have sided with the faction that created the uproar; or, in attempting to sustain the cause of the injured, have found his own authority as little regarded as that of the ejected presbyters. In either case, it would be impossble for Clement to avoid all allusion to him. Yet there is not the most distant hint of this kind. Perhaps it may be said that the office happened to be vacant; the old bishop being dead, and a new one not yet chosen. But this supposition can be proved to be as groundless as the other, for, Clement in this very letter, alluding to the earlier history of the Corinthian church, to its peacefulness and good order, at a time which must have been between the death of Paul, and the breaking out of the present divisions, says—"Once ye acted without respect of persons, being obedient to the commands of God, and subject to *those who have the rule over you*" (τοις ἡγουμενοις υμων); the very expression used in the epistle to the Hebrews xiii. 17.

Here then is a letter from the pastor of the church in the

capital of the empire addressed to a congregation in one of the chief cities of Greece, and written for the express purpose of healing the painful divisions by which it was disturbed. Now if it were true that the apostles ordained prelates as their successors, and invested them with full apostolical authority, this letter of Clement, considering its occasion and object, must be precisely the document to furnish indubitable evidence of the fact. Surely a church like that of Corinth has or ought to have a prelate; or if her turbulent Christians, true to their Greek nature had hitherto refused to allow the episcopal office to be established among them, one of the first injunctions of Clement—himself a prelate—would certainly be that they remodel their church constitution, that they receive and obey a successor of the apostles, and thus get rid of present disorders, as well prevent them for the future. This is what the document in question ought to contain, if the Episcopal theory be true. Whereas, in point of fact, Clement declares, almost in so many words that the church of Corinth neither had been under episcopal government, nor was at that time; and instead of proposing it as the only effectual means of healing their disunion, he earnestly exhorts them to submit to the rule of *their presbyters.* We have already intimated that in Asia Minor, the prevailing form of government during the latter years of the apostle John was congregational episcopacy: but this letter of Clement conclusively proves that at least some of the principal churches in Greece retained the still earlier constitution described in Phil. i. 1.

If from Corinth we pass to the capital of Egypt we shall find proofs equally convincing as those just given, that the dogma—no bishop, no church—was unknown there. The great patriarchal church of Alexandria was for many years under the control of presbyters, who not only elected, but consecrated by imposition of hands, one of their own number to the office of Patriarch. We have the express testimony of Jerome, and of Eutychius to this important fact. Jerome's language is "presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat." Some Prelatists unwilling to lose so eminent a man and so learned a theologian, maintain that Jerome is here speaking of the election, not of the ordination of the Alexandrian

bishop, and in support of this expositon make a great deal of the word *nominabant*. Now without going into a verbal exegesis of the passage, we simply affirm that such an explanation is absurd, because the very object for which the fact is mentioned, is to show the original identity of the offices of bishop and presbyter. But besides the evidence of Jerome we have that of Eutychius, himself a Patriarch and historian of Alexandria. His account differs from, but does not contradict the former; his words are,—"cum vacaret patriarchatus, unum duodecim presbyteris eligerent, *cujus capiti reliqui undecim manus imponentes ipsi benedicerent et patriarcham crearent.*" He adds that until the time of the Patriarch Demetrius, A. D. 190, except at Alexandria, there was not a bishop in all Egypt. Demetrius ordained three; his successor, Heraclas, twenty.

That the Alexandrian church was not alone in her ignorance of the doctrine "no bishop, no church," or in other words, in holding that presbyters had full episcopal authority, appears from the thirteenth canon of the council of Ancyra* (held about ten years before that of Nice) on the subject of Chorepiscopi. It prohibited them from ordaining presbyters and deacons and also enjoined city presbyters to abstain from such acts unless they had written consent of the bishop of the diocese. Dr. Routh and other prelatic writers have laboured hard to weaken the force of the evidence which this canon furnishes against their theory, by resorting to verbal criticism, and bringing forward various readings whose worthlessness they themselves would be the first to denounce if they were not blinded by party interests and prejudices. In fact they appear to have persuaded themselves that if there is one thing more certain than another it is the doctrine of the apostolical succession, the divine and exclusive right of prelates to govern the church of Christ; this is an ecclesiastical axiom, and therefore if Jerome or Eutychius or any other ancient writer makes a statement that seems to contradict it, either they are misinformed or their language is misunderstood. The canon of the council of Ancyra on the subject of country bishops, cannot possibly have the

* In commenting on Dr. Routh's philological observations on this canon, Mr. Bunsen says, "In der Klasischen Philologie kommen dergleichen Erklarungsversuche nicht mehr vor: in der biblischen und theologischen muss man nichts fur unmoglich halten, so lange die heilige Philologie der Theologen uberlassen wird."

sense indicated by its terms; it cannot possibly be supposed to intimate that chorepiscopi, and city presbyters ever exercised episcopal authority; the council could have intended no more by this canon than simply to warn the chorepiscopi against presuming to ordain presbyters in the large towns and cities. Yet how palpably absurd is this explanation of the act in question? Suppose that the last General Assembly had solemnly enacted, that hereafter no board of trustees should ordain ministers, and that the ruling elders of congregations should not ordain and install their pastors, we venture to say that every one would conclude that the members had taken temporary leave of their senses, when they thus forbade what trustees and elders had never dreamed of doing. Now Dr. Routh and others of his school will have it that the council of Ancyra perpetrated an exactly analogous absurdity, by passing an act prohibiting the chorepiscopi from ordaining city presbyters, when the council very well knew that they never had presumed to ordain even a deacon in the most obscure country village or hamlet. We cannot believe that any ecclesiastical assembly would be guilty of such ridiculous legislation. The canon in question was enacted during one of the transition periods in the history of the church, when prelacy zealously sustained by a newly converted emperor was rapidly developing its energies, though it had not yet become universally established. This accounts for the prohibition; which, at the same time, clearly implies that country bishops and city presbyters had exercised the powers, of which they were now deprived. If the limits of this article permitted, we might bring from the historical records of the first two centuries additional testimonies to show that the nature of the primitive episcopate was such as we have described, and that the claims of the pretended successors of the apostles are historically as groundless as they are destitute of scriptural authority.

The constitutional history of the New Testament church, or the history of the changes in her form and principles of government, from her origin until the complete development of the hierarchy, may be divided, says our author, into *three periods*, of very unequal length.

*The first period* extends from the Ascension of our Lord to the death of Paul, embracing between thirty and forty years.

The church at first consists simply of the apostles and the brethren; this is the primal and for a while the only distinction in the visible body of believers. Very soon the increase of members by thousands renders the erection of a new office necessary, and accordingly seven deacons are ordained. The persecution of which Stephen was the first victim, compels the apostles and their associates to separate for a time; they visit Samaria and other regions, preaching the gospel, and forming their converts into congregations. Each of these had a bench of presbyters or elders, who jointly governed the congregation, all of them being invested with precisely the same powers of ruling, teaching, ordaining others, and administering the sacraments. These societies consisted exclusively of Jewish Christians, and the model of their constitution was naturally taken from the Synagogue. Whether these Presbyters, or to use the Graeco-Roman term, Episcopoi (Bishops) were originally chosen for life is uncertain; but before the death of Paul the law was fixed, that unless deposed for misconduct they should discharge their functions while they lived. As for the apostles, we find that they were called and ordained by the Lord himself; they were not ministers of local churches, nor were they charged with the care of particular districts, but held a special relation to the collective church. Theirs was truly an office of exalted dignity; but nowhere in the New Testament are they represented as priests, or as acting the part of mediators between the church and Christ; on the contrary, they plainly taught that there is only "one mediator between God and man," and that all believers are "priests unto God." In congregations fully organized the only helpers employed by the apostles were their regular pastors, viz. the presbyters; while to regions which they were unable to visit, or through which they had passed hastily, Evangelists were sent "to set in order the things that were wanting and ordain elders in every city."

Such seems to have been the constitution of particular Christian societies during this period; the work of teaching, ruling, &c., was performed by a body of presbyters all equal in dignity and power, while the care of the poor, and other temporal concerns were managed by a bench of deacons. The only exception to this rule was the church of Jerusalem, which, beside having the usual bench of presbyters and deacons, was presided

over by a single pastor of apostolical dignity—James the brother of our Lord. Every congregation, was to a certain extent independent, regulating its own affairs in its own way, at the same time, it regarded itself as a part of the great whole of regenerated humanity, as a member in particular of the one catholic church of Christ. Above the consciences of its members there was no one but the Lord Jesus himself who enlightened and guided them by his word and Spirit in all questions of truth and duty. Even the apostles (except as the instruments of the Spirit of revelation) never claimed to be lords over God's heritage. Nor can it be said that the whole power of government was lodged with them. We have an account of an apostolic election, and of an apostolic decree, and in both instances we are told that the whole body of professing Christians was present, not merely looking on, but co-operating and consenting.

*The Second Period* extends from the death of Paul, about A. D. 66, down to the calling of the Council of Nice. It begins with the second generation of the church, near the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. We now find in Ephesus and other great cities of proconsular Asia, in addition to the body of elders or congregational presbytery, a single pastor, (in the Apocalypse styled the Angel of the church) to whom the name of Bishop is specially applied. This was the first change in the form of government; it was indeed very slight, for it consisted in nothing more than giving to one of the presbyters that oversight of the congregation, which hitherto had been exercised by the presbytery or the elders conjointly. Both methods are apostolical and scriptural; and therefore in speaking of one of them as a departure from the original model, we do not mean to intimate that its introduction indicated any decline in the purity of the church nor do we believe that the prelacy of later times is in any proper sense the natural offspring of this primal, parochial, presbyterian episcopacy. These first bishops were not appointed to fill the place and preserve the succession of apostles; the two offices were entirely distinct; the apostle, as before stated, was an extraordinary minister of the church universal, while the bishop was simply the pastor of a local congregation, deriving from the former nothing but what had been already transferred to presbyters. As to rank and power he was still a simple presbyter. In fact the dogma of apostolical succession is a Jewish hea-

then heresy, and the enslavement of mind and conscience involved in it is palpably opposed to the express teachings of the Gospel.

Between A. D. 70 and 107, or from the destruction of Jerusalem down to the death of Ignatius, this episcopal system—as we are obliged to call it for the sake of distinction—gradually extended itself. In the early part of the 2d century it was generally, though by no means universally adopted, as appears from Clement's letter to the Corinthians. In the presbytery, the bishop was only primus inter pares; he was chosen by the people, ordained by presbyters; and in the exercise of government the elders and the congregation had a voice as potential as his own. That this was the scheme of government which generally obtained at this early period, is proved by the reliable records of its history which have survived the ravages of time. And with this account those writings which we recognise as the only genuine epistles of Ignatius exactly agree; while those which we reject as spurious exhibit a picture of the times entirely unlike that portrayed by every other witness whose testimony is admissible.

The difference between bishop and presbyter, at first imperceptible, gradually increased as the church grew in wealth and numbers, and declined in purity of faith and manners, until in the days of Cyprian of Carthage, and chiefly through his influence, it became very marked. It was claimed that bishops alone had authority to ordain; deacons began to be regarded as helpers of the bishop, rather than as servants of the congregation; they were viewed as members of the clerical order, between whom and the laity there at length came to be "a great gulf fixed." But this radical change in the constitution of the church was not effected without a struggle. The history of the times shows that, during the life of Cyprian, and long after his death a twofold contest was carried; presbyters resisted the ambitious claims of bishops, and the people resisted the priestly pretensions of bishops, presbyters and deacons. The overthrow of Paganism, the accession of the might and majesty of the empire to the cause of the church, and her consequent union with the state, of necessity gave an immense impulse to the causes which, even in spite of repeated and terrible persecutions, had been long working a sad change in her constitution. She was

thoroughly reorganised, and prelacy became the order of the day. We are thus brought to

*The Third Period*, extending from the council of Nice to that of Trent, when the absolute power of the papacy and the priesthood obtained the positive sanction of ecclesiastical law, and assumed a form which can never be modified or amended, but must continue unchanged until the Lord comes to consume it with the spirit of his mouth.

We have thus given as fully as the limits of this article will permit, the arguments by which the able author of this volume sustains his position that the only genuine letters of Ignatius are those found in the Syriac translation, and that they are there given in their purest form. Some of the statements in regard to the early development of episcopacy are perhaps questionable; but his main point, that the genuine Ignatius is only to be found in the Syriac version, we believe he has triumphantly established. We feel sure that every candid reader, of whatever party, will agree with us in this opinion. There can be no longer any reasonable doubt as to what Ignatius wrote, and what he did not write; and if our prelatic friends really possess the veneration for the fathers of which they boast so much, they will no longer quote the worthless forgeries of one whose very name has sunk into oblivion, as if they were the genuine testimonies of the venerable pastor of Antioch.

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## Art. V.—*The Calcutta Review.*

This is a quarterly publication equal in size and not inferior in ability and interest to its compeers of Edinburgh and London. It was commenced May 1844. The advertisement prefixed to the first number states "that the object of the work is simply to bring together such useful information, and propagate such sound opinions, relating to Indian affairs, as will, it is hoped conduce, in some small measure, directly or indirectly, to the amelioration of the condition of the people." Its success exceeded the expectations of its projectors. Of many numbers a second and even a third edition has been published. For some

time the editorial supervision has been in the hands of Dr. Duff. The work is not designed to be religious, and the object of that distinguished missionary in devoting to it a portion of his valuable time, is to preserve it from any bias hostile to Christianity, and to direct its powerful influence, as far as allowable, to support of every measure which tends to promote the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. Having recently received nearly a complete set of this Review, we have been looking through its pages with much interest. While thus employed our attention was arrested by an account, scattered through various numbers, of a people of whom we before had scarcely heard. These accounts we have extracted, persuaded they will interest our readers as much as they have us.

When early in 1836, the British first ascended the Ghats of Goomsur, the scene presented to their view was as grand as it was unexpected. It was in reality the discovery of a previously unknown and unexplored territory, a prieviously unknown and undescribed people. Beyond the mere fact of the existence of the hills, and of a wild people, called the KHONDS, who were said to inhabit them, little or nothing seemed to be antecedently known. "Goomsur is included in Orissa; which though now only a British province was anciently a great kingdom. In the year 1787, this country was invaded by the Mahrattas, who, as every where else, carried destruction and desolation in their train. But in the strange revolution of empires, in the year 1804, the country of Orissa fell under the sway of imperial Britain, and the last vestige of the Mahratta sovereignty was extinguished. Orissa is geographically divided into three districts, the maritime, subalpine, and alpine. The Khonds who inhabit this country, appear to be the descendants of the original inhabitants of India, and may be described as in a semi-barbarous state of society. Their government is patriarchal; and the tribes independent of each other, except that in war they are united against their enemies. They are of a good size, well formed, and athletic; but their dress is very scanty. The occasion which brought this people to the knowledge of the British was, the Goomsur war. Goomsur had long been one of the British tributaries; and the people of this province had long held certain relations to the Khonds, of which, until this time the British were entirely ignorant. In the prosecution of

this war the insurgents were pursued by the British troops into the Ghats, where the Khonds had their residence; and thus some knowledge of this hitherto unknown people was obtained. Various reports of the character, customs, and religious rites of this strange people have been given by different persons sent into their country; but the person who has given by far the most full and satisfactory account of them is Captain Macpherson; from whose several reports much of the information which we shall now attempt to communicate has been derived.

Their language, which contains many original words, has a mixture of the languages spoken in the plains. But, as they have no writings, and their pronunciation is deeply guttural, it has been found difficult precisely to ascertain its idioms and affinities.

Their social relations are rather loose and irregular; and the bond of marriage is very readily dissolved; but their manners are not in so degraded a state as among many savage nations. Mothers of children are much respected; and the women are consulted in all matters of importance.

In noticing this people, our main object is to furnish our readers with some account of a horrible practice, which from time immemorial has existed among them; and still exists, after all the efforts which have been made for its extirpation. It is the custom, at a certain season of the year, of offering up human victims to a certain goddess, with a view of obtaining good crops; for they entertain the persuasion, that unless they by this sacrifice appeased this deity, the earth would remain barren and produce nothing for the subsistence of man.

Before we proceed to give a particular account of this revolting rite of their religion, it may be proper to inform the reader, that female infanticide, so prevalent in several districts of Western India, is also extensively practised among the Khonds. Captain Macpherson informs us, that in some of the tribes, "The life of no female child is spared, unless it be a first-born; or when the head of a tribe wishes to form connections with some other tribe by intermarriages." The infants are destroyed by being exposed in the jungle ravines immediately after their birth; and he found many villages without a single female child.

Female infanticide has, however, no relation to their religion;

nor does it proceed, as in China, from the fear of starvation, but owes its origin to pride, or avarice. Marriage with them is neither with members of the same tribe, nor with foreigners, but between the different tribes of the same people; and fearing that advantageous matches for their daughters cannot be obtained, they take care to remove them out of the way. And as costly presents are expected from the father of the bride, it may be supposed, that avarice also may have an influence in keeping up this cruel custom.

We shall now give a particular account of their human sacrifices, which constitute an important part of the religion of this people:

"The earth-goddess being the principal divinity of the Khonds, her worship is that which engrosses the largest share of public attention. It is, moreover, that which in itself is most deeply fraught with tragic interest; inasmuch as its central point consists in the offering of human sacrifices. Of the origin of this sanguinary rite, the only reasonable tradition among the Khonds is the following: 'The earth,' say they, 'was originally a crude and unstable mass, unfit for cultivation, or for the convenient habitation of man. Then,' said the earth-goddess, 'let human blood be spilt upon me,' and a child was sacrificed. The soil became forthwith firm, and productive, and the deity ordained that man should repeat the rite and live. Human sacrifices to the earth-goddess are either *public* or *private*. Those intended for a tribe or village are considered necessary when any principal crop is put into the ground; and a harvest offering is nearly as indispensable as the spring sacrifice; and between these, according to the appearance of the year, several sacrifices are considered necessary. Again, should the health of the people be affected by prevalent disease, or other calamities be experienced, the earth-goddess must be appeased. Also, when any calamity befalls the head of the tribe, the occasion calls for a repetition of these sacrifices. Private sacrifices are made when any remarkable calamity is experienced by any family, if they are able to procure a human victim; otherwise, they bring a goat, whose ear is cut off, and cast bleeding on the earth—a pledge which must be redeemed with human blood, within the year. It will be evident, from what has been said, that the number of victims will be variable, in different

years, according to the circumstances mentioned: it is, however, commonly so great as to be appalling to the feelings of humanity. In one small valley, two miles long and three quarters broad, our author found seven victims, whose sacrifice was prevented only by the proximity of the British army, but which was to take place immediately after their departure.

"These unhappy victims are known in the Khond language under the designation of 'Merias.' They do not commonly consist of native Khonds, but are provided by a class of Hindu procurers, called 'Panwas,' who purchase them without difficulty upon false pretences, or kidnap them from the poorer classes of Hindus, in the low country. Their price is determined by the demand, varying from fifty to one hundred *lives;* that is, of living animals, sheep, goats, &c. A few are always kept in reserve, in each district, to meet sudden demands for atonement. Victims of either sex are equally acceptable to the earth-goddess; children, whose age precludes a knowledge of their condition, are preferred. In all cases the victim must be *bought with a price*—an unbought life being an abomination to the deity. The 'Meria' is brought to the village, or place where the sacrifice is to be made, blindfolded—and, if an adult, is confined with fetters; but if a child, is permitted freely to run about, and is welcomed at every threshold. In all cases they are received as *consecrated persons.* Sometimes they are permitted to grow from childhood to maturity, without any knowledge of their destiny. All arrangements connected with the ceremony of human sacrifices are conducted by the patriarch of the tribe or village, with the aid of the priest: the divine command is communicated by the latter, as he pretends to receive it in visions; and he may demand a victim, at any time, when no visible signs of divine displeasure are apparent. These sacrifices are generally attended by multitudes of people, as no one is excluded from being present. Persons of both sexes are indiscriminately allowed to be present, and the festival commonly lasts three days, during which all manner of licentiousness is prevalent. The first of these days is spent in feasting and obscene riot; on the second, the victim is washed and dressed in a new garment, and led forth to the 'Meria' grave, in a procession, accompanied with music and dancing. Hymns to the deity are also prepared and sung. The grave is in the midst

of a clump of trees in the vicinity of the village, near a stream of water. It is avoided by the Khonds, under the impression that it is haunted. In the midst of the trees, a stake is struck into the ground, at the foot of which the victim is seated, and fastened with his back to it. He is then anointed with oil, ghee and turmeric, and dressed with flowers; and during the day, a species of veneration is paid to the victim, which can scarcely be distinguished from worship. There is now a great struggle, especially with the women, to obtain the least relic of the victim, such as the turmeric with which he was anointed, and even his very spittle. On the third morning the victim is refreshed with a little milk and sago; when the licentious feast is renewed. The proper place for the sacrifice having been discovered the previous night, by piercing the ground with long sticks, in the dark, the first deep chink is considered as the spot which will be agreeable to the goddess. As the victim must not be bound when he suffers, and must not show any resistance, it is common to break the bones of the arms and of the legs, in several places. The priest, assisted by the elders of the village, now takes the branch of a green tree, which having split for several feet, they place the victim within the cleft. They wrap round it cords, by which the parts of the cleft tree are forced as near together as they can be made to come. The signal is now given, by the priest inflicting a slight wound with an axe, when, with maddening fury, the promiscuous crowd rush upon the victim with stunning shouts and pealing music, wildly exclaiming, 'We bought you with a price, and no sin rests on us.' They now tear his flesh to pieces from the bones. The horrid rite is now consummated, and every one returns with his bloody relics to his place; and for three days after the sacrifice, not a word is spoken, but all communication must be by signs; and no visits are received from strangers. At the termination of this period, a buffalo is sacrificed, after which their tongues are unloosed." The above is the description of this inhuman rite given by Captain Macpherson, but from the statements of others, there is reason to think, that the ceremonies accompanying these sacrifices, are considerably various, as practised by different tribes.

As Goomsur lies within the limits of the Madras government, Mr. Russell, their agent, made the first report to them

respecting the practice of offering up human sacrifices. He was of opinion that it would not be vain to attempt to put an end to the inhuman rite, by the application of force; for which he assigned several weighty reasons. He advised, however, that every effort should be made to rescue the victims, kept in reserve for sacrifice.

The Madras Government took up the subject seriously, and expressed regret that it was not practicable to put an end to the abominable custom at once; but adopting Mr. Russell's views, that the suppression of the practice must be by a slow process, they issued an order to the officer in command, in that district, to collect information on the subject—to endeavour to obtain as great an insight as he could into the feelings and opinions of the different classes of the people respecting it—to cultivate personal intercourse with the chiefs—and to exert his influence to convince them of the heinousness and folly of the practice—and to hold out every inducement, consistent with the public interest, to the Khonds, to enter as *Peons*, or otherwise, into the service of the Government. M. Arbuthnot, the officer then in authority in that region, upon inquiry, found that human sacrifices were offered, especially in the most inaccessible parts of the hill-country—and that the suppression of the revolting custom must be a work of difficulty and time.

As it was received by the Khonds as an important religious rite, it was evident, that it would not be proper to attempt to punish them for it as a crime, until pains were taken to enlighten them as to its iniquity; but as those who supplied the victims, by purchasing or kidnapping them, were not Khonds; and were not influenced by religious but mercenary, motives, it was judged, that they ought to be considered the culprits, who might at once be subjected to punishment, as far as they could be detected. Accordingly, efforts were made to rescue the victims; and the first person who was successful in this work was Captain Millar, of the British regular army. He was so happy as to rescue from a cruel death no less than twenty-nine innocent persons. But it was found extremely difficult to convict any of those engaged in providing the victims, for want of that kind of evidence which the law required. Captain Millar, in his report, says, that the prevention of the practice by force, for a time, could not but have a beneficial effect. For, as the deluded

people labour under the persuasion, that unless these sacrifices were offered, the earth would produce nothing, and they would all perish for want of the means of subsistence, if they had the opportunity of observing that the crops were not ruined nor diminished, in consequence of the omission of these sacrifices, they would more readily be induced to give them up. And as these sacrifices are usually offered in the month of January, when the country is healthy, this would remove one great objection to the employment of a military force.

Captain Campbell, however, also an officer of the British army, in a letter of nearly the same date with that of Captain Millar, expresses very different opinions. He is opposed to any resort to coercion; and proposes the following plan: "I purpose," says he, "with your sanction," addressing himself to the Government, "to ascend the Ghats, with a considerable portion of the armed peons under my command, accompanied by fifty men of the seventeenth regiment, and call together the most influential men among the Khonds—endeavouring to convince them of the barbarity and inutility of the sacrifice, explaining to them our abhorrence and utter detestation of the practice; at the same time, ordering them to bring to me all the victims in their possession. And, if I cannot otherwise obtain them, I ask *permission* to purchase them at the prices they cost the Khonds; and at the same time, to use such threats, as I may think advisable to gain the object in view, both for the present and the future. If my efforts prove successful, I shall be able to deprive the parties engaged in the barbarous traffic of obtaining victims; who from the information I can gather are for the most part inhabitants of the low country; and thus gain the power of striking at one source of the evil by immediately securing the parties concerned."

On the 15th of January, 1832, the subject of these reports was taken up by the Madras Government; and the plan proposed by Captain Campbell was preferred; for, as to the supposed effect of seeing a district flourishing when no human victims were sacrificed, the experiment had been tried in the case of the district of *Degi;* but the example had been without effect. That part of Capt. Campbell's plan, however, which related to the purchase of the victims, was not adopted, as being peculiarly liable to abuse.

Capt. Campbell having received the permission which he requested, in January, 1838, proceeded into the country of the Khonds; and having called together the heads of the several tribes, he explained to them that the British government would no longer suffer the sacrifice of human victims among them. He then peremptorily ordered that they should bring all the "merias" in their possession to him. They, at first, denied that they had any such persons among them. But he had ascertained, beforehand, the names of several chiefs who had "merias" in their possession, and also from whom they had been purchased. Finding that they could not come at the truth, they delivered up *one hundred meriah children*. He then exacted from them a promise, that "meriah pujah" should henceforth be at an end. He concludes his report by saying, "I have every reason to believe, that the public performance of the Meriah Pujah in the Goomsur Maliahs is at an end."

It had before this time been believed, that the Khonds themselves were never sacrificed; but it was now satisfactorily ascertained, that all classes, whether Khonds, Hindus, Musselmans; whether old or young, male or female, might become the subjects of this sacrifice. Of course, however, when they could purchase victims from the plains, they preferred it to sacrificing their own people.

A serious question now arose, respecting the disposal of these *devoted* children. Mr. Russell with the views of a generous and enlightened statesman, recommended to the government, that they should be brought up and educated at the public expense. Captain Campbell ordered a building to be prepared for them, and proposed, that they should be brought up to labour and be furnished with necessary clothing.

In a report from Lieutenant Hill, the following information is given of the prevalence of the revolting custom of human sacrifices, in another district. "The information I obtained," says he, "regarding human sacrifices, leads me to believe, that the practice of that barbarous rite obtains to a far greater extent than is commonly supposed; and that the Khond Maliah of Goomsur forms but a very small portion of the country over which the custom prevails. One grand sacrifice said to have taken place, twelve years since, on occasion of the rajah of Bustar setting off to visit the rajah of Nagpore, is termed the *great sac-*

*rifice;* when, I understand, twenty-seven full grown men were immolated. I have good reason for thinking that in the tribe of Chinna Kimmedy alone, not less than two hundred children are kept for sacrifice! Upwards of one hundred, as is well known, have been given up, this year, in Goomsur; but many more still remain there. With these data to calculate from, it is fearful to contemplate the possible number of intended victims now in captivity among the Khonds."

Lieutenant Hill concludes his report with some very sensible and weighty remarks, respecting the best method of putting an end to this horrible practice. He thinks, considering the nature of the localities of these tribes, settled on and among the Ghats, and the little success which can attend persecution on account of religion, that it is very doubtful whether a resort to force is expedient. And yet when it is considered, that the exercise of coercion in the case of the THUGGS; an associated band of murderers, has been attended with the most salutary consequences; and that savage men can scarcely ever be induced to relinquish the most absurd sacred rites, received from their forefathers, there does appear a necessity for a military intervention, and this would not require a great force; a single company of regular troops, he is of opinion, would be sufficient to keep in awe any number of the Khonds.

Mr. Bannerman, the chief officer of Ganjam, under whose direction Lieut. Hill had acted, now determined to go into the country of the Khonds himself, about the time when human sacrifices were usually offered. The government approved of his purpose, and supplied him with four elephants and a guard, and all other things requisite to facilitate his journey. Of this visit he has furnished an interesting narrative; from which we extract the following particulars. He informs us, that he arrived at a certain village, where a victim was about to be offered, before the inhabitants had any knowledge of his approach. "The preparations for the ceremony appeared to have been completed. The entrance into the hamlet,—which was in the form of a square,—had been newly fitted up with wicker works, and in the centre close to the rude village idol, had been erected a bamboo pole about forty feet high, on the top of which was an effigy in the shape of a bird, with peacock's feathers." The Khonds immediately fled, but after some demur

the victim was given up to him, a young woman from the plains of Chinna Kimmedy. After a while, some of the elders and chiefs were induced to approach and communicate with him. To the arguments alleged to show the heinous nature of the crime of putting a fellow creature to death, for the folly of supposing that any good could accrue from such a sacrifice, the answer was, that they were not tributary to us, and had a right to observe a custom which had been handed down in their nation from time immemorial, and which, if neglected, would cause the earth to be entirely unproductive; that the victims had been fairly purchased with a price, and that they did not wish to have their right to do as they pleased, in this case, interfered with. Mr. Bannerman finding argument unavailing against the ignorance and strong prejudices of this people, thought it prudent to retrace his steps; but for his own security, he kept several of the chiefs as hostages, that through their influence he might be enabled to rescue other victims who might be in the neighboring villages. Accordingly, he succeeded in obtaining nine "Merias," who were intended for sacrifice, in the surrounding country.

Mr. Bannerman proposes to the Government the sending a detachment of troops through the country, about the time of celebrating the *Tanki* sacrifice; not with a view to coerce the inhabitants, but he is persuaded that the presence of such a detachment in the country would prevent these cruel sacrifices. "It is fearful," says he, "to contemplate the extent of human misery resulting from the practice of this execrable rite; for, independent of the number of Merias annually sacrificed—and there is reason to believe the number far greater than could readily be credited—it gives rise, with all its attendant evils, to kidnapping the unfortunate inhabitants of the plain, who are decoyed into the hills by a set of infamous wretches, who carry on a profitable traffic in the blood of their fellow men. The agents engaged in these odious dealings are, for the most part, of the Panwa, or Dobango, or other base tribes, through whom the intercourse with the low country is chiefly carried on; and who, without remorse, barter their unhappy captives for saffron, wax, and other products of the hills. The guilt of these heartless miscreants appears to be even of a deeper die than that of the African slave-traders; and their motives are of the most

base and sordid kind; so that their infamous conduct does not admit of any palliation. The barbarous and ignorant Khonds, on the other hand, are conscious of no crime in performing what they regard as a sacred duty, in celebrating the *Tanki* festival. The perversion of the human intellect, that can regard the cruel death of a fellow creature as a sacrifice acceptable in the sight of the Deity, is indeed strange. The agents, through whose means the Khonds are supplied with these victims, are the proper objects of condign punishment. But from the circumstances of the case, it has been found almost impossible to obtain legal evidence against these guilty culprits."

The Government were well pleased with the course pursued by Mr. Bannerman, and thought it much to his credit, that he had succeeded in rescuing nine victims from a cruel death, without coercion, and without involving the country in any collision with these tribes. And they entered fully into his plan of sending a detachment of troops into the country, to overawe the inhabitants, and to prevent the cruel sacrifices offered by them.

Captain Campbell, who contemporaneously with Mr. Bannerman, had visited another portion of the country of the Khonds, says, that he obtained certain information but of eleven instances of the sacrifice of Merias among the tribes which he visited; and these they pretended had died a natural death. The chiefs came forward with a request, that they might be permitted to offer one sacrifice for each tribe, every year; but did not seem to be much disappointed at receiving a refusal. He asked the opinion of their rulers, called Bisayes, who, though they have been brought up among the Khonds, are not of them; and who entertain a great abhorrence of this abominable custom. Their judgment was, that a proclamation of Government, forbidding the practice on severe penalties, would be effectual. And Captain Campbell gives it as his own opinion, "that unless we address ourselves to their fears, as well as their better feelings, our steps for the suppression of the '*Meria Pujah*,' will be slow indeed, and perhaps wholly nugatory." For two years nothing more was done, when Major Campbell again entered the country of the Khonds, with the view of preventing the celebration of the *Tanki* festival. He found that twenty-four victims had been sold to them within the last twelve months. Six of these were delivered to him; and he

secured two or three of the guilty agents who supplied these victims, against whom he expected to obtain such evidence as would be sufficient to effect their condemnation.

Lieutenant Hill, in a report to Mr. Bannerman, represented the southern tribes as being in a state of great excitement; so that he considered it inexpedient, while among them, to allude to the subject. From credible sources of information, he learned that parents had been known to sell their children, not only to the Panwas, but to the Khonds themselves; and that the price at which they were valued, was no more than four or five rupees, by the head. And from data, in his possession, Lieut. Hill calculated that the number of victims sacrificed in the forty *Mutahs*, or villages of the Khonds, in one year, could not be fewer than two hundred and forty!

The subject engaged not only the attention of the Government of Madras, but the Governor General with his Council, was deeply interested in the plans proposed for the eradication of this execrable rite; but all seemed to be convinced that it would require much time and patient effort, to eradicate an evil so inveterate, and believed by the people to be so essential to their very existence.

The object was never lost sight of by the agents of Government; but though the sacrifice of human beings was not so public as formerly, yet there was too much evidence that the practice was not abandoned.

For six years not much was heard respecting this matter. About this time a new actor appeared in opposition to the Merias, Colonel Ouseley, agent of the Governor General. In 1844, he succeeded in rescuing two lads, and restored them to their friends. He obtained information, that on some occasions, when they could not obtain Merias, they gave up their aged fathers and mothers for sacrifice. And that to escape detection from the Government, they at once killed and buried the *Merias*. The feelings of the Colonel were much excited by the information received; and he determined to march into the midst of the country of the Khonds, as being fully persuaded that nothing but intimidation would produce any effect, to prevent the continuance of the revolting sacrifice. He was for marching a large body of dragoons and infantry, and inflicting condign punishment on all who were engaged in these shameful

sacrifices. The Colonel, in a subsequent report, mentioned a chief who would be happy to enter the country, and who could soon point out hundreds of these poor Merias. That these sacrificial rites were common, he knew, from personally conversing with the people on the borders—not only the chiefs, but the poorer classes. He said that he was fully aware that many obstacles would be placed in the way of all inquiries, and that opposition would be made by the Zemindars, to every step taken to put down the practice; nevertheless, he believed, that in one season, either by conciliation or force, he would be able to subdue those who made resistance to his plans. He was persuaded that without force nothing effectual could be done. Of the same opinion was Lieutenant Hicks; but he shows, in his judicious report, the great difficulties which surrounded the subject. "The destitution and poverty of the Khonds," he observes, "is very great. They are possessed of little or no property; and on the approach of our troops would fly to their fastnesses, where it would be in vain to pursue them. And I am persuaded," says he, "that three-fourths of the Khonds would offer a mad and blind resistance to our demands, under the idea that they were merely fighting for their country, independence and tribe. It, therefore, seems probable, that a coercive undertaking, to be effective, must be a protracted one; and this is the strong objection to the application of force, until all other measures have failed; for troops detained in the country would prevent the cultivation of the lands, and keep the people shut up in their fastnesses. To this should be added the notorious insalubrity of the climate, which would prove more destructive than the sword of the enemy."

Upon the energetic representation of Mr. Mills to the Government, Lieutenant Hicks was appointed his assistant, and was deputed by him to go into the country of the Khonds, to obtain information on several points; and to ascertain from an actual survey of the state of affairs what would be the wisest plan of proceeding, effectually to suppress the deplorable evil which was so inveterate. Lieutenant Hicks was unable to set off on his mission at the best season of the year, to be in that unhealthy country. However, he went, and was successful, not only in obtaining much useful information, but in rescuing twenty-five intended victims from a cruel death. He also had

influence to induce twenty-six of the Khond Sindars, or Chiefs, to enter into a written engagement to abstain from the horrid rites practised by their respective tribes. Moreover, a kidnapper, or dealer in stolen children, was arrested, and sent to the proper tribunal, for trial. Still, the joy at this partial success was tempered by the consideration, that all the *Merias* were not given up; and that all the Sindars had not entered into the engagement mentioned; and what was more discouraging, there was much reason to fear, that those who had given their pledge would not be faithful in keeping their engagements. He himself mentions one remarkable case, in which a certain Sindar promised Mr. Rieketts that he would relinquish the rite and do all in his power to dissuade the people from sacrificing human victims. Upon which Mr. Ricketts presented him with a horse, some money, and other articles; but no sooner had this man reached his home, than he sacrificed several unfortunate victims.

To all arguments employed by Mr. Hicks, to show the enormity of the evil, and how strongly it was reprobated by the Government, the only answer was, that the "sacrifice was a ceremony practised by their progenitors." After the fullest examination, and after using every conciliatory effort and argument, Mr. Hicks concludes, by saying, "I am firmly convinced, in my own mind, that, sooner or later, force must be resorted to, as no other motives than those of a coercive nature, will effectually check its continuance."

Mr. Mills, in forwarding Lieutenant Hicks's report, passed a very high eulogium on his assistant; whose conduct met also with the full approbation of the Government.

In the year 1845, Mr. Hicks was again sent with an armed force into the country of the Khonds. He assembled their chiefs, and again represented to them the strong displeasure of the Government to this inhuman rite; but they denied that it was now practised by their people; and he failed of getting into his hands any of the victims; which, however, he still believed were concealed among them.

All the attempts to suppress the inhuman rite of the *Meria* sacrifice having been frustrated, the Government determined to appoint a suitable person to go into the country, not in a hostile manner, but for the benevolent purpose of promoting trade

between the several tribes, and also between the ghats and the low country; and who should have it as an object to obtain information respecting the facts in regard to this practice, and to suggest and carry into effect prudent measures for its abolition. For this important mission, Captain Macpherson, who made the first report respecting the offering of human sacrifices, was selected; and a man in all respects better qualified could not have been found. He was fully persuaded that all attempts to suppress the rite by force would be ineffectual; and that it could only be accomplished gradually, and by slow degrees. Captain Macpherson took up his residence in the country of the Khonds, accompanied by such a military force as was thought necessary. But soon disease invaded his camp, and carried off a large number of his men; and very few of them escaped the diseases of this deleterious climate.

Our limits do not admit of our exhibiting the plan of Captain Macpherson in detail; but his object was to begin at the foundation of their social system, and to improve the mode of administering justice, which, he observed, was very imperfect among these tribes. His views and sentiments respecting the best method of removing not only this revolting rite, but many other evils, appear to be wise and practicable, and have met with the entire approbation of the Government, and all judicious persons. But as his well devised plan of operation has been, for the present, frustrated by the deleterious character of the climate; and as a considerable time will be required to test the efficacy of the measures which may be adopted, it will be unnecessary, at present, to enter into any further details respecting his operations. In justice, however, to Captain Macpherson, it is proper to remark, that justice and humanity characterised all his measures. And finding his powers too limited, he took a journey to Calcutta, to get them enlarged. One of his measures, which is an evidence of his wisdom, was, to introduce education among the savage tribes; as believing that the inhuman superstitions of the people could never be radically removed, in any other way. We are only surprised to find nothing said in all these reports respecting the efficacy of the gospel, above all other means, to cure evils of this kind.

It has already been noticed that female infanticide is customary among the Khonds, but practised on principles entirely

different from those which govern the *Meria* sacrifice. Pride and avarice seem to be the sources of this deplorable evil: it has no respect, as was before observed, to religion. It was also mentioned, that the same practice is prevalent, to an alarming degree, in several districts of Rajahputana, in Western India.

Before closing this article, we judge it expedient to bring to view some of the facts which have been fully ascertained, in relation to this inhuman custom. These are derived from an interesting article in the second number of the Calcutta Review.

In 1800, Mr. Duncan, then Governor of Bombay, learned that in a certain tribe of Rajputs, "the birth of a daughter was considered disgraceful—that new-born daughters were accordingly put to death." Again, in 1804, he incidentally learned from a conversation with a daughter of one of the princes of Gujurat, "that in Corsti of Jahriga Rajputs they did not bring up their daughters, but put them to death at their birth," and this was the established practice.

These disclosures had such an influence on the benevolent mind of Mr. Duncan, that he was led to institute further inquiries in regard to this matter; and prosecuting his inquiries, he had the happiness to find an able coadjutor, in that distinguished philanthropist, Colonel Walker. "In 1808, he commenced his inquiries with a vigour, an energy, and an earnestness as untiring in the pursuit, as they were successful in the issue. This investigation opened up views of the extent of the criminal practice of a startling and appalling magnitude." It was found that in the tribe, before mentioned, the practice was general. There might be seven or eight families who preserved alive their daughters; but as a general thing, they were put to death as soon as born; and not in this tribe only, but through the whole province of Gujarat. And it was ascertained, that in the few cases in which they were preserved, the motive was not parental affection, but some superstitious notion connected with the doctrine of metempsychosis which made them averse to taking away the life of any animal.

Colonel Walker, in the absence of a census, was unable to ascertain the number of infants destroyed in one year, in this single tribe; but according to the report of natives best acquainted with the country, the number of families amounted to 125,000, and the number of female infants put to death in one

year to 20,000. This number he thought to be greatly exaggerated, but supposing the number to be only one-half of this, what a waste of human life, if we take into view the fact, that the practice has prevailed from time immemorial!

The information given to the public by Colonel Walker, on this melancholy subject, had nearly fallen into oblivion, when Mr. Wilkinson laid open the full extent of the evil. As several persons, among the rest Sir J. Malcom, had published the opinion, that the practice of infanticide had in a great measure, ceased, except in the families of the rajahs, Mr. Wilkinson determined to make a thorough investigation into the facts of the case. And he instituted a careful inquiry into the proportion of males and females in a number of tribes; and the result is truly appalling. In one tribe the proportion was 113 to 16; in a second, 240 to 96; in a third, 131 to 61; in a fourth, 14 to 4; in a fifth, 39 to 7; in a sixth, 20 to 7; in a seventh, 70 to 32. Now, it is known that the number of males and females born, is nearly equal; it will follow from a comparison of the foregoing numbers, that at least 77 per cent. of all the females born are destroyed; for the aggregate proportion of the sexes in the tribes referred to is 632 males to 225 females, or in round numbers *two-thirds* destroyed, and one-third preserved alive!

Nor was the practice confined solely to the Rajputs: Mr. Wilkinson ascertained that a chief among the Sikhs had destroyed all his daughters; and that the Minas, a savage tribe who inhabited the mountains, were addicted to the horrid practice. Of eleven of their villages he obtained an accurate census; from which it appeared that the number of males was 369 and of the females, according to this census, 82; or more than three-fourths of the whole must have been destroyed. In one village, there were only 4 girls to 44 boys; in another, 4 girls to 58 boys; and in a third, with a large number of boys, *no girls at all;*—the inhabitants freely confessing that *they had destroyed every girl born in the village.*

We have seen the extent of this appalling practice of female infanticide, it is a natural inquiry in what way it is carried into effect, commonly, it is said, by starvation. When a daughter is born, there is no greeting or rejoicing; often the child is killed before its father is made acquainted with its birth.

Sometimes, he issues an order for the destruction of the infant; but if he is silent, it is inferred that he wishes it done. Women of rank have their servants to whom the perpetration of the criminal act is committed. But the parents appear to have no conscience of any crime: they give no evidence of the least feeling of remorse. It may be asked, whether the mothers have no natural affection for their offspring, which is so manifest even in brutes? Often, it is said, they do intercede for the preservation of their female offspring, and when spared, they manifest as strong parental feelings as other people; but the fact is, *that gross and perverted notions of religion* possess a power over superstitious minds, to suppress or counteract the strongest feeling of natural affection.

Our object in collecting and exhibiting the above facts, is not merely to gratify curiosity, by making known the customs of people now living upon earth; but, chiefly, with the view of showing the deep depravity and wretched degradation of our fallen nature, when left to its own evil devices and corrupt imaginations. The vain theories and false statements of a certain school of philosophers respecting the innocence of human nature, when left to itself, and uncorrupted by the vices of civilization, are refuted by every accurate history of any savage people; and their vices and moral degradation far exceed all our previous conceptions. The further our inquiries are extended, the more wretched and abominable does man appear.

And finally, we present these facts to the Christian public, and ask every reader of every condition, whether there is not a solemn obligation resting on every one to make greater exertions than ever to rescue his miserable fellow-creatures from the deplorable condition in which they are sunk. And if it be inquired, what can we do, the answer is, send them the gospel. Send them the living preacher. Establish among them schools of Christian learning. Give more liberally of your substance to promote this object; and pray more earnestly for the conversion of the world.

## ART. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America met, agreeably to appointment, in the First Presbyterian Church in the city of Pittsburgh, May 17th, 1849, and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. Alexander T. McGill, D. D., moderator of the previous Assembly, on Ps. lxxxvii. 7; "All my springs are in Thee."

The Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was unanimously chosen moderator, and the Rev. W. W. Hill, temporary clerk.

### *Church Music.*

The Rev. Dr. Plumer presented the report of the committee appointed by the preceding Assembly on church music. This report contained an account of the labours of the committee, and of the progress which they had made in the prosecution of the work assigned them. It concluded with the following recommendation, viz:

"The Committee respectfully suggest to the General Assembly, that their Report and the Appendix be referred to a special Committee of their body, for examination, and if thereupon the Assembly should approve and encourage the further prosecution of their work, on the basis of the principles therein set forth, that authority be given to this Committee, as in the case of the Book of Psalms and Hymns (see the minutes of the General Assembly, A. D. 1842, page 44 and 45), to complete the work, and make the necessary arrangements for its publication and circulation, among our churches.

"The Report was followed by an Appendix, containing a list of the tunes recommended to be published by the General Assembly for the use of the Church."

The committee to whom this matter was referred subsequently presented the following report, viz:

"The Special Committee to whom was referred for examination the Report and Appendix of the Committee of last year, on Church Music, now respectfully report—

"That they find in the papers submitted, evidences of ability, industry, and progress, which designate that Committee as

the proper agents to carry out the object proposed, namely, to furnish a book of tunes adapted to our present psalmody, published in a convenient form or fgeneral use in our churches. They therefore recommend the adoption of the following minute:

"1. *Resolved*, That said Committee on Church Music be continued, and, they are hereby authorized to go on at their discretion to revise, change, or enlarge, and complete the present selection of tunes submitted in the Appendix to their Report; to employ at all necessary expense, the proper professional skill to arrange the harmonies, and adapt the music to our psalmody, and to complete and print the book, through the Board of Publication. And the book so printed shall be laid before the next General Assembly.

"2. *Resolved*, That as the original Committee are now in progress, our ministers and members individually, and the Presbyteries, be still invited as before to communicate freely with said Committee, and make such suggestions as may aid in the completion of a book which may, as far as possible, be adapted to the widest and most approved use in our churches—that these suggestions be expressed, post-paid, before the first day of December next, to the chairman, the Rev. John M. Krebs, D. D., New York, and the Committee shall not put the book to press before that time.

"After some desultory discussion, it was on motion of Dr. Spring,

"*Resolved*, That the Committee be not required to submit the proof sheets of the book to the Presbyteries before publishing.

"The report was then adopted."

### *A Common Paper for the Boards.*

The Rev. Dr. Plumer offered the following resolution, viz:

"*Resolved*, That a Committee of seven be appointed, for the purpose of devising, if possible, some arrangements by which a monthly, or weekly periodical, giving important information respecting the Boards of our Church, and sustaining the cause of each of them, should be published, and that the Secretaries of said Boards be requested to lay before the said Committee so much of their respective reports as relates to periodicals, and

to give such other information on the subject as may be in their possession."

This matter was referred to Rev. J. W. Alexander, J. Krebs, I. S. Prime, C. Van Rensselaer, H. Boardman, T. L. Janeway, and Messrs. Walter Lowrie, and W. S. Martien, as a committee to report to the next Assembly.

### *Christian Union.*

A committee had been appointed by a preceding Assembly to confer with delegates from various other Presbyterian bodies in this country, on the best means of promoting Christian union. Dr. Phillips, as chairman of that committee, presented the following preamble and resolutions, which had been adopted by the delegates above mentioned, when met in conference.

"WHEREAS, The Church of Jesus Christ constitutes one body, of which He is the Divine Head, and consequently should be so organized as to exhibit to the view of the world the appearance, as well as the reality of unity; and whereas the present divided condition of the Church is in appearance at least, inconsistent with her unity; therefore,

"*Resolved*, 1. That it is the imperative duty of the followers of Christ to aim at bringing about a union of all the different portions of the household of faith upon a scriptural basis.

"*Resolved*, 2. That in the judgment of this convention, it is not only desirable, but practicable, to effect a closer union than that which now exists among the bodies which are here represented, whereby they might more successfully accomplish the great work for which the church was established.

"And whereas, the views of the great system of evangelical truth, as exhibited in the standards of these different churches, namely, in the Westminster Confession and Catechism, the Articles of the Synod of Dordrecht, and in the Heidelberg Catechism, are substantially the same; therefore,

"*Resolved*, 3. That it is the duty of these churches to cultivate towards each other the spirit of fraternal affection, to exercise Christian forbearance, and to co-operate in all scriptural efforts to promote the common Christianity.

"*Resolved*, 4. That in the judgment of this convention, while the singing of God's praise is an interesting part of religious

worship, and while, for the present, it is left to the different churches to employ whichever of the authorized versions now in use may be most acceptable to them, the sacred songs contained in the book of Psalms are every way suitable and proper for that purpose, and any intimation that they breathe a spirit inconsistent with the gospel, is to be regarded as a reflexion upon their divine Author.

"*Resolved*, 5. That where it is practicable, without any surrender of principle, an interchange of ministerial services be recommended, and that the different churches pay respect to each other's acts of discipline, and sustain each other in all scriptural efforts to promote the good order and to preserve the purity of the church.

"*Resolved*, 6. That in the prosecution of the work of missions, it is desirable that these different churches, as far as practicable, should act in concert, the missionaries, in the exercise of their ministry being accountable to the particular body with which they are ecclesiastically connected.

"*Resolved*, 7. That for the promotion of a better understanding and more intimate intercourse between these different churches, it is desirable that a correspondence be maintained, either by letter or by delegation, as may be judged most expedient.

"*Resolved*, 8. That these resolutions be recommended to the consideration of the different churches represented in this convention, that they may report their judgment in the premises, to a future convention to be held in the city of Albany, on the first day of November next, at eleven o'clock, A. M."

On motion of Mr. Nevin, this report was accepted and referred to a committee, who subsequently reported the following resolutions, which were adopted.

"The committee appointed to examine the proceedings of the conference composed of ministers of different Presbyterian bodies which met in April last, to consider the subject of Christian Union, present the following resolutions to the consideration of this Assembly:

"1. Resolved, That the subject of Christian Union, among all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, taking him as their Prophet, Priest, and King, is one of increasing importance in this age, and one which should be prayerfully

and zealously prosecuted until the various branches of the Church of Christ become one in appearance and action, as they are now one in spirit.

"2. Resolved, That while we do not undertake to examine the resolutions of the Conference so critically as to be able either to approve or condemn every form of expression used therein; nevertheless, we do most cordially approve of the spirit and aim of all their proceedings; and rejoice moreover at the unanimity with which the representatives of so many branches of the Church, arrived at their generally just and valuable conclusions.

"3. Resolved, That the former committee of the Assembly, with such additional members as may be now appointed, be continued; and they are hereby authorized to meet and act in such future conferences as may assemble to promote this important object; of which action they shall make a report to the next General Assembly."

The only thing which elicited any debate in reference to this matter was the fourth resolution adopted by the Conference, which declares that "the sacred songs contained in the book of Psalms, are every way suitable and proper for that purpose, [viz., singing the praises of God,] and any intimation that they breathe a spirit inconsistent with the gospel, is to be regarded as a reflexion on their divine author." Some of the members thought that this language implied that the book of Psalms was of itself all the church needs, or indeed should use in singing the praises of God. Others, on the other hand, understood the resolution as expressing simply these two ideas: first, that it is right to use the book of Psalms in the worship of God, the sacred songs which it contains being suitable for that purpose. And secondly, that the spirit which they breathe is not inconsistent with the gospel. On these points, it is presumed, all Christian men are agreed. It was with this understanding the resolutions were adopted.

### *The American Bible Society.*

The Rev. Mr. Prime, one of the Secretaries of the American Bible Society, on motion of the Rev. Dr. Phillips, was heard before the Assembly in reference to the plans and operations of that important institution. In the course of his interesting address, he stated the following facts. During the last year

six hundred thousand copies of the scriptures had been distributed by the Society. The destitution in some parts of the country, however, was still lamentably great. A delegation from Ireland represented that if an hundred thousand copies of the scriptures could be furnished, they could be immediately placed in the hands of Roman Catholic readers. In answer to this demand the Society furnished as large a supply as could be spared, which "is now on the ocean carrying the bread of life to that spiritually starving population." Ten thousand dollars have been sent to France, which have been employed in printing the gospels and Acts which are used as school books. In Italy the bible has been smuggled over the Alps, and a Bible Society is now established in Florence. The Society is engaged to furnish means to print the bible in Turkey, Syria, and India. The resources of the Society are inadequate to the extent of the demand. Some agents state, that not more than two in five of the churches within their field, contribute to this object; others say one in five; others, one-half.

Dr. Plumer then moved the adoption of the following minutes, viz.:

"The General Assembly, impressed with a deep sense of the infinite value of the Holy Scriptures, and the importance of their prayerful and diligent study in the family; recognizing the right of every man to read the word of God for himself, and consequently regarding the obligation as imperative and perfect, to send the bible to those who are destitute: beholding with grateful astonishment, the whole world suddenly and completely thrown open for the circulation of the scriptures, obstacles having been recently and marvellously removed, so that the word of God has free course among all the nations of the earth: having heard with painful emotions that there are hundreds of thousands of families in our beloved country without a bible, in some of the old States one family in every ten, and in other States one in five being actually destitute, while Ireland, France, Italy, Austria, and other Roman Catholic countries, are sending to this land for bibles, and multitudes are flocking daily to our shores from foreign lands, who ought to be supplied with the bread of life; that our missionaries are asking and receiving aid from the American Bible Society, to enable them to print the bible for the heathen, among whom

our missionaries are labouring: that in Turkey, Syria, Persia, India, China, and other distant parts of the world, the bible is in process of publication, and its circulation among the Mohamedans, Armenians, and Pagans, is restricted only by the want of means to prepare and spread it; therefore,

"Resolved, That the General Assembly earnestly recommends to the churches under its care, to use all diligence to supply the destitute in their vicinity with the Holy Bible, and to contribute annually, according to their respective ability, to aid the American Bible Society in its noble exertions to give the word of God to the whole world."

This motion gave rise to a somewhat protracted discussion, which related principally to two points: the distribution of the scriptures among slaves, and the extent of the actual destitution of the word of God. In reference to the former point, Dr. Plumer said, "I hold in my hand the thirty-second report of the Bible Society. On p. 135 there is a good list of contributions to the slaves, amounting to near $1,000. The Society lately received a communication asking for bibles for slaves in Florida, and I never heard of these demands being refused. On p. 61 I find an account of the distribution of the bible among coloured persons and slaves, and I will read part of the report to show the union of feeling among those who have the good of their fellow men at heart."

Rev. Mr. Gildersleeve said: "I am now, and have been for twenty years, a manager of the Charleston Bible Society, and I have personally given to every slave that came in my way a copy of the scriptures. It is the unanimous feeling of all the members of that Society to give the bible to all slaves in that region of the country."

It is gratifying to know that there was not on the floor of the Assembly, and probably is not a minister in our church who does not heartily unite in the recognition of "the right of every man to read the word of God for himself." If this right exists, then the obligation is undeniable to teach all men to read, and to give them the means of access to the words of eternal life, which are addressed to bond and free, wise and unwise. On these points of Christian duty there is, we trust, no diversity of opinion in the Presbyterian church.

*Board of Foreign Missions.*

The following is a brief abstract of the report of this Board, as presented to the Assembly.

"Receipts of the year, $110,081—being greater than in any former year.

"Expenditures, $110,207.

"Publications—Missionary Chronicle, 8,150; Foreign Missionary, 14,750; Annual Report, 7,850; Letters to Children and to Sabbath Schools, 12,000.

"New Missionaries, 21—of whom five are ordained ministers, two licentiates, one physician, and one printer.

"Among Choctaw, Chickesaw, Creek, Seminole, Iowa, Otoe, Omaha, and Chippewa Indians, eight ministers of the gospel, one physician, one native licentiate preacher, five male and five female teachers, one farmer, one carpenter, and the wives of the missionaries; about three hundred scholars, of whom two hundred are in boarding schools; sixty-three native preachers reported in connection with the churches.

"In West Africa, three ministers of the gospel and two teachers; schools at three of the stations; church at Monrovia.

"In North India, three missions—the Lodiana, Ferrukhabad, and Allahabad, with nine stations; twenty-five ministers of the gospel, one of them a native, and most of them married; and seventeen native converts employed as catechists and teachers; two printing-presses, with book-binderies, and fonts of type in four languages, from which upwards of 10,000,000 pages of the Holy Scriptures and religious tracts were sent forth during the year ending November 1, 1848; scholars about 1200—of whom 150 are supported by the missions, and about 600 more are in schools of a high order; churches at several stations, and 112 native church members reported.

"In Siam, two ministers of the gospel, both of them married, and a physician.

"In China, three missions, one of them unoccupied at present; nine ministers of the gospel, one physician, one superintendent of the press; about one hundred scholars—of whom sixty are supported by the missions; church at Ningpo; printing press, with moveable metallic types, from which about 4,000,000 pages of the Sacred Scriptures and religious tracts were issued.

"Among the Jews, two ministers of the gospel.

"In Papal Europe, efforts made to promote the spread of the gospel, by sending moneys to approved persons in France and Geneva, to be expended for that purpose.

"*Summary.*—Missions in seven general fields of labor, viz: the Indian tribes, Africa, India, Siam, China, Europe, and the Jews; ministers of the gospel, forty-nine; physicians, three; licentiate preachers, two; male and female teachers, twelve; carpenter, farmer, &c., four; native Christian teachers and catechists, not fully reported; schools at most of the stations; eleven churches; printing presses at four stations; the returns of the European missions not included.

"While so much has been accomplished—and during the last year more than twice as much money contributed to the cause as was given ten years ago—yet it was painful to find so many churches and so many Christians neglecting the missionary work. The Board, however, was in a prosperous state; they had no debts to embarrass them; there had been no diversion of funds from other objects; the advance that had been made was not at the expense of other institutions in the church; and we were called to go forward in this work of the Lord. The medical skill and experience of Christian physicians, are doing much for Christianity. Missions are established among the Jews, the mind of that people being at present very unsettled on religious subjects."

It is doubtless a very common impression that it is strange the amount contributed to the Foreign Board is greater than that which is contributed to the Board of Domestic Missions. People ask why should more be given to send the gospel abroad, than to propagate and sustain it at home? Mr. Lowrie, when presenting the report of the Board of Foreign Missions, adverted to this subject, and very clearly pointed out the oversight on which this impression is founded. There is probably twenty times as much money contributed in our church for the support of the gospel at home as is given to send it to the millions of perishing heathen. Think of what is annually paid in the erection of churches, in the salaries of ministers, in the distribution of religious publications and of the sacred scriptures, and in the numerous other enterprises which have for their object the extension and support of religion among our own people. How

small a pittance, compared with the aggregate of these contributions, is the amount devoted to all these objects in the foreign field. The comparison is often inconsiderately made between the sums received by the two Boards, foreign and domestic, and because the former receives the larger sum, it is inferred that more is done for foreign than for domestic missions. It is, however, forgotten that the Board of Domestic Missions does nothing but contribute a certain sum towards the salary of those whom it commissions; whereas the Foreign Board is charged with the entire support of its missionaries, and besides this has to print and distribute tracts, religious books and copies of the sacred scriptures, to sustain boarding and day schools, academies or colleges, to erect buildings, and to provide all the apparatus of every kind necessary for the complicated work of establishing the church among the heathen. All these sources of expense are in this country met by other means than by drafts on the funds of the Domestic Board. It is a great mistake, therefore, to suppose that the church is doing more for the heathen than for our own land. It is probably not doing one twentieth part so much. This is no proof that we are doing too much for the Domestic Board, but it is a proof that we are doing too little for foreign missions.

Mr. Lowrie introduced to the Assembly a chief of the Iowa tribe of Indians, who addressed the house through the Rev. Mr. Irwin, who acted as his interpreter. Mr. Irwin was then himself heard, of whose address we give the report as printed in the Presbyterian.

*Address of Mr. Irwin.*—"As this is a subject of great interest to us, I will make a statement of facts, which may assist you in the conclusions to which you may come.

"It has been my privilege to be a servant of the church for twelve years among the western Indians, during which time I have had full opportunity of knowing the condition of the station.

"There is nothing which causes so much hindrance as the little help at our stations. I will give you a few facts. We have at our stations, including the missionaries' children, fifty of a family, and for that family we have but two girls to help us in the kitchen; and the Corresponding Secretary tells me we are better provided for than other stations. Our wives often

become sick, and we become sick also, and have to attend to the kitchen ourselves. It is no disgrace to tell you that I have stood over the wash tub many a day; I have gone into the kitchen and cooked in the best way I could.

"You do not know these things. You want ministers and missionaries, and educated men; but there is a disposition to overlook these little matters; and let me tell you, the great matters are made up of the little matters. We want help of this kind more than we want help of any other description; and by sending us such help as girls for the kitchen and stewards, you just send the help we want; and you give the missionaries an opportunity to do their proper work. You do not want your missionaries to go into the kitchen. It is work that can be done by others; and it would be economical to send out pious families and pious men of limited means and capacities, in whom is the spirit and disposition of Christ. They will leave us time to teach the children and preach among the Indians, and travel among them, and tell them the way of life.

"We labour under great embarrassment. We live on the margin of a slave state; and we could procure assistance from the coloured people, but if it were our disposition to hire these, the slave holders have no disposition to let them come to us, for fear of losing them. The lower class of families are very poor help, and they are of that kind as to render scarcely any assistance at all; and we want you to go home and inquire among the people for those that will labour—not gentlemen and ladies who do nothing."

It is a question which every member of the church should put to his conscience, whether we, as a church, are doing our duty in sending educated men to teach the gospel to the heathen, and then so poorly to sustain them as to render it necessary for them to stand at the wash tub. This is no degradation to them, but it is to the church who allows its missionaries, whether foreign or domestic, to be reduced to such straits. This is not that justice and equality which Christ has enjoined; equality, not as to income, but as to adequate support, which it is the obvious duty of the church to provide for all those whom she sends to preach the gospel, in her stead, to the people.

The following resolutions were adopted at the suggestion of

the committee to whom the Report of the Board of Foreign Missions had been referred, viz.:

"1. *Resolved*, That the report of the Board affords to the Assembly very great cause of gratitude and thankfulness to Almighty God, and they would take encouragement from the past to increased effort for the future.

"2. *Resolved*, That while the general prospects of the Board are thus encouraging, as manifested by their enlarged operations among the heathen, and the increased contributions of the churches at home; yet the Assembly learn with pain that so many of our churches are doing nothing for this great cause; and they would most affectionately exhort the ministers of all our churches to urge upon their people their high privileges as well as imperative obligation to contribute of their substance to the furtherance of this noble work.

"3. *Resolved*, That in the deaths of two highly esteemed members of the Board, of two beloved missionaries while in the active field, the Assembly would see the hand of a wise and sovereign God; and they would learn from these providences to fill up the present day with usefulness, for the time is short.

"4. *Resolved*, While the Assembly rejoices to believe that the Board is highly efficient in the discharge of the duties committed to it, yet they would recognize the inefficiency of all human power to carry on this work, and they would call upon the whole church to be earnestly engaged in prayer to God for his blessing upon this great work.

"5. *Resolved*, That the Assembly would repeat the exhortations given in past years to the churches on the subject of the Monthly Concerts, reminding them of their duty to attend upon this meeting, and of the necessity of connecting with it a collection for the purpose of sending the gospel to the perishing heathen.

"6. *Resolved*, That the report be approved, and referred to the Executive Committee for publication."

### *Board of Domestic Missions.*

Dr. Spring, chairman of the committee to whom the report of this Board was referred, submitted the following minute, viz:

"1. That the report be adopted and published under the di-

rection of the Board, and that an abstract of it be inserted in the Appendix to the Minutes of the Assembly.

"2. *Resolved,* That it be earnestly recommended to the churches to make an annual collection for the object, and that the Synods and Presbyteries adopt such measures as in their judgment may best promote the designs of the Board.

"3. *Resolved,* That it be earnestly recommended to the churches to give their aid in the work of church extension, and that annual collections be made for this fund, distinct from that of Domestic Missions. This new feature in the plan of Domestic Missions proves the wisdom with which it has been conducted, and its great success strongly commends itself to the confidence of the Assembly.

"4. *Resolved,* That in the judgment of this Assembly the religious instruction of the coloured population in the Southern States calls for increasing attention and more vigorous effort.

"5. *Resolved,* That in their instructions to their missionaries the Board be directed to pay a due regard to Presbyterial rights, and that in the quarterly reports of their missions, no greater burthen be laid upon them than is necssary to keep the Board informed of the fidelity with which they fill their appointments.

"6. *Resolved.* That while the Assembly regret that a cause so rich in results already secured, and so full of promise, has failed to secure that universal patronage which it deserves, they express their devout gratitude to God that it is so obviously on the advance. It is but ten years since the seed was but "an handful of corn on the top of the mountains." We have realized the promise: "He that goeth forth weeping, bearing goodly seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." The resources and the success of the Board have increased more than two-fold within that period. Grateful praise and earnest prayer are due to the Lord of the harvest.

"7. *Resolved,* That the Assembly cannot refrain from saying, in their judgment, there is no department of their benevolent operations that has stronger claims upon the affections, prayers and energy of their fellow Christians and fellow countrymen, than the work of Domestic Missions. The magnitude of the work itself—the growing population of our country, from foreign,

as well as other sources—the fact that this vast field is submitted exclusively to the cultivation of American churches, together with the consideration that the American Church occupies so wide a place in the opening purposes of heavenly mercy to our world, call loudly upon the churches to consider their weighty responsibility in this matter, and to prosecute with augmented vigour, the great enterprise of supplying this land with the pure gospel.

"In concluding their report the committee have only to remind the Assembly that in accordance with a rule already adopted, it is incumbent on them to make such arrangements as shall, by the Divine favour, secure a discourse before the next General Assembly, on the subject of Domestic Missions."

The only point which excited debate was that included in the fifth resolution. Some members seemed to think that there was something derogatory to the standing of a minister, and something inconsistent with his responsibilty to his presbytery, in his being commissioned as a missionary by the Board and required to report to them. The general sentiment however seemed to be that there was no inconsisteney between a minister's relation to the Board as a missionary and his relation to his presbytery as a presbyter. The two relations are distinct and compatible. All our foreign missionaries report to the committee in New York, and yet are as ministers responsible to their presbyteries. It was thought there was nothing derogatory in this, any more than there is in the military officer reporting to the war-department. The resolution as reported was adopted.

Towards the close of the sessions of the Assembly Dr. McGill introduced the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas a vast accession of territory to these United States and a rapid increase of population throughout the whole extent of our land, and the great multiplication of feeble churches that must arise if we are faithful at all to the claims of our country and our church, demand with unparalleled urgency, immediate, expansive, and strenuous exertions on the part of our Board of Missions: And whereas neither the present excellent and faithful Secretary who has conducted this great interest with signal ability and indefatigable toil, nor any other single individual is able to meet this overwhelming responsibility; and whereas it is highly important that the utmost unity, simplicity,

and economy should be studied in the prosecution of such a work, Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Missions be required to appoint a co-ordinate Secretary as soon as they can obtain a suitable person for that office.

"*Resolved*, That the committee located at Louisville, with similar powers to that at Philadelphia, be dissolved, and that a general agent act in the field to that committee, intrusted now under the immediate direction of the Executive committee of Philadelphia."

Dr. McDowell, Secretary of the Board, being called upon for an expression of his views on these points, declared himself in favour of the appointment of an additional Secretary, but opposed to the dissolution of the Louisville committee. In this view of the matter the Assembly concurred; the former of the above resolutions was adopted, the latter rejected.

### *Education Board.*

The report of this Board, (which embraced a view of the operations of the church in relation to the whole department of education,) in the absence of the Secretary on account of severe illness, was read by Dr. Phillips. We regret that we have no abstract of this important document at hand. It contained abundant evidence of the efficiency and laborious devotedness of the agents and Secretary of the Board. Indeed when it is remembered that in addition to the superintendence of all those operations which have the support of candidates for the ministry for their object, the whole department of parochial schools, academies and colleges, so far as they are assisted by the church, is thrown upon the officers of this Board, and that in addition to all this the Secretary has the editorship of Presbyterian Treasury, a work in itself sufficient for one man, there is reason to apprehend that the health of those concerned will sink under such burdens. It is surely a mistaken policy and a short-sighted economy to break down the servants of the church, by over burdening them. We say this, not because we think the church indisposed to grant adequate assistance, but because the officers of our Boards are, in many cases, too backward in asking it.

Dr. Phillips offered the following minute which was adopted:

"The Committee to whom was referred the Annual Report of the Board of Education, recommend that it be approved, published under the direction of the Board, and commended to the careful perusal of all the churches; and they recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, viz:

"1. Whereas, It is the prerogative of God to call men to the work of the ministry, and to bestow upon them the essential qualifications for the offices; and whereas there is a pressing demand for an increased number of pious and educated ministers; Therefore, *Resolved*, That it is the duty and privilege of the Church to obey this command.

"2. Inasmuch as God works by means, and ordinarily blesses the faithful exertions of his people to secure a competent ministry; and whereas there are to be found young men of piety and talents, to whom he has given hearts to devote themselves to his service in the ministry, but who have not the pecuniary means necessary to defray the expenses of their education; Therefore, *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the Church, whose work they are willing to perform, to search them out, and provide funds for their education, and as far as they can do it, instrumentally to aid them in entering the ministry.

"3. *Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to our Presbyteries to exercise great care in receiving candidates for the ministry, and a constant supervision over them during the preparatory course of their education.

"4. The Assembly would again recommend to ministers and elders the establishment of primary schools, academies, and colleges, in which our youth may receive Christian and religious education.

"5. To enable the Board to prosecute their important work, and to follow up the successes which God has given them in it, the assembly would, and hereby do most earnestly request all their churches to contribute annually to their funds."

### *Board of Publication.*

The report of this Board was read by the Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Leyburn. The principal facts which it contained may be found in the following abstract.

"The Board of Publication, during the year ending March

31st, 1849, have issued 261,750 copies of books and tracts. In this number are included 25,000 copies of seventeen new works, and 14,000 copies of thirty-three new tracts. The remainder is made up of re-issues of works before on the catalogue.

"Very considerable changes and improvements are making in getting up the books and tracts. The binding has been somewhat varied to suit the prevailing tastes; more attention is now paid to illustrating, especially children's books; and a considerable reduction has been made in the prices of most of the works. The Board are taking advantage of their increasing experience, and endeavouring in every practicable mode to render their publications attractive and available to all. Increasing attention has been paid to books for children; but great difficulty has been found in obtaining such works as would interest this class, without entering the regions of fiction to an extent from which the Board feel themselves conscientiously debarred. Much more would nevertheless have been accomplished during the year in this, as well as other departments of their operations, but for the fire, which having destroyed forty-five entire works, required that the labour of several months should be directed to replacing them.

"The wisdom and propriety of an organization such as this, is made more apparent every year. Previous to its origin, a Presbyterian library could not be obtained in the land. Regular book publishers were unwilling to undertake books of this description, and actually declined applications made to them for this end. The Board entered a new and untried sphere. It was afraid to risk a failure in what seemed so good an undertaking; and the result has been eminently successful. The amount of sound doctrinal and practical instruction which has already been conveyed throughout our whole Zion, is of itself far more than enough to compensate for the labour, time, and money which have been expended.

"The Board have entered fully on the colportage system, as the only means of effectually circulating their publications to the widest extent. If annual collections are afforded them by the Churches, they are ready to employ colporteurs, and furnish them with books and tracts, for sale and gratuitous distribution, wherever such labours are demanded. The efforts to secure funds for rebuilding have materially interfered with the incipi-

ent arrangements for colporteur enterprise. Nevertheless, something has been done. About forty colporteurs, including students, have been employed. They have laboured in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and Rhode Island; and the Synods of Virginia and Pittsburgh, and several Presbyteries are carrying on the work for themselves. Most of the colporteurs of the Board, however, have been too short a time in the field for the results of their labours to appear in this report; but they will be of the most cheering character.

"Frequent and earnest applications, and such as ought not to be refused, are made to the Board for donations in aid of needy ministers, feeble churches, and Sabbath schools, especially from the newer portions of the country, and these are increasing as the Church and country expand, and these publications become better known. And yet, how can the Board to any extent respond to them, unless furnished with annual contributions from the churches? Thousands of dollars are annually given by our people for the support of colporteurs and the circulation of books and tracts, to institutions with which we have no ecclesiastical connexion; why should not at least equal liberality be shown to our own Board. Are not our publications equally valuable? Do they not occupy the same general evangelical ground, but also offer such instructions for our own people as in the nature of things can be furnished from no other source? It is earnestly hoped that the churches will not withhold from the Board that aid which is so indispensible to its efficiency. The total amount received during the year is $67,315.08, including $10,528.49 paid on subscriptions for rebuilding, and $17,138.26 received from the insurance companies principally for damages on stock."

Dr. L. W. Green, from the committee to whom this report was referred, offered the following resolutions, which were adopted.

"1. *Resolved,* That the General Assembly reiterate the expression of our entire confidence in the Board, our deep conviction of its importance to the vital interests of the church, and our extreme gratification at the increasing energy and widening influence of its operations.

"2. *Resolved,* That, next to the pulpit, the press is the great

instrumentality placed in our hands for moulding the opinions and deciding the destiny of the present and future generations; and in view of the condition of our country, and all the aspects of the age in which we live, the Presbyterian church, as a branch of the church universal upon earth, is solemnly called by her allegiance to her Head, to employ with far greater energy and combined co-operation than heretofore, this potent instrumentality for the diffusion of those precious truths, so ably embodied in the standards of our church.

"3. *Resolved*, Therefore, that we solemnly express our fixed conviction that the Board of Publication ought to be viewed by all our people as one of the great schemes of the church, for the illumination and salvation of the world, co-ordinate with the Boards of Education, and of Domestic and Foreign Missions capable of being elevated by the wise liberality of the church, to the same commanding position and extensive influence, and as such we earnestly recommend it to the cordial and systematic support of all our congregations.

"4. *Resolved*, That the system of colportage adopted by the Board is not only a valuable auxiliary, but, in the present condition of our country, with its advancing population, sweeping rapidly beyond the reach of a settled ministry and all the means of grace, must be considered a necessary means of the widest diffusion and most effective influence of our publications, and the General Assembly have heard, with peculiar pleasure, that many of our candidates for the ministry are engaged during the interval of study in the prosecution of this important work, so full of benefit to others, and still more of valuable instruction to themselves; we would, therefore, urge the Board to pursue, with redoubled activity, this department of their labours, and throw themselves upon the liberality of the churches for any additional expense which may be necessarily incurred.

"5. *Resolved*, That the increasing demand for our publications, from Parochial and Sabbath Schools, and the deluge of fictitious narratives and sentimental religionism pouring in upon our children from every quarter, should direct the intense attention of the Board to the preparation of works adapted to the capacities and wants of youth, and fitted to aid and guide the teachers in the performance of their arduous and important duties.

"6. *Resolved*, That while we highly approve the principle of the Board to publish valuable works in a durable form and of the best materials, without regard to price, we would strongly express our deliberate conviction that cheaper editions might often accomplish a more valuable result, and obtain for our publications a wider circulation and more effective influence.

"7. *Resolved*, That it is earnestly recommended to all our congregations to take up regular collections annually, in behalf of the Board of Publication."

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

*Judicial Case, No.* 1.

Dr. Plumer, from the judicial committee, reported on the case of the appeal of W. H. Marquiss, against the Presbytery of Nashville, as follows:

"The Judicial Committee report that they have examined certain papers entitled an appeal and complaint of W. H. Marquiss against the Presbytery of Nashville, with other papers belonging thereto; and unanimously recommend the adoption of the following minute:

"1. That the Presbytery of Nashville having fully exonerated the appellant from all blame in the matters respecting which he was charged before the session of the church of Clarksville, his character is unimpeached, and that he is now, and has been ever since the action of Presbytery in his case, entitled to a dismission from the church at Clarksville, whenever applied for, in order to connect himself with any church in the vicinity of his present residence, and that there is nothing in the action of Presbytery in relation to the charges preferred against him which furnishes grounds for appeal or complaint.

"2. In relation to the spirit and temper manifested in the progress of any trial, the judicatory alone before whom the matter regularly comes, is competent to form an opinion, and that the mere record of this opinion, even if erroneous, is not a ground of appeal or complaint.

"3. In relation to the publication of a pamphlet by Mr. Marquiss, pending the decision of his case, the Presbytery of Nashville did no more than repeat the judgment of the General Assembly, given more than once concerning such publications.

and as the Presbytery passed no sentence upon Mr. M. for this step, there is no ground of appeal or complaint.

"4. That the high character of the appellant, and all those to whom these papers relate, is a guaranty to the General Assembly that they will henceforth study things which make for peace, forbearing one another in love.

"5. That the papers be returned to the persons from whom they were received."

The second of the above resolutions elicited considerable debate, but was finally adopted. Notice of dissent or protest was given by several members, but at a subsequent meeting, the chairman of the judicial committee moved a reconsideration of that part of the report, which motion being carried, he moved that the second resolution be stricken out, which was agreed to. The objection urged against the resolution was, that it asserted in too broad a form that no expression of opinion by a judicatory of the temper and spirit of a person on trial could be a ground of complaint or appeal. It might be admitted that in the case under consideration, the expression of its disapprobation, recorded by the Presbytery of Nashville, was perfectly proper, but it was urged that cases might be supposed in which great injustice might be done by such records.

### *Second Judicial Case.*

This case was an appeal by Rev. J. Leroy Davies, from a decision of the Synod of North Carolina, affirming a decision of the Presbytery of Concord, suspending him from the gospel ministry, on the following charges and specifications, viz.:

"Common fame charges the Rev. J. Leroy Davies with conduct not only unbecoming in a Christian, but highly derogatory to the character of a Christian minister, and seriously reproachful to religion, in the following particulars, viz:

"*Specification 1st.*—Insubordination to the Presbytery, in his continuing to preach; and encouraging the building up of a branch of Prospect church, within the reputed bounds of Centre, without the consent either of the Presbytery, or of the Session of Centre, almost immediately after the dissolution of the pastoral relation by the Presbytery, and very shortly after his confessions of sin, professions of penitence, and promises of

subordination and circumspect deportment made to the Presbytery, at the close of his recent trial.

"*Specification 2d.*—False representations and fraudulent measures in his procuring the transfer of members from Centre to Prospect church; in his reporting to the Presbytery at Marion some sixty-one members, as received into Prospect on certificate, some of whom had neither applied for a dismission, nor authorized such application; and in his reporting to the church of Prospect some sixty-one additions on certificates, the most, if not all, of whom were from the church of Centre, of whom he had not authority from the Session of Centre to grant more than two or three certificates of dismission."

The following was the sentence of the Presbytery in this case:

"That in view of all the facts and circumstances, in view of the testimony spread upon the minutes in the case, and in view of the clear connection of his conduct in this case with his previous trial and confessions, therefore—*Resolved*, That the Rev. J. Leroy Davies be, and he is hereby suspended from the office of the gospel ministry, until he give to this Presbytery satisfactory evidence of his penitency for the crimes of which he has now been convicted."

The Notice of Appeal, which had been placed before the Presbytery by the Rev. J. Leroy Davies, was then read, as follows:

"I hereby give written notice to the Presbytery of Concord, that I intend to appeal, and I do hereby appeal, from the judgment this day rendered, to the Synod of North Carolina, which appeal and reasons thereof I intend to lodge with the proper officer, within the time specified by the Constitution.

"June 8, 1848. J. Leroy Davies."

An extract from the minutes of the Synod of North Carolina was then read.

The Rev. Dr. Plumer acted as counsel for Mr. Davies, and Messrs. Rockwell and Wilson for the Synod and Presbytery, After the parties had been fully heard the roll was called for the judgment of every member, and the vote was taken on the question, "Shall the appeal be sustained in whole or in part?" It appeared a majority of the house voted to sustain in part. A committee was then appointed to bring in a

minute expressive of the judgment of the Assembly in the case; which minute, as finally adopted, is as follows:

"1. Resolved, That in regard to the first allegation against Mr. Davies, viz: of insubordination and schismatical conduct, the decision of the Synod in his case be confirmed.

"2. Resolved, That while the Assembly do not approve the conduct of Mr. Davies, in relation to the transfer of members from the church of Centre to the church of Prospect, in their judgment, the charge of misrepresentation and falsehood is not sustained, and in this particular they sustain the appeal of Mr. Davies.

"3. Resolved, That while Assembly adopt the preceding resolutions, in their judgment, there was error in the Synod of North Carolina in expressing a judicial opinion in relation to charges against Mr. Davies which did not come before them.

"4. Resolved, That in view of all the circumstances of the case, the decision of the inferior judicatory be reversed; and that Mr. Davies be, and he hereby is restored to the functions of the sacred office, and that he be solemnly enjoined hereafter more scrupulously to consult the peace and unity of the church."

### *Western Theological Seminary.*

Rev. Thomas L. Janeway presented the following report in relation to this institution, which was adopted.

"The Committee to whom was referred the 22d Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Western Theological Seminary, present the following resolutions, viz:

"1. That the said Report be approved, and printed in the appendix to the minutes of the General Assembly.

"2. That the Assembly learn with pleasure that the same excellent and worthy Professors are continued, in the good providence of God, to labour in this important institution, and that their efforts in training candidates for the work of the ministry are still blessed, and that a respectable body of students have been gathered into the Seminary, whose proficiency in learning and piety is matter of devout praise to God.

"3. That the Assembly are happy to learn that the endowing of the two Professorships is likely to be realized, and the great embarrassments through which the Seminary has waded have ceased, and that by leases of property, unemployed for the pur-

poses of the institution, hope to command yet greater means for the advancement of Christ's kingdom, in the assistance afforded to pious men in preparation for their great work.

"4. The Assembly have heard with regret the afflictive visitation of God, which scattered the students for a period, and laid two of them low in death, and we receive it as an admonition to work while the day lasts, and God permits us to engage in his holy and blessed service.

"5. That as the institution has been located and continued by successive Assemblies in Allegheny, it is just that not only the Synods which have, for more than twenty years of unrelieved toil, borne the burthen of its support, but other portions of our church may be expected to aid in completing the endowment of an institution from which so many ministers have gone forth to labour in the West, and in which some of the earliest and best beloved of the missionaries of our Board have been trained. And as the prospects of the whole church are identified with its interests equally with other seminaries, *this* may properly expect the sympathy and receive the benefactions of our people."

### *Princeton Theological Seminary.*

The Rev. T. L. Janeway presented the annual report of the Directors of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J.; also several letters from the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., tendering his resignation of his office as Professor in that Institution, and the Report of the Directors, stating their action in regard to Dr. Miller's resignation. These papers were referred to the following committee: Messrs. Plumer, V. D. Reed, Janeway, Williamson, Wallace, S. Steele, Gilchrist, Smock, *ministers;* and W. Lowrie, J. H. Brown, and Henderson, *elders.*

This committee made the following report:

"I. In relation to the general report of the Directors, the committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

"1. Resolved, That the thanks of the whole church are due to the Lord of the harvest, in raising up and inclining to the ministry, the number of one hundred and fifty young men, who have been connected with the Seminary during the past year, and that their examinations have been so thorough and satisfactory.

"2. Resolved, That the Assembly has heard with pleasure of the prevalence to a cheering extent of the missionary spirit in the institution, and earnestly hope that all having control of the students will continue to cherish in them the most enlarged views of the work of the ministry.

"3. Resolved, That the nominations for Directors to fill the places of Drs. Spring, W. A. McDowell, William Neil, W. D. Snodgrass, Joseph McElroy, G. W. Musgrave, and Rev. S. Beach Jones, together with John T. Woodhull, M. D., A. W. Mitchell, M. D., and Hugh Auchincloss, Esq., for three years, and for the unexpired term of Mr. James Donaldson, which is one year, be now received, and a time fixed for the election.

"4. Resolved, That the Report of the Directors be printed in the appendix to the minutes of the General Assembly.

"II. In relation to the tender of resignation of his Professorship by the Rev. Dr. Miller, they recommend the adoption of the following resolutions by the Assembly, viz.:

"1. Resolved, That the Assembly unites with the Board of Directors in expressions of thankfulness to God, that he has spared the life and health of the venerable Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government for so many years, and that our beloved church has enjoyed the benefit of his valued instructions and labours from the infancy of this Seminary to this time.

"2. Resolved, That the Assembly unites with the Board in recording their grateful sense of the manifold faithful and most important services which the venerable Professor has rendered to our church, and to the cause of truth and righteousness, and they beg to assure him of their cordial sympathy in the bodily infirmities which have led him to seek a release from the duties of this office.

"3. Resolved, That the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., be, and hereby is entirely released from all obligation to give instruction in each and all of the departments of his Professorship.

"4. Resolved, That Dr. Miller be requested to give such instruction, and perform such services, as, on consultation with his fellow Professors, may be convenient and agreeable to himself.

"5. Resolved, That the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., shall continue to enjoy intact the salary and all the other rights of his

Professorship during his natural life, under the title of Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government.

"6. Resolved, That this Assembly, upon the adoption of this report, will receive nominations, and fix a time for the election of a Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government.

"7. Resolved, That the Board of Directors of the Seminary be authorized to send an agent or agents to any and every part of this church where they think proper, for the purpose of receiving a sum to pay the salary of the Rev. Professor, which is fixed at $2,000."

This report was adopted unanimously. Nominations were then made for the professorship of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government. The Rev. James W. Alexander, D. D., of New York; the Rev. Dr. Plumer, of Baltimore; the Rev. Dr. Spring, of New York; the Rev. Thomas Smythe, D. D., of Charleston, S. C.; the Rev. Nathan L. Rice, D. D., of Cincinnati, Ohio; the Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., of Elizabethtown, N. J., were nominated. Drs. Plumer, Spring and Murray all declined to be considered candidates. The Assembly then united in prayer for the guidance of the Head of the Church. After this it was resolved that a majority of all the votes cast should be necessary to the choice of professor. The election was made the first order of the day for Saturday morning, allowing, agreeably to rule, two days to intervene between the nomination and election.

On Saturday morning the ballots were collected and counted, when it appeared that the

Rev. J. W. Alexander, D. D., had received 110 votes.
Dr. N. L. Rice, . . . . . 34 "
Dr. Thomas Smythe, . . . . . 16 "
Dr. N. Murray, . . . . . 4 "
Dr. G. Spring, . . . . . 1 "

On motion, it was resolved, that the Moderator and Dr. Phillips be a committee to inform Dr. Alexander of his election, and to prosecute this call before the Presbytery of New York.

### *Posture in Public Prayer.*

The Presbytery of Philadelphia presented an overture asking the Assembly to adopt measures for arresting or abating

the growing evil of sitting during public prayer. The committee of bills and overtures presented on this subject the following report, which was adopted, viz:

"While the posture of standing in public prayer, and that of kneeling in private prayer, are indicated by example in the scripture, and the general practice of the ancient Christian church, the position of sitting in public prayer is nowhere mentioned, and by no usage allowed, but, on the contrary, was universally regarded by the early church as heathenish and irreverent, and is still even among the modern and western nations, an attitude obviously wanting in the due expression of reverence—therefore this Assembly

"*Resolve,* That the practice in question be considered grievously improper, wherever the infirmities of the worshippers do not render it necessary; and that ministers be required to reprove it with earnest and persevering admonition."

We hope this subject will receive from the churches the attention it deserves. Whatever concerns the proprieties of public worship, concerns the interests of religion and the glory of God. It cannot be denied that the feeling of reverence will express itself by appropriate outward signs, and therefore the absence or neglect of those outward expressions is evidence of the absence of the inward feeling. It is no less true, that as the feeling produces the outward expression, so the latter tends to cherish the former. There is, therefore, in the very constitution of our nature a reason why that posture should be assumed in prayer which is expressive of devotion. In all ages and countries standing, kneeling, and prostration or bowing down, have been recognised as the proper expressions of reverence. These, therefore, are the only suitable postures for prayer. Accordingly we find in scriptures all these recognised and sanctioned. Sitting is irreverent, unnatural, unscriptural, and therefore offensive and injurious. There may be room for debate which of the three postures above mentioned, is most suitable for public worship—but there can be none whatever as between either of them and sitting. In favour of standing we have the clear authority of scripture, the example of the early church, and the distinctive usage of our own denomination. It should therefore be enjoined and urged with all due authority by those who have the oversight of the churches.

Slavery

### *Slavery.*

Several memorials on this subject were placed in the hands of the committee of Bills and Overtures, which report the following resolutions on the subject, which were adopted almost unanimously.

"1. *Resolved,* That the principles of the Presbyterian Church on the subject of slavery, are already set forth in repeated declarations, so full and explicit as to require no further exposition.

"2. *Resolved,* That in view of the civil and domestic nature of this institution, the competency of secular legislatures alone to remove it, and in view of the earnest inquiry and deep agitation on this subject, which we observe in one or more commonwealths of our country, where slavery exists, it be considered peculiarly improper or inexpedient for this General Assembly to attempt to propose any measures in the work of emancipation.

"3. *Resolved,* That all necessary and proper provision is already made for the just exercise of discipline upon those who violate the mutual duties of master and servant, and the General Assembly is always ready to enforce these provisions, when the unfaithfulness of any inferior court is made manifest by record, or appeal, or complaint.

"4. *Resolved,* That we rejoice to believe that the action of former Assemblies, so far from aiding or allowing the iniquitous oppression of man by his fellow man, has been steadily promoting amelioration in the condition of slaves, by winning the confidence of masters, in our freedom from fanaticism, and by stimulating the slaveholder and his pastor alike to labour in the religious instruction of the blacks.

"5. *Resolved,* That it be enjoined on Presbyteries situated in slaveholding States, to continue and increase their exertions for the instruction of slaves, and to report distinctly in their annual narratives to the General Assembly, the state of religion among the coloured population."

The Rev. H. Nevin presented a protest against these resolutions, which was admitted to record without answer.

### *Support of Aged Ministers.*

This subject was brought before the Assembly by an overture from the Presbytery of Elizabethtown and was warmly

urged especially by several of the elders on the floor of the house, especially Mr. Barnet, of Dayton, Ohio, and Mr. Inglis, of Georgia.

The following preamble and resolutions were finally adopted on this subject.

"WHEREAS, There are many disabled and superannuated ministers in connexion with the Presbyterian Church, and the widows and families of Presbyterian ministers who are in indigent circumstances; and as the church increases, their number is likely to increase; and whereas it is the duty of the church to provide for those who have devoted their time and spent their energies in her service, and also for their families; and whereas no local provision can effectually meet this object, and no efficient general provision has ever yet been made, Therefore,

"1. *Resolved*, That in order to constitute a fund for the support of the widows and families of deceased ministers, and for the relief of superannuated and disabled living ministers, it is hereby enjoined on all our Synods and Presbyteries to take such action as may secure a contribution annually.

"2. *Resolved*, That a column be added to the table of statistical reports for these contributions.

"3. *Resolved*, That the funds thus contributed be placed in the hands of the Board of Trustees of the General Assembly, to be distributed by the Board of Publication, upon the recommendation of Presbyteries, as the funds for Domestic Missions, Education, and Church Extension are now appropriated.

"4. *Resolved*, That in order to the founding of a permanent fund for this same object, special contributions and legacies be invited from all parts of the church, the principal of which shall be safely invested by the Board of Trustees of the General Assembly, and the interest be added to the General fund, provided for in the foregoing resolution."

### *Examination of Ministers.*

"An overture from various ministers and elders, objecting to a resolution of the General Assembly in 1837, making it imperative on Presbyteries to examine all ministers who make application for admission into their bodies, and praying this Assembly to repeal that resolution, or change it from its imperative

form to one of recommendation; or send it down to the Presbyteries by overture, to have it added as another section to the tenth chapter of our Form of Government.

"The committee recommend that, inasmuch as the General Assembly must have power to enjoin upon Presbyteries the performance of any duty which they are confessedly competent to do by the provisions of the Constitution, and in requiring which, no right is violated, and nothing constrained, but the discretion they had in ordinary circumstances; and inasmuch as the general utility of that resolution is not yet called in question, even by the respected memorialists themselves, therefore the Assembly decline acceding to this request for the present.

"This report was adopted."

### *Weekly Paper.*

The Presbytery of Huntingdon sent up an overture on the subject of a cheap weekly paper, and the Rev. Mr. Sickles introduced a resolution instructing the Board of Publication to publish a specimen number of such paper, and to continue the publication as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers should be obtained. The whole subject was finally referred to Rev. Mr. Nourse, Rev. Dr. W. Lord, Dr. Van Rensselaer, Dr. McKinney, and Messrs. W. Lowrie, and J. H. Brown, to report to the next Assembly.

This subject excited a good deal of interest and is doubtless one of great importance. It may be viewed in different aspects. It may be considered financially, as a mere matter of business. Can a good paper be sustained and afforded at a dollar a year? This is a question which different business men would answer in different ways. When the expense of paper, of composition, of editors, and contributors, and the loss from wear and tear and bad debts, are taken in view, it would seem to be impossible that one dollar would afford adequate remuneration for such a work. Then again, those papers which charge $3 00 or $2 50, in many cases, barely sustain themselves. The fact that $2 50 has been fixed upon in all parts of the country as the average price of a weekly religious paper, is a strong indication that such is a fair price, and that the desire to obtain the profit and pleasure of such a publication at a less price is unreasonable. It is a desire to enjoy the labour of others without

paying for it. But on the other hand, the expense of publication decreases very rapidly when the number of copies is increased. There is reason to hope that such a number of subscribers for a dollar paper might be obtained, and such terms of payment insisted upon, as to make the experiment in a financial point of view successful. Besides, there are dollar newspapers, (unconnected with daily papers) which are sustained. The financial question therefore is open to debate. This is a field in which a man of wise enterprise might perhaps succeed.

A second and more serious aspect of this question relates to the publication or editing of such a paper. The objections to placing it in the hands of the Board of Publication are such as these: The publication of a weekly paper, of large circulation, is an immense concern, involving great labour and attention. This is too great a burden, it may be said, to impose on that Board which already has its hands full. All such enterprises succeed better in private hands than in the hands of corporations or boards. There is a great deal of risk and many tentative efforts to be made, which a man is willing to make in his own business, which a corporation would be slow to undertake. There is and must also be the lack of that impulse of self-interest for which alas! zeal for the church is seldom an adequate compensation. Then again, who is to be the editor? When a newspaper is to be the mouth-piece of an individual, its authority and influence are great. What will it be when it is the mouth-piece of the church! Who is the man whom you mean to invest with the power to express the mind of the church on all questions once a week to 50,000 or 100,000 readers? Men talk of the undue power of our Boards and Seminaries, what would the power of all the Boards and all the Seminaries in the land be, compared to the influence of such an organ? The London Times is spoken of as a fourth estate in the British empire. If we had an official paper, with such a circulation as is anticipated its conductors would be invested with an influence, for good or evil, which would make them a substantive estate in the church. The power of the press while free, dispersed, and open to competition, is legitimate and healthful; but when concentrated and exalted above competition, it becomes a very different affair. This suggests what perhaps is the gravest ob-

jection to this plan, and that is, that it would destroy all competition. A dollar paper edited by a Board, at the centre of information, sustained by official influence and patronage, would supersede all the local papers of the land. A very large circulation, it is admitted, must be secured to admit of such a paper being sold at one dollar per annum. No paper confined to one district of the church can command such a circulation, and therefore no such paper could be afforded at such a price. All publications of the kind restricted in their circulation, must disappear before the great central organ. The question then is, whether it is better to have one paper or many? Whether all the good done by these numerous publications, each adapted to its peculiar district, can be accomplished, or adequately compensated, by one paper conveying one view of all matters to every part of the church? We doubt this very much.

This whole question, however, is in a great measure new to the church. It ought to be fully discussed. We have expressed the views of the subject which suggest themselves at the moment to us. We have no prejudices, and no fixed judgment on the matter, and are open to conviction. As far, however, as we can see at present, we think it would be better to leave the subject to private enterprise. It is not properly a church business.

### *Preaching without Notes.*

Mr. D. T. Baird presented the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, This General Assembly has reason to believe that the practice of reading sermons in the pulpit is on the increase among our ministers; and being decidedly of opinion that it is not the most effective and acceptable method of preaching the Gospel. Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we do earnestly repeat the recommendation of the Assembly of 1841, that this practice be discontinued as far as practicable, and affectionately exhort our younger ministers, and candidates for the ministry, to adopt a different method, as more scriptural and effective, and more generally acceptable to God's people.

"Dr. Plumer moved to lay the resolution on the table

"Division was called for, and 56 voted to lay on the table and 76 against it.

"Dr. Plumer: When such a subject as this is taken up by an Assembly, it is absurd to expect to do any thing for the edification of the church of God, by means of a mere resolution: and if this resolution is adopted, does not the Assembly thereby express by their vote that Samuel Davies was not a pattern of preaching—that he who never, on any solemn occasion, entered the pulpit without having every word written, with a determination not to depart from his manuscript, who was the best preacher of his day—the man who has left behind him the best gospel sermons which were ever printed, that he to whom the king of Great Britain listened with awe—that this servant of God knew not how to preach to edification; and that Dr. Chalmers did not do right who always laid his manuscript before him. The best sermon I ever heard from Dr. Archibald Alexander, of Princeton, were from his manuscripts. What do you do by this vote? Do you change the practice of the church? Do you effect any thing but to put an instrument in the hands of certain self-conceited members of the church, to find fault with their minister. Whenever I preach on the Trinity, or any abstruse doctrine of the gospel, when I want to weigh every word, and give sound doctrine to my people, I will use a manuscript. I will do it when I please. I never will consent to take instructions from such a quarter. I'll carry my manuscripts where I please, and use them when I please. I am not responsible for this to the Assembly, or to any man, or body of men. The only effect of legislation on this matter will be vexation."

After considerable discussion the resolution was adopted. We are of the number of those who think all such legislation unwise and derogatory to the character of the Assembly. Such matters lie beyond the legitimate sphere of their action. Their votes on such subjects can change no man's practice, and therefore only serve to lessen the dignity of the body that passes them. In some parts of the church one method of preaching is preferred, and in others a different. Such preferences cannot be altered by the resolutions of any ecclesiastical body. Besides this, the sentiment expressed is one sided. No one mode of preaching is best for all men, or for all circumstances. Men must be left free to follow their own tastes or talents, and to adapt themselves to the circumstances in which they are placed. To

force the same method on all, would be like making all wear clothes of the same size and pattern.

There are three different modes of preaching which have their peculiar advantages and disadvantages. The first is that of mental composition, when not merely the heads or outline of the discourse, but the whole sermon is fully elaborated and impressed on the mind before going into the pulpit. This is the method in which the great speeches of such men as Webster and Calhoun, Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Peel are prepared. And in this way some of the first preachers of our own and of other churches are accustomed to indite their discourses. This is perhaps of all methods the best. It is however laborious. It requires great mental discipline, and great self-denial to carry out this method. It is also expensive. Discourses thus prepared perish usually with the delivery. We have heard it said by some who adopt this method, that it is as difficult for them to preach an old sermon as to make a new one. This is a great disadvantage. For so much depends on the bodily and mental state of the man when called upon to prepare a discourse, that if he must always depend on his present state, and have no provision laid up from whence to draw, he must often labour to great disadvantage.

The second method is to write out the discourse, and then commit it, or familiarize the mind with it so as to read it more or less freely. There are indefinite degrees of confinement to notes in the delivery of a written sermon. This has been the plan adopted by many of the greatest preachers the world ever knew. This was the method of Bossuet, Massillon, Bourdaloue, Saurin, of Edwards, Davies, Tennent, Chalmers. Even Whitefield and Wesley often adopted this method. This plan is laborious. There is indeed such a thing as extempore writing, as well as extempore speaking. But most men when they write, must think. The very process of putting their thoughts on paper gives them a definite form. Writing is the very best method of mental discipline. And the exceptions are so few to the remark, that no man understands a subject on which he has not written, as not to need being taken into account. Writing sermons and using notes more or less in their delivery, we therefore believe to be one of the very best means of securing not merely instructive and effective sermons, but a studious and

progressive ministry. We hail the increase of this method as proof of the intellectual progress of our church, and as one of the best omens of its true prosperity. We heard one of the most popular preachers of Alabama, if not the most popular in that or any of the southern states, say, that he always wrote his discourses, and that all the most promising ministers of his part of the country were in the same habit. While this method secures studious habits, intellectual progress, and instructive preaching, it has the further advantage of associating itself naturally with the other methods. It is impossible that a minister should write all the sermons he is called upon to deliver. Those most addicted to writing, probably deliver two discourses without notes to one with. Their weekly lectures, funeral and occasional sermons, are seldom or never written. It is said a young man asked the late Dr. Richards how many sermons a man could write in a week. The Doctor replied, a first-rate man could write one, a common man two, and that he knew some men who could write a dozen. The danger is not that writing will become too common, but that speaking without writing, which every minister must do so frequently, will supersede the more laborious method of preparation.

The third method of preaching is what is properly called extempore. By this we mean the plan of depending on the moment not merely for the language, but for the thoughts. This, of course, admits of degrees. The common method of extempore preachers is to think over a subject, and frame a general outline of the discourse in their minds, and leave the filling up to be suggested at the time of delivery. This previous preparation may be carried so far as to merge this plan into the first above mentioned; or it may amount to nothing more than may be done in a few minutes.

This is the easiest of all methods of preaching. There is not one man in a thousand who cannot attain the gift of extempore speaking. This is proved by the fact that all Methodist and Baptist ministers make the attainment. So do ninety-nine hundredths of all men who enter the ministry in other denominations. It is the lowest of all attainments, requiring nothing beyond composure, which, to some men, is natural, and by others is soon acquired. As it is the easiest, so it is the laziest of all methods. A man may teach, or farm, or engage all the week

in what business he pleases. He wants but a few minutes before service on Sabbath, to be prepared for an hour's flow of words. As it is the laziest, so it is the most unprofitable method both to speaker and hearer. Some men of natural eloquence will occasionally stir up the emotions of an audience and produce a powerful effect, but the general run of such preaching is vapid common-place. None but a man of rare abilities, of large and varied attainments, of mature and well digested knowledge, should venture to turn the spigot of his mind, and let the thoughts that first come run out for the nourishing of the people. If the sole object of preaching was excitement, there might be some reason in preferring a method whose only advantage is fervour. One of the speakers on the floor of the Assembly, asked how a lady would make out, who should undertake to scold from notes. The very illustration betrays the lowest possible conception of the office of a preacher. A preacher is no scolder, nor is he a mere exhorter, but a διδασκαλος. Teaching is his peculiar official duty; and none but a very thoroughly informed, or an inordinately conceited man, would think of teaching any grave subject extempore—least of all, the awful mysteries of God. These remarks have reference of course to extempore preaching, properly so called; and not to mere preaching without notes, after due preparation. The main thing is preparation. And it is because writing, in the great majority of cases, is essential to the habit of proper preparation for the pulpit, we are so desirous it should not be neglected. All the tendencies are towards such neglect, and the authority of the Assembly, in our humble judgment, was far more needed in the other scale.

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## QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Earth and Man: Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, in its Relation to the History of Mankind. By Arnold Guyot, Professor of Physical Geography and History, at Neuchatel, Switzerland. Translated from the French, by

C. C. Felton, Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.

It is with no ordinary gratification, that we hail the appearance of these interesting lectures. We trust that they will be not a little instrumental in attracting attention to the important subject of which they treat; a subject far too little known, and still less appreciated.

When we state that Professor Guyot was the pupil and friend of Humboldt and Ritter, we have said enough to show that his opportunities for acquiring information upon the subject of which he treats, have been of no ordinary character. We do but re-echo opinions already extensively expressed, when we say, moreover, that to the knowledge thus acquired he has added the results of his own observations; and, having made the subject his own, has presented it in form at once attractive and instructive.

Professor Guyot has done more than this. Availing himself of abundant opportunities for so doing, he has thoroughly investigated the so called modern systems of Philosophy, and found their emptiness; and having arrived at the firm conviction, that the acknowledgment of the living God of the Bible, and the recognition of His Providence, are essential prerequisites to the prosecution of all true science, he has uniformly and uncompromisingly been guided by it and conformed to it, in all his course of instruction.

Most sincerely, then, should all who love true science and can appreciate results such as these, welcome to our shores this enlightened Christian philosopher. Unwittingly, but most efficiently, have they illustrated the cardinal truth in his teachings, who have presented him to us, by driving him from a country which was no longer tolerable; because freedom of thought and the free expression of thought were there no longer possible—though they "mean not so, neither in their hearts do they think so."

The lectures, as the title indicates, were delivered in the French language, and have been translated by Professor Felton. Seldom, if ever, have we seen any thing so terse and beautiful, in its way, as the dedication of the book to the translator. It can scarcely fail at once to interest the reader in the work and its author, and excite the wish to know more of both.

One of the very best evidences of the just appreciation in which Professor Guyot's lectures have been held, is to be found in the fact that he is is about to undertake a series of elementary works on Physical Geography, "in compliance with the earnest solicitations of many teachers and friends of education."

Outlines of English Literature. By Thomas B. Shaw, B. A., Professor of English Literature in the Imperial Lyceum of St. Petersburgh. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1849.

Those who have kept an eye to the issues of the press, have noticed with pleasure, a steady increase of works designed to *popularise* subjects formerly confined to the student or the scholar. The loftiest inductions of science, and the most recondite doctrines of art, are spread out before the

popular mind in forms adapted at once to stimulate and nourish their intellectual tastes. In this process, as might have been expected, literature, and at last English literature, has found a place. With the help of books, which are now accessible to every body, even common readers may be as familiar with the critical merits of all our standard authors, back to the very age of Chaucer, as formerly they were with the fairy tales of the nursery, the romances of De Foe, or the allegories of Bunyan. Among the recent popular works, historical and critical, on the noble literature of our tongue, we should give a very high place to this modest volume of Professor Shaw; chiefly because it is the only one which is strictly a readable book. Some of the others contain a much larger amount of matter, and more historical, biographical, and literary information; but for the philosophy of our literature, for racy and comprehensive criticism, and for a general and connected view of our literary history, and the causes, instruments and nature of the several "schools of writing," which have prevailed at different periods, we know of nothing, in equal compass, at all comparable to this interesting sketch.

We do not wish to be understood as concurring in all Professor Shaw's literary judgments, or expressing equal approbation of every feature of the book. Some of his criticisms we regard as out of all proportion to the comparative value of the authors; and from others we should strongly dissent, both on moral and literary grounds; while others still strike us as exaggerated and indiscriminate praise. But this is unavoidable in a work comprehending so wide a range,—reaching from Chaucer to Dickens,—and where the standard of judgment is so variable as the tastes of men. But with an occasional demurrer of this sort, we do not hesitate to say that, in our judgmont, the execution of the work would be creditable to the pages of the great veteran in the critical world, the Edinburgh, even in the palmy days of Jeffrey.

Principles of Zoölogy, touching the Structure, Development, Distribution, and Natural Arrangement of the Races of Animals, living and extinct; with numerous Illustrations. For the use of Schools and Colleges. Part 1. Comparative Physiology. By Louis Agassiz and Augustus A. Gould. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 59 Washington street. 1848. pp. 216, 12mo.

It is a great mistake to supposo that good elementary works upon any branch of knowledge can be prepared by those who are themselves but superficially acquainted with that branch. No one who has not been compelled to use text books prepared by persons of this description, which unfortunately are very common in our country, can enter into the feelings of pleasure with which we have examined this admirable little volume. We were fully aware, as of course our readers are, of the pre-eminent qualifications of Professor Agassiz, who probably has no superior living, and very few equals, in the department of zoology; and we were not strangers

to the scientific labours and attainments of Dr. Gould, who is one of our most accomplished American naturalists. But the manufacture of text-books has become so much of a mercantile speculation among us, that we took up the book with no small apprehension that we might find it to be a hasty and careless production, for the benefit of the trade; and for which its authors felt little responsibility or anxiety, farther than to make it sell, In this we are most happy to find ourselves wholly mistaken. It is really a great book,—that is, it is such a book as none but a great naturalist could produce. There is not a paragraph that does not bear the signature of a master's hand. It contains not only a lucid and beautiful exposition of the general principles of the science, so far as it goes, but also physiological principles and details of exceeding interest, which we are confident cannot be found elsewhere in our language, except perhaps in detached articles in the scientific journals. And we must not forget to mention another admirable and crowning excellence of the work as a text-book;—namely, that it springs from, and is pervaded by an intelligent and true religious spirit; and applies itself with excellent effect, and with the authority of a master in science, to the cure of materialism on the one hand, and pantheism on the other; with one or other of which imposing religious errors, our aspiring youthful tyros in science, are so apt to become enamoured.

Man Primeval; or, the Constitution and Primitive Condition of the Human Being. A Contribution to Theological Science. By John Harris, D. D., President of Cheshunt College, author of "The Great Commission," "The Great Teacher," "The Pre-Adamite Earth," &c. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 59 Washington street. 1849.

"In the Preface to the 'Pre-Adamite Earth,'" says the author, "I stated that the principles or laws there adduced, and applied to the successive stages of the ancient earth, would be exhibited in their historical development, in a short series of treatises (each treatise complete in itself) in relation to individual man, to the family, to the nation, to the Son of God, to the church which he has founded, to the revelation which he has completed, and to the future prospects of humanity. Accordingly the principles which we have there seen holding their way through the successive kingdoms of primeval Nature, are here resumed, and are exhibited in their next and higher application to *individual* man.

"The laws of the Divine procedure are here distributed into three Parts, consisting of the end aimed at; the method of attaining it; and the reasons for the employment of that method."

With this description of his object by the author himself, those who admire Dr. Harris' previous works will be able to form a sufficient judgment of the character of the book before us. Its characteristics of thought and style, the order of ability which it displays and the general spirit and tone of the work, are precisely such as our previous acquaintance with Dr. Harris, led us to anticipate. It requires a very high order of logical power

and learning, conjoined with a spirit of the deepest reverence and humility, to execute properly the scheme projected in this series of treatises. And we cannot refrain from adding that the higher the degree in which these qualifications for the task exist in any given individual, the more we should think he would be likely to shrink from undertaking it.

Memoir of Mrs. Eliza Astor Rumpff, and of the Duchess de Broglie, daughter of Madame de Staël. By Rev. Robert Baird, D. D., American Tract Society.

The Shaksperian Reader: a collection of the most approved plays of Shakspeare; carefully revised, with Introductory and Explanatory Notes, and a Memoir of the Author, prepared expressly for the use of Classes, and the family reading circle. By John W. S. Hows, Professor of Elocution in Columbia College, N. Y. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway, Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut-st.

Manual of Ancient Geography and History. By Wihellm Pütz Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Düren, Translated from the German. Edited by the Rev. Thomas Treccheren Arnold, M. A., Rector of Lynden, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Revised and corrected from the London edition. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia, G. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut-st. pp. 396.

This is a remarkably condensed and combined view of the Geography and History of the Ancient World. The Author's plan may be learned from the following extract from the table of contents:

"The Egyptians.—Sources of information.—Geography of Egypt.—Name and Boundaries—Soil and Climate.—Seas, Lakes and Rivers.—Natural Productions, Division—Cities.—History of the Egyptians: 1. Fabulous Periods to the reign of Jesastris.—2. From Jesastris to the autocracy of Psammetichus.—3. From the reign of Psammetichus to the Persian conquest.—4. Egypt under Persian rule.—Religion of the Egyptians.—Constitution.—Sciences.—Art, &c."

Substantially the same method is pursued with regard to all Ancient Nations. That this plan is well executed, the origin and success of the work, are a sufficient guarantee. And that is excellent we presume every reader will at once admit.

An Historical Geography of the Bible. By Rev. Lyman Coleman, illustrated by maps, from the latest and most authentic sources, of various countries mentioned in the Scriptures. Philadelphia, E. H. Butler & Co., 1849.—pp. 489.

This book is what its name imports, an Historical Geography. The

author has brought together the results of modern researches in the department of sacred Geography, in connection with the historical events associated with such locality. The high scholarship of Dr. Coleman, opens to him the resources both of the oldest and latest Geographers, English and German. The maps have been carefully prepared from the latest authorities. The whole is concluded with a series of Indexes which give the volume all the advantages of a gazetteer. The book we look upon as meeting a pressing demand and as admirably suited to aid students of the Bible of all classes, as well teachers as scholars.

The Elements of Reading and Oratory. By Henry Mandeville D. D. Professor of Moral Science and Belles Lettres in Hamilton College. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia, Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut Street.—pp. 352.

Reading and speaking are among the most important and yet the most neglected departments of education. It is indeed with them as with singing, excellence can be attained only by those who have peculiar adaptations. But as musicians say all may learn to sing correctly, so we believe all may be taught to read and speak with correctness. As with singing, however, so also with reading, what is done, must, in ordinary cases, be done early in life. It is, therefore, of great importance that this subject should command increased attention in all our educational institutions This work of Dr. Mandeville is elaborate and philosophical, and has secured an established reputation.

Cottage Lectures: or the Pilgrim's Progress practically explained. Designed for Cottage and Family Reading. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. pp. 456.

This strikes us as an admirable book. There are thirty lectures on the principal points of Christian experience—entitled, The Awakening, Temptations to Draw back; The Mount Sinai, &c. &c.; all written in a plain, effective style and evangelical spirit. They were originally delivered by Rev. Charles Overton, vicar of Cottingham, England, and is recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Rev. Edward Bickersteth and other kindred spirits in the Church of England.

A Treatise on Algebra for the use of Schools and Colleges. By S. Chase, Professor of Mathematics in Dartmouth College. New York: D. Appleton, 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut street. 1849. pp. 335.

The Classic French Reader, for advanced Students: or the Beauties of the French Writers, Ancient and Modern. By Alain De Fivas, Author of an Introduction to the French

Language. With a Vocabulary, French and English, of all the words and idioms contained in the work. By J. L. Jewett, Editor of Ollendorf's New Method of learning French. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton. 1849. pp. 388.

The Catechism Tested by the Bible. A Question Book on the Topics in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism; for Families, Sabbath Schools, Bible Classes, and Churches. By A. R. Baker. Sold by C. C. Dean, 13 Cornhill, Boston, and by other booksellers. pp. 160.

An attempt to promote the use or the comprehension of the admirable formula of doctrine given in the Shorter Catechism, is to be looked upon with favour. This work by Mr. Baker has come into hand just as the last sheet of our Journal is passing through the press. We can therefore only state that the plan of the work is under each question, with references to passages of Scripture suggesting or explaining the answer. The work seems to be executed in the spirit of the catechism, with the design to carry out and illustrate the doctrines there taught.

The Young Disciple; or a memoir of Anzonetta R. Peters. By Rev. John A. Clark, late Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. Abridged ftom the Fifth Edition. American Tract Society. pp. 230.

Narrative of the late Expedition to the Dead Sea, from a Diary by one of the party. Edited by Edward P. Montague. Phila. Cary & Hart, 1849.

Beneficence in Design in the Problem of Evil, vindicated by the laws of causation in the physical construction of matter. By a Journeyman. New York. Leavitt, Trow & Co., 1849.

An Autobiography and Letters, of the Author of "the Listener," "Christ our Law," &c. Phila. J. N. Moore, 1849.

The Remesis of Faith. By J. A. Froude. London. 8vo. pp. 230.

The Heroes of Puritan Times, with an Introduction by Joel Hawes, D. D.

Gieseler's Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. From the Fourth Edinburgh Edition, Revised and amended. Translated by Samuel Davidson, LL. D.

Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D. vol. VI. Harpers. New York. 1849.

The Union of Church and State. By the Rev. Baptist W. Noel. M. A. Harpers. 12mo. 1849.

Man Primeval, or the Constitution and Primitive Condition of the Human Being. Boston. 12mo. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln.

Bibliotheca Americana. Catalogue of American Publications, including Reprints & Original Works, from 1820 to 1848 inclusive. 8vo. pp. 337. By O. A. Roorback.

Hagenbach's Compendium of the History of Doctrines. Translated by C. W. Buch. 2 vols. 8vo. London.

Olshausen's Commentary on the Romans. Translated by Clergymen of the Church of England. 1 vol. 8vo. London.

A Visit to Monasteries in the Levant. By the Hon. Robt. Curzon. New York. Geo. Putnam: London. John Murray. 1849.

Collectanea Evangelica; or Selections from the Greek Testament. By N. C. Brooks, A. M. 3d edition. A. S. Barnes, & Co. 1849.

Remains of William S. Graham, with a Memoir. Edited by George Allen, Professor in the University of Pa. Phila., J. W. Moore. 1849. 12mo. pp. 278.

The Christian's Catechism a Lesson from the Old and New Testament, for the use of families and Sunday Schools. By John L. Pray. 18m. pp. 76.

Adventures in the Siberian Desert and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. By B. St. John. 16mo. pp. 244. Putnam.

Sermons, by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers; illustrative of different stages in his ministry, from 1798 to 1847. Harpers.

Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, translated by Maclaine. New Edition, continued to 1826, by C. Coote, LL. D. 2 vols. 8vo.

Gospel Lessons, by Alexander Vinet, D.D. M. W. Dodd, N. York.

Sprinkling the only Mode of Baptism; by Abraham Peters, D.D. M. W. Dodd. New York.

A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and America. By W. Gammell, A. M. Boston. 1849.

Christ Receiving Sinners, by the Rev. John Cumming, D.D. Carter, New York. 1849.

The Catechetical Question Book, by Melancthon W. Jacobus. Matthew. Carter and Brothers.

This little volume is a suitable accompaniment to the author's truly useful commentary. It has this peculiarity, which merits the notice of Presbyterians, that it incorporates, in proper places, the whole of the Westminster Shorter Catechism. Mr. Jacobus's known learning, diligence, and orthodoxy give a stamp to all that proceeds from his study.

The Hill Difficulty, and some Experience of Life in the Plains of Ease; with other Miscellanies, by G. B. Cheever D. D. Wiley. 1849. pp. 383, 12mo.

Review of Dr. Bushnell's "God in Christ," by E. Pond, D. D. Boston. 1849.

Winer, Biblisches Realwörterbuch. 3d edition. 2 vols. Bonn. 1848. R. Garrigue, N. Y.

Burmeister, Geschichte der Schöpfung. Leipzig. 1848. R. Garrigue. N. York.

A Discourse concerning the Divine Providence. By William Sherlock, D. D. Pittsburgh: J. C. Read.

A History of the Vaudois Church, from its origin, and of the Vaudois of Piedmont, to the present day. By Antoine Monastier, formerly Pastor in the Canton de Vaud. Translated from the French. New York: Lane & Scott.

Four Lectures on the Influence of the Fifth Commandment as the great principle of Love of Country, and Obedience to constiuted authorities. By H. Alford. 8vo. pp. 72. London. 1849.

Our Lord's Last Days on Earth; selected from the Evangelists; the Harmony taken from Chevalier Bunsen's Andachtsbuch. 8vo. pp. 56. London.

Meditations from the Fathers of the first five centuries: arranged as Devotional Exercises on the Book of Common Prayer. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 986.

The Four Gospels: A New Translation. By the Right Reverend F. S. Kenrick, D. D., (Romish) Bishop of Philadelphia, Dunigan: New York. 1849.

Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and Dead Sea; By W. F. Lynch, U. S. N., Commander of the Expedition. 8vo. pp. 500. Lea & Blanchard. This is the official account of the expedition.

Historical and Descriptive Memoir of the Town and Environs of Jerusalem, (to accompany the Ordnance Survey.) By Geo. Williams. London. 8vo. 1849.

History of England from the accession of James II. By Thomas Babington Macaulay, Vols. I. & II. London: Longmen, Brown, Green, & Longman. Reprinted by E. H. Butler & Co. Philadelphia. 1849. pp. 448, 448.

The first American reprint of Macaulay's History, having been disfigured by the substitution of the provincial orthography of a part of New England, for the established usage of the rest of the world, speaking English, the Philadelphia publishers with commendable zeal determined on an accurate reprint of the work as it issued from the London press. Mr. Butler has produced two of the handsomest volumes ever submitted to American readers for the low price of one dollar a volume.

Union to Christ. By R. Taylor, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Shrewsbury. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1849. 18mo. pp. 96.

Songs of Israel: A Chronological arrangement of the Book of Psalms. By one of the Laity. Liverpool. 8vo. pp. 344.

Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. By the Rev. Robert Willis. London. 1849.

Practical Guide to the Greek Testament for those who have no knowledge of the Greek language. London.

A Collation of the principal English Translations of the Sacred Scriptures, with a historical account of the English missions, MSS. and Editions. By Charles Roger Dundee. 4to. London. 1849.

Scripture Metaphor, by the Rev. John Lindsay Adamson. Edinburgh. 1849. 8vo.

A Letter of John Foster, on the Duration of Future Punishment; with an Introduction and Notes, and an earnest Appeal to the American Tract Society in regard to the character of its publications. 12mo. pp. 119. Phila. G. Appleton. (Universalist.)