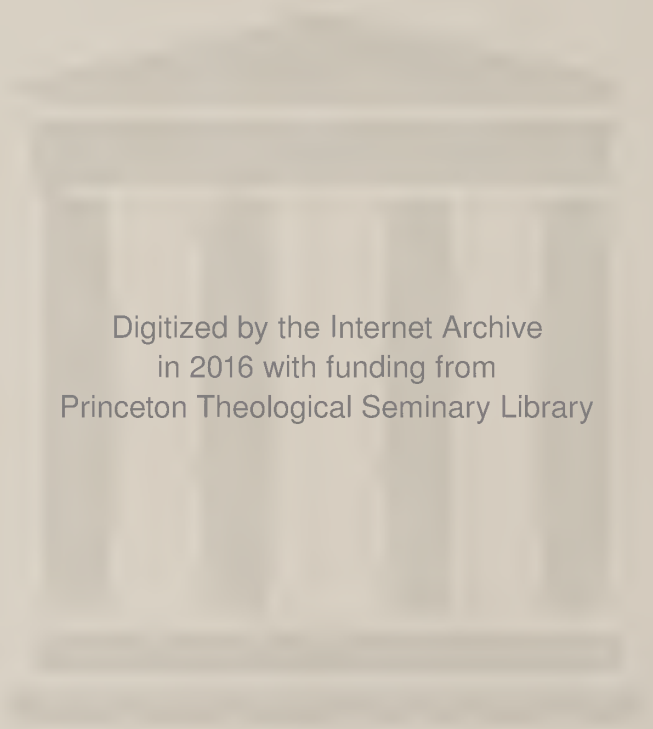

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ART. I.—*The Family of Arnauld, as connected with Jansenism and Port-Royal.*

IT was said by Royer-Collard, that not to know Port-Royal and its fortunes, is not to know the history of humanity. The most cursory student of church-annals, and of the Augustan age of France, is familiar with the names of Arnauld, Pascal, Nicole, St. Cyran, Lancelot, Tillemont, Quesnel, De Sacy, Boileau and Racine; all connected in some degree with the houses of Port-Royal. This celebrated retreat was six miles from Paris and three from Versailles, at the left of the great road by Rambouillet to Chartres. The convent lay in so low a valley that it seemed to hide itself from the neighbouring places: the inmates used, however, somewhat to exaggerate the wildness of the scene, in order to a closer parallel with the Thebaid. It is important to be observed, that in addition to the abbey just mentioned, there was one of later date, under the same auspices, in the metropolis, called Port-Royal de Paris. Of the former, or Port-Royal des Champs, the traveller from Versailles to Chevreuse will find no remnant but a solitary Gothic arch; but he will recognise the hollow vale crossing the flats, and marked by

a languid brook, a mill, a dovecot, and, as some say, a number of trees so planted as to indicate the nave and transept of the church. The church of Notre Dame de Port-Royal dates as far back as 1204. The nuns here sequestered were Bernardines, and the foundation was sufficient for sixty. From this swampy narrow vale proceeded, under the later organization, some of the most signal influences which have ever gone out from the church of Rome; influences connected with a mighty effort at reform, a learned and persistent defence of cardinal evangelical doctrines, an unequalled assault on Jesuitism, connected even with the whole history of Reformed truth. And while we lament the errors and superstitions to which these persons adhered, and especially the extremities to which they were driven by their fear of being reputed Calvinists, we cannot but sympathize with the struggles, and avail ourselves of the arguments, and emulate the piety, of such men as Jansenius and Pascal. It would not be difficult to show, that the whole system of Jansenius and Port-Royal was suggested by Protestantism; into which, but for the persecutions of the time, it must have merged; but we propose to leave conclusions of this kind to be deduced by the reader, while we gather a few facts respecting the chief actors in the conflict.

If any one family was above all others concerned in the war against Loyola and his followers, it was the family of ARNAULD. Few names are more celebrated than that of Antony Arnauld, Doctor of the Sorbonne, the great scholastic combatant of his day, the censor of Descartes and Leibnitz, and the confessor and exile for Augustinian doctrine. But Antony was only one of a constellation of noble natures, all of one descent. They came from the rocks and valleys of mountainous Auvergne, on the west side of the Rhone.

HENRY ARNAULD, great-grand-father of the Doctor, and of the not less famous Angelique and d'Andilly, was descended from a line of noble ancestors. His son ANTONY DE LA MOTHE ARNAULD was the first of the family who removed to Paris, where he died in 1585, at the age of 101 years: he had been auditeur des comptes in the parliament of Paris, procureur-general for queen Catharine de Medicis. On the day of St. Bartholemew, he defeated, at the head of his servants, a band of assassins who were sent to slay him in his house. Antony de

la Mothe was the father of eight sons and four daughters; several of whom deserve our notice.

John, the eldest, was a traveller, even to the Levant, and a stalwart champion, whose daring is celebrated by de Thou. After the murder of the Guises, he was Secretary of State to Henry III. His life is full of hair-breadth escapes, and his death was characteristic. He was holding out the fortress of Lesoux, against the League. A priest of the League, in that town, contrived, through a cellar, to introduce soldiers into the fort. The other commanders were slain, but John, who happened to be making the rounds with a party on the walls, threw himself with twenty-two men into a tower. Here they made defence until they had exhausted their ammunition; most were killed, and the enemy was preparing to spring a mine under the tower. A capitulation was proposed, but when John saw that the remnant, including his two brothers, were in safety, he cast himself sword in hand into the midst of the enemy, and fell pierced with twenty wounds.

Antony, the second son of Antony de la Mothe, and the father of the Doctor, was born in 1506, and died in 1619. He was unquestionably one of the greatest men of his day, and is so reputed, even among his Jesuit foes. It has been made a question whether he ever was a Protestant. That his father once was, and that he was reconciled to the Romish Church, is well known. Among a band of military brothers, he was the orator. He was Counsellor of State and General Advocate under Maria de Medicis, a place which he inherited from his father. In the great work of maintaining national rights, which pertained in that day to the singularly constituted French parliaments, Antony played an important part. He laid down, or declined, various lucrative offices, to devote himself to juridical labours. His epitaph, by his grandson Le Maistre, alludes to this.* When in 1600, Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, was entertained at court, the king resolved to introduce his guest to the Parliament, as "the most august senate of Europe." What followed was

* Passant, du grand Arnauld révère la memoire.
Ses vertus à sa race ont servi d' ornement,
Sa plume à son païs, sa voix au parlement
Son esprit a son siècle, et ses faits a l' histoire.
Contre un second Philippe, usurpateur des lys,
Le second Demosthène anima ses écrits, etc.

characteristic of the times. The king summoned two of the parliament, to display before the duke their powers of argument and oratory; these were one Robert, and our Arnauld. Such engagements were as awakening in that day as a hunt or a duel, and the concourse was immense. His son d'Andilly was present, being eleven years old; he afterwards recorded that the prize was awarded to Arnauld. On another occasion, when he was chosen to pronounce a panegyric on La Tremouille, a noted warrior, his eloquence was so awakening that the Duke of Montpensier, a prince of the blood, half drew his sword, not knowing what he did, and, when the speech was ended, cried out, "Bring me to Mons. Arnauld, that I may embrace him; he so transported me, that I was well nigh beside myself, and thought I was in the battle-field." D'Andilly further relates: "One day I was standing on the tribune of St. Paul's church, with Hurault, archbishop of Aix, who was counsellor in parliament; my father was in the nave below. When Cospeau, bishop of Lizieux had ended a fine sermon, the archbishop said to me: "It must be owned that is good preaching; but if your father who is down there had been up in the bishop's place, he would have carried us all up with him into the pulpit. I remember I was judge when he made his great argument against the Jesuits, and he so took us out of ourselves, that we looked on one another, as not knowing where we were, impatient to pronounce that famous sentence of which the memory will never be lost in our history."

The speech, just alluded to, is classical in French and forensic literature, and is often cited as Arnauld's Philippic. The clergy of Paris, in 1594, after the entry of Henry IV. into the metropolis, united with the University in making complaint against the Jesuits, who were then moving heaven and earth to gain power in France, especially the control of education, but who were also odious to thousands for the regicide opinions which were ascribed to them; opinions the more alarming since the assassination of Henry III. The clergy were represented by Louis Dole, the University by Antony Arnauld. The discourse of Arnauld became known over all the continent, and was translated into Latin and all the chief languages. In the hundred years' conflict with the Jesuits, this speech was often called the "original sin of the Arnaulds."

The Jesuits craved a discussion with closed doors, before the king and parliament: but Arnauld protested that his voice should be heard in the four quarters of the kingdom. He was as good as his word, and uttered a volley of reasoning, scorn and fire, such as modern times has seldom known. Among other things, he played on the national pride. "A few years ago, said he, the Jesuits were forced to lurk in dark recesses, *pour rênarder;* now they are setting the realm on a blaze. The Jesuits are of Spanish origin; their founder was wounded while warring against France. Their chief vow is to render absolute obedience to their General, in all things: but this General is always a Spaniard, chosen by the king of Spain. Loyola was a Spaniard, Lainez a Spaniard, Everardus a Fleming, subject to Spain, Borgia a Spaniard, Aquaviva, the present General, a Neapolitan, subject to Spain. The terms of their fourth vow are frightful, for they recognise the present Christ in their General. If Christ should command to kill, he must be obeyed. If the General should command to kill the king of the French, he must be obeyed."

"O Henry the Third!" he breaks forth, in the spirit of ancient apostrophe, "O my noble king! who now from heaven lookest down, rejoicing that thy rightful heir, surrounded by six thousand nobles, makes his way over the bodies of his enemies, and thunders at the walls of the last rebel city; O Henry, stand by me in this trial of right, keep ever before my eyes thy bloody mantle. Give me strength and fire, to kindle in all thy subjects, pain, hate and courage, such as are due to the Jesuits; men who by their ungodly confessional, their fanatic preaching, their secret conspiracy with the emissaries of thy foe, the poisoning of thine own brother, have become involved in all the woes of this people and thy own murder."

In another place: "They tell us," says he, "the Jesuits teach the youth. What is it, I ask, that they teach the youth? They teach them to compass the death of our kings. We read in Dio, that Maecenas told Augustus, there was no surer method to secure himself and his successors, than to have the Roman youth educated by persons devoted to monarchy. For the world renews its inhabitants every few years, and those who are now in youth will soon occupy high places. So there can be nothing more perilous, than to have our youth taught by Span-

ish spies, who above all things hate the greatness of French monarchy. Nothing is easier than to give a tinge to these weak and tender minds; nothing harder than to remove it. It was not the water of Eurotas, that made the men of Sparta warlike; it was the discipline of Lycurgus: it is not the Seine or Garonne that makes so many false Frenchmen, but the Jesuit Colleges at Paris, at Toulouse, and at Bordeaux. Since such scholars have risen to office, *majorum mores non paulatim ut antea, sed torrentis modo praecipitati sunt.* The Carthaginians offered their own children to Saturn: fathers and mothers were bound to stand by the sacrifice with a cheerful countenance. It is amazing, that we should have lived to see a time, when he is not esteemed a good Catholic, who does not send his children to the schools of the Jesuits."

ISAAC, the third son of Antony de la Mothe, was Intendant of Finance to Henry the Fourth. DAVID, BENJAMIN, CLAUDE and LOUIS, were four less distinguished sons. But PETER, the eighth and last son, cannot be dismissed so summarily, for the spirit of the eldest seemed to live again in him. He had, in 1611, an important part in the defence of Geneva, the bulwark of the Reformation. After this he connected himself with the armies of Gustavus Adolphus. Again we find him in France, and wounded at the siege of Caen in 1620. He was colonel, or *mestre de camp* as it was then called, of the old regiment of Champagne, in 1622, and distinguished himself before Rochelle. Many important changes in tactics and arms, under Louis XIII., are ascribed to Peter Arnauld. But the chagrin caused by an unsuccessful assault on Rochelle, and the exposure of two years in camp, destroyed his constitution, and he died in 1624. From his connexion with Geneva and with Gustavus Adolphus, we might suppose him to have been originally a Huguenot, as we know several of his brothers were; and the Jesuits were fond of casting in the teeth of the Arnaulds, this supposed opprobrium. Some of the sons of old Antony de la Mothe were secreted with him during the perils of the Bartholomew's Night, and some of them were grown up when he became a Papist. Still we cannot speak with certainty concerning Peter Arnauld, on a point which it was so much to the interest of the next generation to render obscure. Petitot, in his Memoirs, speaking of Claude, the above named sixth son, who was a soldier and at

one time treasurer-general, says: "I desired to see the tomb (behind St. Sulpice) of the late treasurer-general Arnauld, of which every one speaks as of a thing quite beautiful *among the Reformed.*" The inscription is touching; after a few ordinary words:

Moestissimo fratri
plura non permisit
Dolor.

The family of Arnauld lived in much style, after their removal to Paris. Antony, the civilian, inherited from the Marions the estate of Andilly, from which his eldest son, to be spoken of below, took his name, agreeably to a French usage. Antony possessed also a house in Paris, which was afterwards occupied by his grandson Pomponne, minister of Louis XIV., the friend of Madame de Sévigné. Certainly Auvergne never made a more important gift to the metropolis; if we except Blaise Pascal, who was an Auvergnat, and who is almost to be numbered among the family of Arnauld. It is a curious fact, that the most able defender of the Jesuits against Port-Royal, Sirmond the Confessor of Louis XIII., was also a native of Auvergne.

So much for the third generation of those whom we have named, to wit, the children of Antony de la Mothe-Arnauld. In respect to the fourth, we are concerned only with the sons and daughters of Antony the civilian and orator. These were ten in number and comprised the most distinguished Jansenists.

Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, eldest son of Antony the scourge of the Jesuits, and of a daughter of the General Advocate Marion, was born in 1589, and died in 1674. "He was a man," said Balzac, "who possessed all the moral, and all the Christian virtues, without being proud of the former, or ashamed of the latter." He prepared for his son Pomponne those Memoirs which are a principal source of the history that engages us. His eldest son, Abbé Arnauld, the fourth Antony of the family, also left Memoirs. D'Andilly was a true descendant of the French knights-errant; all love and valour; a fiery yet melting temperament; clinging to his friends with passionate adherence, and contending for them to the outrance. "I believe," says he, "no son was ever reared in a closer friendship with a father, than was I: he had no secret for me, nor I any for him." He was educated at home, until at a certain time he was taken to

the house of his uncle Claude, who treated him with parental care. This good kinsman however died in 1602. It is he whose tomb was in the Reformed burial-ground. D'Andilly was taken very early to court, by his uncle Isaac, the Intendant, and used to stand behind the queen's chair. He was soon introduced to political and diplomatic life; but he was also drawn into camps, and followed the king in his wars against the Huguenots, to Rochelle, Montpellier, and Montauban. During the time of these wars, he became acquainted with the man, who after Jansenius, was of all others most influential in giving form to the system of Port-Royal; and in the following way. "Sebastian Bouthilier," we quote d'Andilly's own words, "afterwards Bishop of Aire, a man of great uprightness and worth, and much my friend, so that I believe he loved no one more than me, would often say to me, If St. CYRAN and I ever meet you, I will make you a present beyond all price; for I will give him to you as a friend. This came to pass at Poitiers. The Bishop (*Monsieur Aire*, as the mode of calling bishops then was) took us both by the hand, and said to St. Cyran, to whom he had often spoken of me, 'This is d'Andilly,' and to me, 'This is St. Cyran.' He then left us together. These few words were enough; at that instant our friendship had its beginning, and continued so unbroken till his death, that there could not be a greater on earth. It would be superfluous to add, how distinguished were the piety and genius of this great person, who may without flattery be called one of the brightest luminaries that has enlightened the church in many ages."

D'Andilly was not only employed in the most confidential services by Louis XIII., but was admitted to singular personal intimacy. The following anecdote will show that this was without any sacrifice of his characteristic manliness. When the death of his uncle Peter Arnauld before Rochelle, in 1624, was reported, d'Andilly flew to the king, to obtain the vacant place for Feuquieres, the husband of Isaac Arnauld's daughter: but the king cut him short by saying that the place had already been given to another, who had indeed promised ten thousand crowns for it. "Ten thousand crowns!" exclaimed d'Andilly; "it would take seventy thousand to cover the disbursements of my uncle in your majesty's service, especially at Fort-Louis. But I seek not money; I am of a race accustomed to sacrifice

everything to your majesty's service. I only seek to procure this honour for one of the bravest noblemen of the kingdom." The king continued to say, that his decision was unalterable, when d'Andilly, full of indignation, replied: "I see perfectly, Sire, whence our misfortune comes; it is that my uncle was a subject of your majesty; had he been born a subject of Spain, and had he after great services, died intestate, his family would not have been unrewarded." The king made no reply, but never manifested any coolness.

In 1634, after a long period without public employment, being at his chateau of Pomponne, on the Marne, d'Andilly received sudden news of his appointment as Intendant of the army of the Rhine. It cost him some pain to break away from the circle of fashionable and literary ease in which he was now embosomed. A glance at the circumstances will serve not only to throw light on the manners of the age, but to show from what class of persons the chief personages in the Jansenian history were drawn. No man more enjoyed the elegancies of the time than d'Andilly. The circle to which he belonged was that which had its centre at the Hotel de Rambouillet, and which gave a European celebrity to that house. Here, in an age singularly devoted to ingenious pleasures, were every day convened the wittiest men and finest women of Paris. The contrast with his later ascetic years affords an apology for a relation which would otherwise be frivolous. One day when d'Andilly was at Pomponne, Madame de Rambouillet, in the exuberance of her hilarity, resolved to play off on him what would now be called a hoax. Among her retinue was Godeau, who little foresaw that he should one day be a princely prelate. Godeau was ludicrously small in person, so that he was nicknamed the Princess Julia's dwarf. Madame de Rambouillet, with a numerous cortége, set out from Paris for Pomponne, with two coaches. About five o'clock in the evening, two or three horsemen rode up to Pomponne, as if they were the quartermasters of a detachment, and gave notice of an approaching troop of cavalry. D'Andilly, unaccustomed to have such guests quartered on him, came out in some heat, and entered into minute inquiries. While he was thus solemnly engaged, a trumpet sounds; he descends to receive the company, when he is met by the dwarf (afterwards bishop of

Grasse and Vence) armed in antique fashion, who rushes upon him, charging him with a lance of straw. Such were the humours of the time, as we may abundantly learn from the letters of Voiture, de Sévigné, and Bussy-Rabutin. The Hotel Rambouillet in the fauxbourg St. Antoine was perhaps the first of those réunions, which exercised so great an influence on French manners and even on French letters and religion. Here, as at a literary Almacks, were gathered the aristocracy of taste and genius, of poetry and prose. Richelieu, the founder of the Academy, though sworn enemy of territorial aristocracy, endured this, as adding lustre to his throne. Here met Voiture, Balzac, and the Huguenot Ogier de Gombauld. Voiture especially seems to have been much attached to the Arnaulds; he celebrated Isaac Arnauld, the younger, in his poems, and dedicated a composition to Madame d'Andilly. There was much of the pedantic and fantastic in these assemblages, and their language was a euphuism, which would now be reckoned ridiculous; but all was gallant and chivalrous. The Abbé Arnauld, who was then in the King's Guards, tells of an *Ordre des Egyptiens*, over which, in 1635, one of his fair cousins presided, as queen, under the name of Epicharis. Godeau and d'Andilly both put spurs to their Pegasus, in this career. The Abbé Trublet and Mademoiselle de Scuderi published a code of spiritual love; the latter in the once famous *Clelie*. In this glorification of trifles and elaborate badinage, there were published in 1635 three academical discourses for and against love, on the question whether the ancients were justified in deifying this power. It is scarcely credible how far this influence extended. The most prominent members of the Academy, then recently founded, frequented this society. Here one might see the Condés, the brilliant duchess de Longueville, the heroine of the Fronde, afterwards a recluse of Port-Royal, and Madame de Sévigné; though the exquisite taste of this lady led her to revolt against the *niaiseries* of the place, so as to produce a schism. Never was female influence more potent than now in giving decisions on the drama, on poetry and on pulpit eloquence. The greatest authors were willing to bring hither the first fruits of their genius. Here, at the age of sixteen, Bossuet preached an extempore sermon, at eleven o'clock at night; which made Voiture say, he never heard any one preach either

so early or so late. Here the noted preacher Fléchier made his first attempts. The Hotel Rambouillet was the Exchange of the poets. Corneille and Moliere here first read some of their immortal works. The ladies of this circle called one another their *précieuses*, a word which then was only a fondling expression. But Moliere ridiculed, and made it imperishable, like straws in amber, in his *Précieuses Ridicules;* and Menage relates that being, at the first representation of this play, he said to Chapelain, a true servant of these ladies: "Believe me, sir, if I may use the words of St. Remigius to Clovis, We must burn what we have worshipped, and worship what we have burnt." The last stroke given to them, was in the Femmes Savantes, in 1672. La Bruyère reflects upon the enigmatic language which was then in vogue, and which was the offspring of neither taste nor wit, but only of shallow fancy and routine.

From such scenes d'Andilly went to the wars; from such scenes, at a later day, he went to the cell and haircloth. It is not our purpose to follow him through that famous campaign in Germany, which preceded the Peace of Westphalia. He was soon after bereft, first of his mother-in-law, Madame de la Boderie, and then of his wife. Two years after came the imprisonment and death of Feuquieres, and the death of his brother, at Verdun. From this time onward, the religious sentiments which he had long cherished, became more active. In his extant letters, we find fewer compliments and more piety. "Every letter, however brief," said he, "I now tried to season with at least a grain of salt." In 1642 he had a long illness, marked by a chasm in his correspondence. During the regency which followed the death of Louis XIII., the court showed much confidence in d'Andilly, and even liberated his bosom-friend, St. Cyran, from the prison of Vincennes. It deserves special notice, that d'Andilly, a man of honour, a soldier, and a courtier, made strenuous endeavours to abolish the practice of duelling; against which, at his instance, a decree of parliament was registered in 1642. He calls it a detestable practice, which robs God of soul and body, an offering due to him, and sacrifices them both to the devil. It was calculated that during the Regency alone, and therefore after this stringent law, no less than nine hundred and eighty persons of rank fell in duels.

His influence at court was still secure. On one occasion the queen said to him, "You were much attached to St. Cyran?" "I was under such obligations to him," replied he, "that I loved him more than my life. But he bound me still more nearly to him in his death, by bequeathing to me his heart; which I prize more than ——" the queen, who held by the hand the young prince, afterwards king Louis XIV. completed the sentence, by laying her hand on the boy, and saying, "more than *this*;" that is, more than royalty itself.

St. Cyran, in his testament, had enjoined on d'Andilly to go into seclusion. It was the superstition of the age; yet amidst every corruption, we cannot but discern gleams of something nobler, as in the following passage, which is affecting even in its errors: "I cannot enough thank God," says d'Andilly, "for hearing the prayer of my mother, a true Christian woman, whose request was that He would overturn the temporal prosperity of her children, and found eternal good on its ruins. And, to view the matter with the eye of faith, what family was ever more happy! Of twenty children, borne to my father by this excellent woman, ten died in innocent infancy, and are therefore safe for eternity. Of the remaining ten, six have closed their lives in the holy house of Port-Royal, or will yet do so. Of four remaining brothers, two, namely, the Bishop of Angers and the Doctor of Sorbonne, are in the narrow way, fighting the good fight, and thus prepared with God's help, one day to receive the crown from his hand. I have hope also, that God has had mercy on my third brother, who fell at Verdun; and, great sinner as I am, his infinite mercy makes me hope from him the same grace, through the merit of the blood which my Saviour shed upon the cross. Of the fifteen children that God has given me, five died in the age of innocence; three of my six daughters, who became nuns in Port-Royal, have died a holy death; and I cannot enough praise God, that the remaining three are following in their steps. The last of my four sons, who died in the army very young, was reared in so Christian a manner, that I have reason to hope that God took him from this world to preserve him from corruption. The son who is my companion in solitude, preceded me in renouncing this world, in the hope of that which is to come."

D'Andilly is numbered among the illustrious men of the

seventeenth century, by Perrault, who says of him: "When quite young he was thought at court deserving of the highest offices. Still later, he discharged several of the most important trusts with much ability and the most conscientious uprightness. His manner of dealing with princes was peculiar. For as he had a large heart, a lofty spirit, and all the dignity that accompanies a commanding presence, joined with a well-grounded reputation and consummate wisdom, he spoke to them with great freedom, which being accompanied with circumspection, was always pleasing to them."

These particulars in the former life of a leading Jansenist will add interest to his subsequent course. At the age of fifty-five, he abandoned public life, and retired to the abbey of Port-Royal des Champs. Here, during a seclusion of thirty years, he wrote the works which establish his reputation, and which fill eight folio volumes. These are chiefly lives of the Saints, or translations from the Fathers. All are remarkable for that classical purity and elegance of style which distinguish whatever proceeded from Port-Royal, as well as for elevated sentiment and unction. He died in 1674.

Catharine, the eldest daughter of Antony Arnauld became the wife of Isaac Lemaistre, and was afterwards a nun. She is chiefly remarkable for her distinguished children, whom we shall have to name below.

Angelique, the second daughter of Antony Arnauld, who was born in 1591 and died in 1651, was in many respects the most distinguished person of her race; certainly according to the Romish standard of judging. It will be necessary to condense into a small space the copious materials towards her biography which are before us, and which if fully detailed would give a lively picture of monastic life in France, and of the power of this system to hem in and warp the most generous natures. And that the story may be as little broken as possible, we shall connect with Angelique her sister Agnes, who was born in 1593, and died in 1653. Angelique is the central point in the history of Port-Royal. The children of the great orator and lawyer seem to have been divided into two classes as to temperament; one having the fire of the Arnaulds, the other the equanimity of the Marions; to one class belonged d'Andilly, Catharine le Maistre, and Angelique, to the other the

Bishop of Angers, Agnes, and Anne Eugenie. Both Arnauld and Marion had been champions for Henry IV.; and Marion received by royal brevet the abbeys of Port-Royal and St. Cyr, for his two infant granddaughters, Angelique and Agnes. What a glimpse it gives us of French popery and monkery, to read that Agnes was made superior of St. Cyr, at the age of five years! It was a period in which religion had become a play, and much amusement was afforded by the little *Madame de St. Cyr.* In the following year she became a nun. The other abbey had an abbess, and Angelique was made her coadjutrix. Let us hear some of her own expressions: "My father," says she to her nephew, the well known Le Maistre, "asked me when I was seven years old, whether I would not be a nun. As he feared I would say No, and as I did not well know what it meant, he anticipated me by saying: But you shall be something more than a mere nun, my child; I will make you abbess, and mistress of the others. I felt that I must submit to him, and finding the hard lot somewhat alleviated by the abbacy, I replied, Yes, grandpapa, I will. At the same time, my heart was almost broken, *je crevais*, and I went into the corridor, thinking with myself, Am I not unlucky to be born the second daughter! Had I been the eldest, I might have been married." Angelique was of an indomitable will, and early displayed her faculty of ruling others. So far as she came to the knowledge of gracious doctrine, she contended for it, at all hazards; so far as she was bound in the fetters of popery, she gloried in them, with a bigoted resolution. There was no submission or penance which she was not willing to undergo; and when in later years she became familiar with the system of Augustine, she found in the highest points of predestination and sovereign grace the means of subduing her rebellious will. This, however, is anticipating our story. For a time, the little girl was entrusted to the nuns of Maubuisson, a convent on the Oise. In 1600 she was taken to Amiens, where she went through the ceremony of confirmation. While at Maubuisson she made her *profession*, as it is called. When in 1662, the abbess of Port-Royal died, Antony Arnauld lost not a moment in carrying his child to take possession of her benefice; to this dignity she was raised at the age of ten years and ten months. The same day she first partook of the eucharist, and as she says, without

any instruction in its meaning. The Pater who confessed the nuns did not so much as know the paternoster in French; he opened no book but his Breviary, but spent his time in hunting. Such was the priesthood, during the wars against the Huguenots. There had been preaching seven or eight times in forty years. During the carnival no one communicated, as the nuns were masquerading in the convent; the Pater was meanwhile doing the same with the servants. The foundation had been dilapidated; in 1605 there were but twelve nuns. Angelique was a lively child; she read the Lives of Saints with less zest than Plutarch, which was then the favourite book in France. Henry IV. being on a hunting expedition, visited the abbey, desiring to see "the little abbess;" he found her taller than he expected, which was no wonder, as she wore heels several inches high. While yet at a distance, the gallant king sounded his bugle, and cried, when the nuns flew to the window, "I kiss the hands of the Lady Abbess."

During the succeeding years the young abbess passed through many stages of inward conflict, such as under other influences might have led her to the clearest protestantism. Amidst much that was good, her zeal expended itself very much in externals, and especially in plans for reforming the abbey, and introducing a stricter rule. This reform she began with herself, by voluntary humility and macerations. At night she often went secretly to a loft, in order to pray. She was sometimes seen dropping melted wax on her arm. Having been taught by a new confessor, that the house should according to rule be closed, even against her nearest friends, she once held out against her father and his family, as if in a beleaguered castle, conversing only through the grate; by which old Arnauld was highly exasperated. It shows the firmness of a girl of eighteen. The day was in after years referred to, as *la journée du guichet*, or the day of the grate. In later life, she used to record many of the instances of laxity in the nunneries and their confessors. In her apology for going out of the order of Citeaux, she says: "If the abbesses are proud, the confessors are their humble servants, their valets de chambre. This is so true, that I saw one sowing beets, so as to make the abbess's name and cipher; and another holding up the abbess's train, as lackeys are used to do. If, on the other hand, the abbesses are humble and entertain a

reverence for the priesthood, the confessors become masters and tyrants, so that nothing can be done without their orders. When such friars go back to their proper monasteries, they are intolerable, having become imperious from ruling over women." Angelique (says Reuchlin) gives us a list, we might say a menagerie, of Confessors, of whom some were wolves, some foxes, and some boobies. Selfishness and jealousy were their common faults.

After her father's death, which occurred when she was about twenty-eight years of age, Angelique was summoned for a time to take charge of the nunnery of Maubuisson, in which she had spent part of her childhood. Its abbess was Madame d'Etrées, a sister of *la belle Gabrielle*, Henry's famous Mistress. This was by no means an austere abbey. The nuns used often to go, by water, with the prioress at their head, to a place agreed on, there to dance on the green with their holy brethren of St. Martin in Pontoise. Louis XIII. determined to reform these and many the like abuses, and caused several sets of commissioners to be sent on that errand; they found they had to do with a refractory amazon. A priest was sent to take up his abode, and bring things to rights. The ladies locked him up, with all his attendants, in a tower, and kept them four days on bread and water, with the addition of a daily strapping, *etrivières*. The abbey was at length evacuated only by a band of archers, the municipal guard of that day. They found the lady-abbess concealed in a chest or wardrobe, and carried her half-dressed upon a bed to Paris. Into her place, Angelique was brought. She found the nuns free from all government. Till this time they had been on the best terms with the young fellows of the country, living as if in a gay chateau. Some of them had gardens of their own, with pavilions, where they received company. Plays were acted. The abbey was rich enough to support a hundred nuns, and contained but twenty-two. It was only by force of arms, like what was common in feudal ejectments, that the young superior was installed into her new place.

In 1620 Agnes Arnauld was made coadjutrix of Port-Royal. It was about this time that the sisters became acquainted with that famous saint and mystic, Francis de Sales. With him and with Berulle and St. Cyran, these ladies held many conversations on the corruptions of the church, which might well

have befitted Protestants. Like all Jansenists, they were contending for sovereign decrees, absolute grace, and inward vital religion as distinguished from forms. Their misery was that they sought this while subjecting themselves to the Bishop of Rome. St. Vincent says in a letter: "St. Cyran said to me one day, 'God has given me great manifestations, and still gives them. He has caused me to learn that there has been no church for these five or six hundred years. Formerly the church was a great stream of clear water, but now the church is only mire and mud: the bed of the stream is the same; but it is no longer the same water.'" I represented to him that all the heresies used the same pretext to cover their errors, and I especially named Calvin. 'Calvin,' said St. Cyran, 'was not wrong in all he undertook; but he defended himself ill.'"

Angelique spent her life in her several religious houses, but chiefly in Port-Royal des Champs, in trying to realize the impracticable scheme of a conventual heaven on earth. None could be more sincere, devout, or energetic; but she attempted all by means of rigours. It is not our purpose to trace the progress of her reforms; when complete, they comprised a variety of ascetic observances. Property was common, animal food was tabooed. The coarsest clothes were worn, not to speak of *cilices* and pricking girdles. The nuns rose to matins at three o'clock. Absolute silence was observed, except in devotion, or certain prescribed conferences. Some hours were devoted to labour every day. The psalter was wholly said or sung every twenty-four hours. And at length, in pursuance of their special aim as nuns of the Holy Sacrament, and doubtless to stop the mouths of the Jesuits who twitted them with Calvinism, they so divided themselves, that at least one of them was at every moment of the day and night kneeling in adoration before the idol-wafer.* Angelique was the leading spirit in all this, but Agnes followed her step by step.

In 1623 Angelique came back with thirty nuns from Maubuisson to Port-Royal des Champs. In 1626 there were eighty-four nuns at Port-Royal de Paris; and a number of other monasteries began to reform themselves after the same pattern. Agnes wrote a book of devotions, famous as the *Chapelet secret*

* Ranke; History of Popes, p. 285.

du St. Sacrement, a rosary or series of enthusiastic prayers, addressed to Christ as transubstantiated in the mass; it contained sixteen articles, answering to the sixteen attributes of Christ in the sacrament. These devotions are transcendently mystical, yet not without a tincture of genuine love for the Saviour, whom their absurd idolatry was offending and mocking. The reigning ideas throughout are God's predestination, man's total inability, the all-sufficiency of grace, and love to Christ, as the essence of religion. This *chapelet* led to extraordinary assaults and to a censure by the Sorbonne. It was laid before Jansenius, who approved it; which marks a great epoch, as this was the bond of union between Jansenius and Port-Royal.

St. Cyran and several recluses had settled themselves at Port-Royal des Champs; the beginning of the male sodality there. St. Cyran was the great man of his day, the devoted friend of d'Andilly, the companion of Jansen's Augustinian studies, and the legislative mind of Port-Royal. It was he who introduced that devout and thorough reading of the Scriptures which characterised the sect, leading within those walls to such commentaries as that of Quesnel, and such translations as those of de Saey and Le Maistre.

The widow of Antony Arnauld took the veil, and called Angelique, her own daughter, by the name of Mother: "making the word of God of none effect through their traditions." We have no space to record the romantic history of St. Cyran's arrest and imprisonment. As they were carrying him off to Vincennes, he was met by d'Andilly, on his way to Pomponne. "Whither are you taking all these people?" asked d'Andilly. "It is I, whom am taken by them," said St. Cyran; "but I am less the prisoner of man than of God. They have not given me time even to take a book." D'Andilly handed him the Confessions of Augustine: they embraced and parted. In that prison St. Cyran first received and read the *Augustinus* of his lately deceased friend; which he called the Devotion-book of these last days. It would prove too strong meat for many a nominal Calvinist, defending as it does unconditional election, total depravity, and definite atonement.* John Von Wert, a German general, taken prisoner, was brought to the

* See a remarkable chapter of the 'Augustinus,' on this last topic.

same castle. While there he was entertained by Richelieu with a comedy and ballet; upon which he observed, that nothing so much struck him in France, as to see bishops at comedies and saints in gaol. St. Cyran lived but a short time after his liberation. On his death-bed he said to his medical attendant, who was also a Jesuit: "Tell the fathers, not to triumph when I am dead, for I leave twelve behind me, mightier than I."

In 1627 Angelique took the bold step of forsaking the Cistertian order, apparently because it was impossible to carry out her rigid plans under its rule. In 1629 or 1630 she ceased to be abbess, and was succeeded by Genevieve de Tardif, who held it till 1636, after which it was held six years by Sister Agnes; who in 1642 again gave place to Angelique. The sisters occupied this post alternately, for nearly thirty years. During this period, the colloquies in their house were enlivened by the Cartesian controversy, and by the presence of Pascal. There was still visible, as late as 1805, a hydraulic engine, erected by Pascal at Port-Royal.

It would be aside from our design to give an account of the controversy concerning the doctrines of Molina and Jansenius, which filled all mouths at Paris, and gave origin to the Provincial Letters. These controversies agitated the recluses of Port Royal, who were devoted Augustinians. Their course would have been as simple as that of Luther or Zwingle, if they could have rid themselves of subjection to Roman infallibility. But they received the papal decree as the voice of God, and the pope had condemned certain propositions, as being in Jansenius, and subscription was demanded from the recluses to a formula, bearing not only that the propositions were erroneous, but that they were in Jansenius. Hence the distinction concerning the pope's infallibility touching *matters of fact.* The best commentary on this is furnished by the Provincial Letters. The bull of Innocent X. which condemned the Five Propositions of Jansenius, bore date May 30, 1653; the year in which, after long absence, Angelique returned to Port-Royal des Champs. At this time there were resident four priests and twenty-five lay brothers. During these years of anxiety, when the whole storm of Jesuit rage and court disfavour was breaking over them, and when these poor misguided but sincere women were often

in extreme perplexity, between their convictions of truth and their allegiance to Rome, it should seem that Angelique persisted in her heroic part. Both she and Agnes encouraged the sisters in believing that they were now honoured by resemblance to the ancient confessors. Angelique was approaching the season of old age, and was most of the time ill. By royal authority the clergy were summoned in 1660 to condemn Jansenism. Next year there was a formal inquisition into Port-Royal des Champs, resulting in the compulsory removal of all the boarders, novices, and nuns; the nuns were dispersed, two and two, into other convents. Two days after this deportation, Angelique, now approaching her end, wrote to one of the recluses, the chevalier de Sévigné, brother-in-law of the celebrated Madame,* "At length God has stripped us of all; he has taken the fathers, the sisters, the children. Blessed be his holy name! There is pain indeed; but with peace and entire submission to the divine will. We are persuaded that this visitation is a great mercy of God towards us, that it was needful for us, to purify us, and enable us to profit by so many graces received. Believe me, if God in his grace has purposes of greater compassion, the persecution will go still further." She was sinking under the dropsy, and for many weeks could escape suffocation only by being perpetually in a sitting posture. Meanwhile, it was a part of her religion, to let no complaint pass the door of her lips. She died August 6, 1661; the year of Mazarin's death. The enemies of Port-Royal were laying the axe at the root of the tree when its head fell. The reflections of Hermant, Bishop of Beauvais, might have been uttered by a Wesley or a Zinzendorf: "Enemies may pounce upon and carry away the simple doves, but cannot prevent them from fleeing to the opened side of the Redeemer; that opened side which he displayed to the unbelieving apostle, and which will not be shut against his true brides." Angelique and Agnes had been long united, though greatly differing. Angelique was bold, commanding, of magical influence, yet self-denying and affectionate. Agnes was mild, uniform, dignified and wise. She was called the "female theologian." Angelique, the founder of the reformed Port-Royal, was devoted to ascetic macerations;

* And not, as Sir J. Stephen oddly imagines, to Madame de Sévigné herself.

Agnes was the mystic; anticipating many of those views which were afterwards celebrated, by connexion with Madame Guion and Fénélon; though the Port-Royal mysticism was far purer in its doctrinal basis, and free from the absurd claims to sinless perfection. Agnes held the spiritual reins for several years after her sister's death; her own death occurred in 1671. It would be easy to fill our pages with anecdotes of these extraordinary women; but this is forbidden by the pressure of other materials.

The fifth child of Antony Arnauld, Anne Eugenie, *de l' Incarnation*, born 1594, became a nun in Port-Royal in 1618, and died in 1653.

The sixth child, Henry (de Trie) Arnauld, born in 1597, was consecrated bishop in 1649, and died in 1692. Henry was more than all the rest in public affairs, through his long life. He was first abbé of St. Nicholas, and then bishop of Angers. While he was a law student, Francis de Sales prophesied that he would enter the church. He was always resident, which was not the fashion of a day when gay prelates used to be most of the time at court. During the years 1645, 1646, 1647, and 1648, he was employed at Rome, and other Italian courts, in the most important and confidential negotiations. In consequence of his success, a medal was struck in honour of him. When he was made bishop, his sister Angelique was so fearful of his being unequal to such a spiritual burden, that she absented herself from the pomp of consecration, and lay prostrate in prayer for her beloved brother. He was a friend to the friendless, and it was proverbial in Angers (as of Cranmer) that the best recommendation to Mons. Angers was to do him an ill turn. The only business which, during forty-four years, removed him from his diocess, was connected with the reconciliation of the Prince of Tarentum with the Romish church. It was an age of propagandism. The lust of power, which led Louis the Great to aim at governing Europe, led him to purpose uniformity of religion. The Huguenots were the Mordecai at his gate. Hence missions, and *conferences*, as certain popular debates were called, which filled up the space between the Bartholomew's gladiatorship, and the dragonnades of Louis. Hence, in the memoirs and letters of the time, as much is made of a great conversion, like Turenne's, as of a

successful siege in the Low Countries. All parties were vocal with such topics, and Madame de Sévigné nimbly and gracefully skips from a masquerade at Versailles, to a *belle passion*, or Good-Friday-sermon, at Notre Dame, or a conversion from Protestantism at Lyons. The great points were discussed in vast assemblies. The Cardinal of Lorrainé won as many laurels in such conferences, as the Lorraine captains against Protestant armies in the field. People assembled at these conferences, as in old times at tournaments. Just as there were jousting and single combats, during truces, between crusaders and infidels, so in this deceitful peace, there were conferences between the 'church' and the 'religion,' as men called the Papists and the Reformed. Cardinal de Retz tells of a disputation which he held, before he was coadjutor, with a famous minister, at Charenton, the centre for the Parisian Huguenots. The zeal of Madame de Rambure, a zealous protestant, led to a combat of nine days. "The Marshal de la Force and Turenne, (says de Retz) attended for three or four days. A nobleman of Poitou, who sat out the whole, was converted. As I was but twenty-six years old, I gained much notice by this conversion. I must, however, do justice to the firmness of my adversary, Mestresot, in this debate. The fifth day, I had some advantages over him; we were upon the article of Vocation. But in return, he brought me into some trouble on the sixth, when the authority of the pope was touched. As I did not wish to break with Rome, I plied him with principles which are not so easily defended as those of the Sorbonne; [or the Gallican doctrines]. He replied to me: "It would not be right to keep the Abbé de Retz from being a cardinal.'" The finest court-ladies were prominent in the assemblies of the Cardinal de Guise. One of the most celebrated debates was that between John Claude and Bossuet, in March, 1678; published by Bossuet in 1682. This was brought about by Madame de Duras, and was attended by her brother, the Marshal. She went over to popery; indeed these public arguments were used as a splendid apology to cover many a retreat from the unpopular side. It was held no disgrace for a fair Huguenot to fall by the hand of a Bossuet.

The connexion of the Bishop with Port-Royal was only incidental and advisory; we shall, therefore, pass from him to others of his race.

Maria de Ste. Claire, the sixth child of the anti-Jesuit Demosthenes, was a nun in Port-Royal. Simon, the eighth, fell at Verdun, a captain, in 1639. Madelaine de Ste. Christine, the ninth, was a nun in Port-Royal. Antony Arnauld, the tenth and youngest, and by far the most widely known of the race in theology and letters, is now to engage our attention.

Antony Arnauld, Doctor of the Sorbonne, was born February 6, 1612, and died August 8, 1694. He began the study of the Law, but by the advice of his mother, 'the mother of the Maccabees,' as she was called, was persuaded to devote himself to theology, and attended the exercises of the Sorbonne. At this early period he differed from his teachers, and avowed those doctrines of grace, which his enemies loved to stigmatize as Calvinistic. It is therefore only in a restricted sense that he can be called a follower of Jansenius, as he had never heard of Jansenius when his creed was formed. He became a priest in 1641. The celebrity of Arnauld arose from the publication in 1643 of his work on *Frequent Communion*, which at once embroiled him with the Jesuits. It was the object of this book to prove that the sacrament should not be administered in a perfunctory or mechanical manner; that it is not to be relied on, as if the effect were *ex opere operato;* that mental preparation is necessary; and that not only *attrition** (as the schoolmen and Jesuits teach) but *contrition*, should precede absolution and communion. Though the Jesuits were not named in this work, they at once felt themselves struck at. Aspiring to be the universal confessors, and to make the terms for penitents as easy as possible, they everywhere prescribed the sacraments as valid from the mere outward act. A little fear of hell, or attrition, was the only prerequisite. They were therefore offended by any semblance of more evangelical teaching. When some one expressed wonder to d'Andilly, that a man only thirty years of age should write such a book, he replied: "Why should you wonder? he only utters the language of the family." The pure diction and alarming eloquence of Arnauld made his preaching formidable to many troubled consciences in Paris. The Jesuits saw that their craft was in danger, and engaged their most famous writers to refute the treatise on Frequent

* The famous article of Mr. (now Professor Sir J.) Stephen, in the Edinburgh Review, confounding the two words, misses the very gist of the controversy.

Communion. The kingdom was moved, and at Rome all the machinations of the Order were active to procure a condemnation of the book. But in spite of all their efforts, it passed uncensured, and Alexander VII. even expressed approval of the doctrine. The Abbey of Port-Royal as such had no part in these polemics, and it may require explanation, how it came to fall under the odium of the Jesuits. Doctor Arnauld was brother of the Mother Angelique. There were in the convent his mother, six sisters, and six nieces; when admitted to priest's orders he had made over his property to Port-Royal, intending to make it the place of his eventual retreat, where he might be with his eldest brother, d'Andilly, and his two learned nephews, Le Maistre and de Sacy. Above all, they and he were descendants of the advocate Antony Arnauld, and so bore the guilt of the philippic of 1594.*

The Jesuits did not however obtain a fair occasion against the Doctor, until the publication of his two letters to the duke de Liancourt. This nobleman had been denied absolution, unless on condition of his removing a little granddaughter from Port-Royal. From the second of these letters, two propositions were extracted for condemnation. These letters came just in good time for the Jesuits. In one of them, Arnauld said, that, having carefully perused the Augustinus of Jansenius, he did not find in it the *five propositions* condemned by the pope. These five propositions constituted the very Sibboleth of the parties. This assertion of Arnauld was his first error; it related to fact. The second related to dogma, and was that the fathers represent to us, in the case of Peter, a justified person, to whom grace, without which we can do nothing, was in a certain instance wanting. The condemned points of Jansenius, the Five Propositions, were for substance as follows: 1. Some commandments of God are impracticable by the righteous; and sometimes even when they attempt obedience, the needed grace is wanting. 2. No man ever resists inward grace, in the state of nature. 3. In order to moral accountability, it is not necessary to be free from inward necessity, but only from outward constraint. 4. The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of an inward, prevenient grace, in order to every good act, and even

* Racine, p. 324.

to the reception of faith; but they were herein heretical, that they required this grace to be such as the will of man can yield to, or resist, indifferently. 5. It is semipelagian doctrine, to say that Christ died, or shed his blood, for all men. These propositions were condemned and anathematized by the pope: these propositions, said Arnauld and the Port-Royalists, are not found in Jansenius. Here issue was joined on the question of the pope's infallibility in regard to a matter of fact. From this moment Doctor Arnauld, as the leading champion of Augustinianism, became the mark for every Jesuit arrow. In 1656 the Faculty of Theology condemned the two errors of Arnauld, and excluded him from the said faculty. For many years, he was either in retirement, at Port-Royal and Paris, or wandering under changes of name in the Low Countries, constantly sending forth from his retreat those works of powerful scholastic ratiocination which made him the dread of the Sorbonne and of Rome. The same epoch is marked by the censure of Arnauld and the appearance of the Provincial Letters; in several of which Arnauld aided Pascal. We appeal to a master when we cite Racine on a point of French style: "To these religious quarrels between the Jesuits and the Port-Royalists," says he, "there was added a pique of scholars. The Jesuits had been long in possession of the first rank in literature, and scarcely any books of devotion were read but theirs. It touched them sensibly therefore to see themselves dispossessed of this first rank, by newcomers, before whom all their genius and all their knowledge seemed to disappear. The Jesuits, instead of ascribing the happy success which attended the books of their adversaries to the goodness of the cause which they upheld, and the purity of the doctrine maintained, directed their attention to a certain elegance of language which they had before reproached as inconsistent with Christian simplicity. They have since made a particular study of this very elegance; but their books, wanting unction and solidity, have not been any better received by the public, for being written with a grammatical precision which goes the length of affectation." Some judgment may be formed of the effect produced on the world of taste by the consummate style of Port-Royal, when we find Madame de Sévigné writing as follows, concerning Nicole's

book on Morals, and when we remember that Nicole, though severely elegant, is the least imaginative and most rigid of these casuists. "The first volume," says she, "is marvellously delicious."—"I am hurt, as are you, with the *enflure de cœur:* this word *enflure* displeases me. As to the rest, have I not told you it is of the same stuff as Pascal? But this stuff is so beautiful that it always pleases me. Surely the human heart was never so anatomized as by these gentlemen."—"I read M. Nicole with a pleasure which carries me away; above all am I charmed with the third treatise on Peace with Men.* Read it, I pray you, with attention, and see how nicely he shows the human heart, and how all persons whatever see themselves there, philosophers, Jansenists, Molinists and all."—"There is not a word too much or too little."

If we were writing the history of Port-Royal, it would be required of us to give an account of the persecutions to which the inmates both male and female were subjected for more than twenty years, or till the pacification in 1668. Various as were the fortunes of this period, in truth an Iliad of conflict, the source of the trial was one. All the religious of Port-Royal, including the simplest nuns and novices, were required to sign a formula, assenting to the pope's condemnation of the Five Propositions. Many substitutes were proposed, many attempts were made to substitute forms, by which the distinction of fact and of doctrine might be preserved. But all in vain; the inquisitorial sword was driven to the hilt; punishments of the severest sort, not only imprisonment but the interdict of the eucharist, were inflicted. There were diversities of judgment as to the lawfulness of subscription, and two even of the Arnaulds fell from their steadfastness; but Doctor Arnauld, though subtile beyond most men in distinctions, could never bring himself to forsake Augustine, to condemn Jansenius, or to purchase the privilege of going at large among his countrymen. The seclusion however was far from being unfruitful. The Jesuits knew this so well, that they described Port-Royal as a place where forty sharp pens were at work, all pointed by Dr. Arnauld. Among these were Pascal, Le Maistre, and de Sacy.

* This admirable treatise is republished separately, Paris, 1847, 12mo. Didot frères.

Angelique herself was a host. The great work on the *Perpetuity of the Faith*, which we continue to see in the book-stores in cheap Paris editions, was laboriously produced during this period, by Arnauld and Nicole. In some of his distinctions respecting subscription, Arnauld seems to have been more lax than Pascal, though both were perfectly frank in their avowal of doctrine. In regard to the controversies between them, it is surprising to find Racine saying: "Arnauld smote Pascal's tenet to the earth, at a blow; for Pascal was small compared with Arnauld." Part of the time of persecution Arnauld and Nicole, who were inseparable in labours, lived in the rue St. Avoie, or in the neighboring Chatillon; observing the hours and devotions of monastic life. The duchess de Longueville, one of the most brilliant converts from luxury and courtly vice, gave Arnauld a refuge at the Hotel d'Epernon, in 1666. When the cruel blow of withholding the sacraments was inflicted on the poor devotees, Arnauld addressed to them counsels, which show the turn of his mind: "I am well aware that the piety of our day resides more in sense than in faith; and that it is never content, except when actually receiving the sacrament; and that it is not free from trouble and anguish, when this is removed. Your enjoyment would however be more tranquil, if you would bear in mind, what one of the most celebrated writers of our time, esteemed as one of the most illustrious for his piety, has said publicly, that we should found ourselves on those things which cannot be taken away against our will, and not on those of which temporal power and the opposition of this world may despoil us. The sacraments are good, but the ordinance of God is better. If, according to the scripture, obedience is better than sacrifice, it is also far better than sacraments, which are inferior to sacrifice; and you ought to be persuaded that He, when he takes you from the sacrament, gives you occasion to serve him more perfectly, than when he vouchsafed the free use of them. Hunger and thirst after the heavenly bread is doubtless good, and is a sign of soundness and inward strength of soul. But sacraments, and even the eucharist, properly speaking, are not this heavenly bread, but only means of obtaining it. Otherwise we should be satisfied after the communion, and would need to have no more hunger and thirst, whereas the true effect of the communion is increase of hun-

gering and thirsting after the bread of heaven and after the water of the Holy Ghost, which properly is the soul's food and flesh, according to Christ's words in the gospel. Moreover, it is written, not that they are blessed, who hunger and thirst after the eucharist and other sacraments, but they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, that is, after God himself and his Holy Spirit, which is far above all sacraments and sensible things, and above all gifts that are not God himself. The sacraments are indeed means, but not the only, nor the most perfect means, to procure man's highest good; and not all who long for and partake of them are holy, or so disposed as that they may attain salvation; while, on the contrary, all who hunger and thirst after righteousness are blessed; since they have God's Spirit, who makes them alive more and more and leads them to this righteousness and to eternal life, of which he has given them the desire."

Of all human beings after Pascal the Jesuits most hated Doctor Arnauld, and it was a more lasting hatred, as Pascal's life was short. There was no weapon too foul or too poisonous to be used against such a foe; but all the barbs were dipped in the same virus—falsehood. They said he was a Calvinist and a Huguenot. They said he had been one of a deistical congress at Bourg-Fontaine, in 1621, for the abolition of Christianity: Arnauld was at that date nine years old. They accused him of assisting at a witches' sabbath, and affirmed that the devils present had stood in admiration of his speech; the Jesuits had a memorable association of the name Arnauld with diabolical speeches. They reported him to have commanded the Vaudois forces in Savoy; to have abjured the faith, and to have married a wife. They made him esquire, *armiger*, to the Presbyterian knight, Jurieu. And they ascribed to him a number of books which he never wrote. It was by his pen, indeed, that he was chiefly useful. We are told by Bayle that Arnauld was very simple in his manners, and that unless some question of importance was proposed to him, he seldom rose above the level of ordinary conversation; but that he no sooner undertook the formal discussion of any topic of science, than he was transformed into another man, pouring forth the most memorable sayings, and with the happy peculiarity that he was intelligible to the most common mind.

In the period of tranquillity which Port-Royal enjoyed after 1670, Arnauld was a frequent visiter, especially on all the Romish festivals. Here he met with Tillemont, de Saey, Le Maistre, and not seldom with those ardent friends of Port-Royal, the poets Racine and Boileau. One of them has left us a history of Port-Royal, the other an imperishable eulogy of Arnauld.*

Arnauld's criticisms on the *Athalie*, are extant. Racine broke with Port-Royal, in his middle life, being wounded by Nicole's denunciation of his dramatic pursuits. When, in more sober years, he foreswore the stage, he repented of the severity with which in 1667 he had written against the instructers of his youth, and sought reconciliation. Boileau brought the repentant poet to the aged Arnauld, who had been lately reading the *Phèdre* with approval. Racine threw himself on his knees; but Arnauld did the same, embracing and kissing him, and promising unbroken friendship to the grave. It is related, that when Racine was reading to the king the last epistles of Boileau, now infirm with age, he laid an impressive and significant emphasis on the words,

"Arnauld, le grand Arnauld, fit mon apologie."

The works of Arnauld and Nicole against the Reformed, especially the great work entitled the *Perpetuity of the Faith* in its different forms, awakened great attention. In this controversy the famous Claude bore a conspicuous part. A copy of the work was in 1677 sent to Innocent XI., who commended it as one of the ablest defences of the faith. In the second of the four quarto volumes, Arnauld takes special pains to separate himself most distinctly from the Calvinists, by denying the imputation of Christ's righteousness and the perseverance of the

* Mais des heureux regards de mon astre étonnant
Marquez bien cet effet encore plus surprenant,
Qui dans mon souvenir aura toujours sa place;
Que de tant d' écrivains de l'école d' Ignace
Etant, comme je suis, ami si déclaré,
Ce docteur toutefois si craint, si révéré,
Qui contre eux de sa plume epuisa l' energie,
Arnauld, le grand Arnauld, fit mon apologie.
Sur son tombeau futur, mes Vers, pour l' enoncer,
Courez en lettres d'or de ce pas vous placer;
Allez, jusqu' ou l' Aurore en naissant voit l' Hydaspe,
Chercher, pour l'y graver, le plus précieux jaspe:
Surtout à mes rivaux sachez bien l' etaler.—Ep. X., p. 223, ed. 1845.

saints. Jurieu wrote a most severe book against Arnauld, in which everything which could render the Doctor odious was gathered together: it was called *l' Esprit de M. Arnauld.* This spicy book brought enormous prices in France, partly because every thing of Jurieu's was proscribed, and partly because every thing against the Jansenists was in request.

This, so far as we know, was the last of Doctor Arnauld's polemical relations with the Reformed.

It is not generally known that Doctor Arnauld was much engaged in metaphysical inquiries. His earliest production in this field was a thesis on several points in physics and metaphysics, published in 1671. But his principal activity was in connexion with Cartesianism, of which some have made him an adherent: it is however shown by Mr. Simon,* that the articles in which Arnauld agreed with Descartes were independently settled before he had read the works of the great philosophical reformer. After the appearance of the *Meditations*, several learned persons wrote against them; Hobbes and Gassendi were among the number, as was also Doctor Arnauld, then scarcely twenty-eight years of age.† He maintains that Augustine and other fathers anticipate Descartes in his argument for the being of God. He censures Descartes for affirming that God is positively *per se* as by a cause; and Descartes, in his reply, concedes the infelicity of his terms, and admits, 1. that God is not the cause of himself; and 2. that he does not sustain his own being by a positive influence. The objections of Arnauld are stated with singular gravity, modesty and politeness. It is well known that the relation of Descartes to the doctrine of transubstantiation led to great disputes. The Reformed theologians asserted that the Cartesian definition of matter was irreconcilable with this fundamental dogma of popery. Arnauld, as well as Descartes himself, attempted to prove the contrary.†

This point was battled with Claude and Jurieu. During the little season of repose which preceded Arnauld's expatriation in 1679, he was much at Port-Royal, with de Sacy, Nicole, Lance-

* Introduction to the Edition of Arnauld's Philosophical Works, Paris, 1843.

† The treatise of Arnauld may be seen in Professor Simon's edition of Descartes, Paris, 1844, p. 207, sqq.

† See Descartes' ingenious but perverse argument, in Génoude's Raison du Christianisme, volume I, p. 40, sqq.

lot, and the Duke de Luynes, who translated Descartes' Meditations. The conferences of these solitaries led to the production of the *Art de Penser*, once so famous, and still in the market. In this work Arnauld follows the very text of Descartes, in the chapter on Analysis and Synthesis, as he acknowledges. Except the defect, common to all books of that age, that it does not investigate the laws of experience and induction, it may still be regarded as a masterpiece; no logical treatise could have greater method, clearness, or concinnity.

The principal philosophical controversy of Arnauld, however, was waged with Malebranche, in regard to the *Traité de la Nature et de la Grace.* and the *Recherche de la Vérité;* this spread over the latter years of his life. Arnauld appeared in 1682 with his work on True and False Ideas, in which he examines Malebranche's hypothesis of seeing all things in God, and of the manner in which God's providence governs the world. In this controversy, involving the objective existence of ideas, Arnauld departs from the almost universal teaching of his day, and makes a startling approach to the doctrines of Reid.* He characterizes Malebranche's system, as "the most ill-invented and unintelligible of hypotheses." In the judgment of Professor Jourdain, Arnauld, though right in his opinion, is inferior as a writer both to Descartes and Malebranche. Our space is insufficient to contain an account of the paper-war which ensued between the two metaphysicians. Malebranche made bitter complaints of the mode in which his adversary managed the war. He was himself a meditative visionary man: the Doctor of Sorbonne was a man of war from his cradle, accustomed to all the sleight and all the vehemence of the schools.

Among other philosophers with whom Doctor Arnauld was brought into connexion, Leibnitz was one. They frequently met in Paris, and had conferences respecting a compromise between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants; which was a favourite scheme of Leibnitz. (On this point see an interesting

* Strange to say, Dr. Reid classes Arnauld with those who held that we do not perceive external things immediately. The doctrine of Arnauld on this head was precisely that which was afterwards maintained by Reid himself. If there had not been so general an ignorance in Great Britain of the French metaphysics, Doctor Reid might have been as much embarrassed in regard to this statement, as in regard to Buffier; whose work was translated to annoy him.

article in *La Reformation*, of Geneva, vol. iii. No. 48, year 1847). The German philosopher continued as long as he lived to correspond with Arnauld, and says of him, that he knew no man better fitted than the Doctor, to penetrate into the depth of things. "If we reflect," says M. Jourdain, in his elegant essay on Arnauld, "that philosophy was not his habitual study, that the treatises which he gave to it form but an inconsiderable part of his volumes, and that he wrote his numberless works, not in the silence of a peaceable retreat, with the calm so necessary to meditation, but amidst the inquietudes of persecution and exile, far from his family and friends, and sometimes not knowing at night where he should rest the next day, we shall no longer wonder that his contemporaries, admiring the inexhaustible resourses of his genius and his courage, named him 'the great Arnauld.'"

After the peaceful period to which we have more than once alluded, the persecutions of Archbishop Harlay forced Doctor Arnauld to abandon France. It has been said that he spent forty-five years of his life, either lying perdu in France, or in exile. He was in almost perpetual incognito, at Mons, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, and other places, chiefly in Belgium. His enemies treated his flight as a confession of political intrigues, against which he pleaded the uniform loyalty of the Arnaulds. In 1690, he was at Brussels, but so endangered that he did not leave the house. When, during his wanderings, Nicole advised him at length to indulge himself in rest, Arnauld exclaimed with warmth, "Rest! rest! Have we not a whole eternity for rest!" In Leyden he became acquainted with the famous Elzevirs. At the Hague, he wrote a violent tract against William of Orange, entitled "Le Prince d' Orange, nouvel Absalon, nouvel Hérode, nouveau Cromwell." Voltaire pronounces positively from internal evidence that this tract is not Arnauld's; the contrary is nevertheless now fully established. When the war broke out anew between Spain and France, the exiled octogenarian was forced to leave the Spanish Netherlands; he went to Holland, where he was dogged by Jesuit spies, under the guise of begging friars. That he should have composed so many works, on the most important subjects, in such circumstances, is almost incredible. The words used concerning Jerome have been well applied to Arnauld: *Quis nostrum tan-*

ta potest legere, quanta ille conscripsit? The editor of his complete work enumerates three hundred and twenty; they fill forty-five quarto volumes.

After the year 1665, the pious Quesnel was the faithful companion of his exile. Arnauld's last work was his "Reflections on the eloquence of the Pulpit." In the judgment of Boileau, French Literature contains nothing better on this subject. "It is astonishing that a man in extreme old age should have retained this full force of mind and memory." When his nephew Pomponne was called to the ministry, there were hopes held out that Arnauld would return to France. But he would not assent to the terms, namely, that he should not write against the Jesuits. For though he had no expectation of ever doing so again, he would not yield his liberty, unless the same silence were promised by the adversary. He passed the last four years of his life in great seclusion, and in those habits of ceremonial religion which, among the papists, are esteemed indicative of inward piety. When now more than eighty, he still rose at five, and, having prayed on his knees, said matins and lauds. He observed the canonical hours, with the Paris Breviary, as far as strength allowed. He read mass with much solemnity, showing that, Augustinian as he was, he was yet no Protestant. After meals followed recreation, and especially chat with friends. At nine he said the regular prayers, and united with the family and servants in a devotion in which mention was made of Port-Royal. During the last few months of his life, he learned the whole Psalter by heart; saying that it was a provision against the loss of his sight. He died, by easy and gradual decay, on the eighth day of August, 1694. One of his biographers says: "The gentleness of this transition to divine rest left on his countenance an expression so soft and lovely, that no one could behold it without wonder. It was a remnant of the mark which the mildness of his mind and heart during life had left on his features. For whatever the enemies of Arnauld may say, meekness was his characteristic traits. Moses, who had embrued his hands in the blood of an Egyptian, when brethren were to be defended; who in holy indignation had broken the tables of the law; who had turned the edge of his sword against twenty-three thousand men, to punish the idolatry of his people; and who had manifested his zeal by

other fearful proofs, was nevertheless named by the Spirit of God the meekest of men." The heart of Arnauld was enclosed in a heart of silver, at the request of Madame Vaes, the wife of his hospitable friend, and was carried to Port-Royal. On this event Santeuil composed verses of which he sorely repented.*

We have now given an account of the Arnaulds for three generations, the last of these being the ten children of the parliamentary advocate. In our rapid sketch of the fourth generation, we are concerned with but two households, namely the children of d'Andilly, and the children of Le Maistre.

ANTONY ARNAULD, known as the Abbé, was born in 1616, was a soldier in 1643, then became a priest, and died in 1699. He is noted as having contributed to the family annals.

CATHARINE DE STE. AGNES was a nun in Port-Royal, and died in 1643.

SIMON, Marquis of POMPONNE, born in 1618, was one of the prominent men of his day. He was ambassador to Sweden, twice a cabinet minister of Louis XIV., and perpetually mentioned in the fascinating gossip of Madame de Sévigné.

CHARLES HENRY DE LUSANCI, born in 1623, became in 1641 a solitary of Port-Royal, and died in 1684.

ANGELIQUE DE ST. JEAN, the second Angelique, born in 1624, was a nun of Port-Royal, and abbess of the same, from 1678 to 1684. She was a person of distinguished genius, and by some preferred to all the rest in this respect. She was almost born a nun, having been reared for the very purpose. Her taste for composition and the fine arts was such as to require restraint. It is odd to read the titles of her published works, which show how prominent females may become, under the flexible system of popery.†

MARIE CHARLOTTE DE STE. CLAIRE, MARIE ANGELIQUE DE STE. THERESE, and ANNE MARIE, the three youngest daugh-

* Ad sanctas rediit sedes ejectus et exul:
Hoste triumphato, tot tempestatibus actus,
Hoc portu in placido, hac sacra tellure quiescit
Arnaldus, veri defensor, et arbiter aeque.
Illius ossa memor sibi vindicet extera tellus;
Huc coelestis amor rapidis cor transtulit alis,
Cor nunquam avulsum, nec amatis sedibus absens.

† For example, "Discours de la reverende mère Marie Angelique de St. Jean, abbesse de P. R. des Champs," etc. Paris, 1736.

ters of d'Andilly were all nuns of Port-Royal: of these the youngest died in 1700.

The only remaining family is that of Isaac Le Maistre, who intermarried with Catharine, the second child of the advocate Antony. Of this marriage, there were four children, whom we cannot entirely omit, for reasons which will appear. Antony Le Maistre was born in 1608, and was brought up in the house of his uncle d'Andilly. His genius and ardour early led his friends to compare him with his eloquent grandfather the conqueror of the Jesuits. As soon as he was of age, he burst upon the public as an accomplished forensic orator. Preachers left their churches to hear Le Maistre at the bar; just as it is said that advocates now-a-days forsake the halls of justice when Lacordaire preaches. After entering on a most brilliant career, he threw himself into solitude at Port-Royal, where as he was one of the first, so he was one of the most useful of the recluses, especially by his well known translation of the scriptures. Though he allowed himself free study of Hebrew and Greek, he maintained so rigid a separation from the world, that he attended neither his father's funeral, nor the subsequent entrance of his mother as a novice; such are the unnatural results of monasticism, even in the most sincere.

Jean de St. Elme, Le Maistre's second son, was the father of two daughters, who died in Port-Royal. Simon Sericourt, died as a recluse, in Port-Royal, October 4, 1650.

Isaac de Sacy, the youngest child, born 1613, is always mentioned in connection with Antony Le Maistre. Their works are well known even among Protestants. The translation of the Bible was begun 1655, to supersede the popular Reformed version; not to say, that the Jansenists were bold in defence of bible-reading in the vernacular. When Le Maistre died, he left the work to be completed by his brother. Agreeably to that community of labour, which was peculiar to Port-Royal, the New Testament was the joint work of the brothers, together with Fontaine, Arnauld, Nicole, Pontchateau, St. Marthe, de la Lane, and the count Troisville. De Sacy and Fontaine were special objects of persecution, and were even thrown into the Bastile. This version of the New Testament was printed at Amsterdam, by the Elzevirs, in 1667, in two volumes 8vo.

It led, while yet in manuscript, to the antagonist version of Father Amelotte, in 1666, 1667.

Here we close our notices of a remarkable family. But we cannot do so without acknowledging our obligation to the work of Dr. Reuchlin, mentioned in the margin. During his skilful and patient labours this learned writer had peculiar advantages for research, so that his delightful volumes may be regarded as the first complete history of Port-Royal. He spent many months in Paris, and enjoyed free access to the unparalleled collections of that city. He speaks with enthusiasm of the sacrifices which the Parisian librarians make for the convenience of authors. "When men, whose hours are precious to science, often spend more time in searching for a fugitive sheet, than the seeker does in perusing it, one is almost tempted to forego so costly a privilege." Many of the manuscripts which Dr. Reuchlin consulted, had never been unfolded before. From some of the autograph orders of Louis XIV. for the destruction of Port-Royal, the fine sawdust, used to dry the ink, fell off under the hands of our author. In Switzerland, especially in Geneva, and in Germany, he picked up some treasures. He even went as far as Rome. Though the doors of the Vatican were not quite so open as we hope soon to see them, Dr. Reuchlin was invited by some high ecclesiastics to enter. Ranke speaks of similar courtesies. After certain delays he was even admitted to consult the manuscripts. The objection to this, in ordinary cases, is that as they are generally bound up in volumes, an inquisitive antiquary might sometimes find the most sacred or portentous documents side by side with the object of his search; this was verified in Dr. Reuchlin's experience, in a particular case. We will add that he is the author of a life of Pascal, and of a work on Christianity.*

* Das Christenthum in Frankreich innerhalb u. ausserhalb der Kirche. Hamburg, 1837. 464. His great work is however the one just alluded to: "Geschichte jesuitischen Katholicismus unter Louis XIII. and XIV. Von Dr. *Hermann Reuchlin*. Hamburg und Gotha." 8vo. 2 vols. Five years elapsed between the publication of the two volumes, the second appearing in 1844. The first volume gave occasion to a celebrated article in the Edinburgh Review for 1841, which however contains some surprising inaccuracies. We have had before us, in addition, the following works: *Bayle*, "Dictionnaire Historique et Critique," Amst. 1740.—*Racine*, "Abrégé de l' Histoire de Port-Royal," Paris, 1835.—*Cornelii Jansenii*, "Augustinus, etc." fol. 1743. This copy contains the treatise of Conroy on Unbaptized Infants, which was missing in Reuchlin's.—

ART. II.—2. *Canticum Canticorum Solomonis Homiliæ* XXXI, a Theod. Beza. Geneva.

2. *Song of Solomon, newly translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary and Annotations;* by Bishop Percy. *London.* 1764.

3. *Clavis Cantici,* or *an Exposition of the Song of Solomon,* by the Rev. James Durham; with an address to the Christian reader, by John Owen.

4. *An Exposition of the Book of Solomon's Song,* by John Gill, D.D.

5. *The Song of Songs, a New Translation with a commentary and Notes,* by T. Williams.

6. *Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon,* by Moses Stuart.

The last of these volumes has been placed in this connexion, that we may notice the strictures it contains on the Song of Solomon. Into a consideration of the general merits of this work of Prof. Stuart on the Old Testament, we have no disposition now to enter. In a chapter on "Conscientious Scruples as to a part of the Old Testament,"—he treats the Song in a way that must grieve many a pious heart. Years ago, when faithful and far-sighted men were lifting a warning voice against incipient but dangerous error, we did trust, in the exercise of the charity which "hopeth all things," that their fears might be ill founded, and that one who had been such a luminary in the sphere of biblical learning, would be enabled to withstand the disturbing influences and pass on without material perturbations. If we are not in error, the first step is here taken towards breaking in on the canon of the scriptures. The mind that begins with explaining away some of the old-fashioned doctrines, may not be satisfied to stop until it has set aside some of the old fashioned books of the word of God. Professing to receive the Song as a part of the canon, and on this account manifesting a kind of friendship for its contents, Mr. Stuart treats this book in a way

Nicole, "Oeuvres. etc." Paris 1727, six vol.—*Bussy-Rabutin,* "Memoires et Lettres," 7 vols. 12mo. Amst. 1721. *Arnauld,* "Logique de Port-Royal; ed. C. Jourdain," Paris, 1846; and "Oeuvres Philosophiques," ed. Simon. Paris, 1843. —*Des Cartes,* "Oeuvres," Paris, 1844.—*Malebranche,* "Oeuvres." Paris, 1846. —*De Sevigne,* "Lettres," Paris, 1844.—*De Genoude,* "La Raison du Christianisme," 4to. Paris, 1836.

that shows obviously strong prejudices against it and an unwillingness to receive it as a part of Scripture, were not the testimony in its favour so overwhelming. It is a mystery how a man can receive a book as inspired, and yet apply to it such language as he uses concerning this song.

"Certain it is," says he, "that the Canticles were a part of the canon sanctioned by Christ and the Apostles. Nothing as a matter of fact in ancient criticism, is more certain. It is of no use to deny this, or to make efforts to evade it. . . . . I have often heard it said by the friends of Pres. Edwards, that he was particularly fond of the book of Canticles, and read and meditated much upon it. His character for piety was such as entirely forbids the supposition that he was secretly nourishing his animal passions by this. . . . . As a book of amatory odes we might praise and admire it; for in the original, it is much more delicate than our English version represents it to be. But we shrink instinctively from connecting amatory ideas and feelings with a devotional frame of mind. . . . The perusal of the original makes much less impression on me of an exceptionable kind, than the perusal of our version. That there are many passages in this pastoral, if any must needs so call it, which are highly beautiful and tender and delicate, is quite certain. A heathen poet who had sung carnal love in like manner, would have doubtless been immortal among the Cyrethereans." His conclusion is, "that the Canticles is a book rather to be regarded in the light of a local one, and adapted to partial usage, than as a book now under the full light of the gospel, especially adapted to our use. It had its day." He says that the books containing the detail of the Levitical rites and ceremonies, have ceased to have any other interest for us than that they aid in the authentication of the Bible, prevent it from assuming a mythic appearance, and lead to the persuasion that what it describes is reality and not romance; that all the books of the Old Testament which prescribe and regulate these things have become in a good measure obsolete. "For us men of occidental tastes and habits and of only ordinary growth in piety, . . . who have a task difficult enough to keep our passions in due subjection even when we shun all the temptation and excitement that we can, it is the safer and better course to place the Canticles among the books withdrawn from ordinary use.

Canticles as a means of devotion, is superseded for us by better means. This is reason enough, independently of the danger of being excited in an undue way, to prefer other parts of the scripture."* In the words of Witsius on a similar occasion, At quid est sacratissima quaeque in profana, absurda, et ridicula ver tere, si hoc non est?† These words of Mr. Stuart carry with them their own refutation. We should be sorry to be under the responsibility of having put forth charges, that every man who studies the Song of Solomon with less reputation for piety than Pres. Edwards, may be suspected of "secretly nourishing his animal passions by this;" and that the Holy Spirit has put into the hands of fallen man, a book which cannot be read without exposing ourselves to dangerous "temptation and excitement." In the infidel commentators of Germany, such expressions do not strike us with surprise. In one for whose piety we have always had profound respect, they fill us with real grief. His argument rests on two assumptions, neither of which is tenable. The first is, that this book belongs to the same class with those which describe the Levitical rites and ceremonies: the second is that "all that part of the Old Testament which prescribes and regulates these things, is no longer a matter of practical moment to us, but only a portion of the history of God's former dealings with his church." Canticles formed no part of the Jewish law, nor was it in any way connected with their ceremonial services. Their ritual had been completed, and their civil polity established, nearly five hundred years before this book was written. The Jews never numbered it among the books constituting what they called the law. As though aware of the weakness of this

* M'Cheyne remarks in his sermon on Cant. ii. 8–13, that no book of the scriptures furnishes a better text than does the song, of the depth of a man's christianity. If his religion be *in his head only*, a dry form of doctrines,—he will see nothing here to attract him; if it have a place *merely in his fancy*, he will fail to be attracted by this book; but if his religion have *a hold on his heart* by the love of Christ shed abroad through the spirit, this will be a favorite portion of the word of God. Such is the testimony of one who has exhibited "as beauteous a character and as effective a ministry as He who holds the seven stars has exhibited to the church in these last days." Says his friend Mr. Hamilton, "his adoring contemplations naturally gathered round them the imagery, and language of the Song of Solomon. Indeed, he had preached so often on that beautiful book, that at last he had scarcely left himself a single text of its 'good matter' which had not been discoursed on already."

† De Prophetis in Caanan, 39.

position, Mr. Stuart seems to make an effort for giving it strength, by examining conscientious scruples as to Esther and Ecclesiastes, and enrolling them among the obsolete portions of scripture. The impression can hardly be avoided, that the two last mentioned books have been thus specially noticed in his work on the Canon, in order to prepare the way for a more successful stroke at the Song.

But even could it be fully shown that this book belongs to the ritual portions of the Old Testament; we deny that the Pentateuch, its ceremonies, and all the architectural details of the tabernacle, and the temple have merely the value of ancient history,—of materials for enabling the curious to trace the progress of invention in manufactures, luxuries and conveniences of life,—the architect to gratify the desire to know the history of his art. There is a disposition abroad to undervalue the Old Testament. Its teachings stand very much in the way of those sentiments on imputation and atonement, which are drawn less from the word of God than from metaphysical reasoning. The books of scripture are all essential parts of one great fabric. Each has a peculiar place and value. The observance of the ceremonies of the law has been abolished, but the truths taught by those ceremonies, lie at the foundation of the system of salvation, and cannot be properly understood without the illustrations those comparisons supply. When those rites were appointed, "there was not an object in the material world which would convey to the mind the idea of God's holiness: the idea, therefore, would have to be originated, and thrown into their mind, through the senses, by a process instituted for that express purpose. The plan to originate the idea, in order to meet the constitution of the mind, must consist of a series of comparisons. The idea of God's moral purity conveyed by the Mosaic economy, has descended from the Hebrew, through the Greek, to our own language, and there is, so far as known, no other word in the world which conveys to the mind the true idea of God's moral purity, but that originated by the institution which God prescribed to Moses upon the Mount."* The same is true of other doctrines. How can we arrive at a correct understanding of these truths, without studying them in the instructions given

* Philosophy of the plan of salvation, p. 75, 79. We subjoin the following be-

by God? In the epistle to the Hebrews, the Apostle explains the Jewish rites, showing that although the observance of them is no longer binding, a knowledge of them must be ever necessary to man for comprehending the way of atonement and sanctification. These services are the alphabet of our religious knowledge. We cannot speak of the way of salvation without using language drawn from this source. And that man will have the clearest, most evangelical and most comforting view of the scheme of redemption, who is willing to neglect the airy nothings floating in the regions of metaphysical speculation, and give his attention to a deep exploration of the imperishable foundation which has been laid in these ritual services, for his consolation and hope. Have the parables of the New Testament been rendered obsolete by the full didactic statements of doctrine in the epistles? Our Lord found it necessary to begin his instructions by comparisons, and he illustrated a different class of truths from those already elucidated under the law. With reverence would we suggest, that less is lost by inattention to the parables of the gospels, than by neglect of the services of the Jewish ritual. The key to the interpretation of them, has been furnished by our Lord, through his inspired Apostle. These objections to the Song do therefore amount to nothing. That the author of our faith should have given such a book as this by inspiration, is reasonable, and is what might be expected.

The effect of sin has been to destroy in the human heart the love of God, and substitute for it the love of unworthy things. The object of redemption is the restoration of man from his condition of enmity against God, and from all the consequences of sin, to the possession and enjoyment of perfect love to God. Hence, as hatred of God is the spirit of sin, love is represented as the essential grace, as the fulfilling of the law. The growth of the soul in holiness, must be estimated not by deep excite-

cause these writers will not be suspected of being trammeled by old modes of thinking. "Judaism was a propædeuctic to Christianity; but there was no formal definition of any one spiritual truth in the whole of that economy. The purpose of it was to school the mind to spiritual contemplation; to awaken the religious consciousness by types and symbols, and other perceptive means, to the realization of certain great spiritual ideas; and to furnish words and analogies in which the truths of Christianity could be embodied and proclaimed to the world." Morell's Phil. of Religion, p. 140. "The Jewish ritual was an obscure text, which awaited the divine commentary of the Christian dispensation." Harris's Pre-Adamite earth, p. 273.

ment whether of ecstacy or of overwhelming sorrow, not by burning zeal or untiring activity, not by acquaintance with all mysteries and knowledge, not by giving our goods to feed the poor and our body to be burned; but by the love which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Perfect sanctification carries with it perfect love. The death of Christ, the agency of the Holy Spirit, all the means of grace, all the dealings of providence with the saints, converge on this one point, the forming anew in man, of this lost love. As the sanctification of the soul is through the truth, we might therefore suppose, that in giving us the scriptures, God would give full elucidations of this very important principle or affection. This he has been careful to do. He has shown love to be not only important but essential, 1 Cor. xiii. 1–3; he has given a full and excellent definition of it as the root of our best and holy feelings, 1 Cor. xiii. 4–7, and has shown its perpetuity, its superiority to knowledge, faith, and hope, and its inseparable connection with the happiness and existence of the soul of man, 1 Cor. xiii. 8–13. He has embodied it for our benefit in the living example of Jesus Christ, has shown that God to whose image we must be restored, is love, 1 John iv. 8, and has given the blood of his Son for removing the difficulty in the way of establishing in us this principle, and has sent his Spirit for forming it within us by a new creation, and for opening channels in the heart, through which its influence may reach and control all our other powers. All this has been necessary, because divine love is so perfectly opposite to our natural disposition. Its presence makes us new creatures, gives us new workings of the affections, and prompts to new language from the lips.

Now it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he who has given us such means for cherishing this heavenly affection, would go farther and add a description of the actual operations of a heart in which this love is found, and would give us language such as these emotions would naturally adopt in using the words of men; so that in giving utterance to his love, the saints should not be left to the uncertainty and danger of adopting such words as human error might suggest, but have ready furnished language of precision and beauty made ready to our hands by the same Spirit who is working within us this affection. Much of the difficulty and uncertainty of metaphysical disquisitions,

arises from the imperfection of language and the want of precision in its use. Words are the signs of ideas; and if the language in which we hear or speak on any subject, must be incorrect, it is important that those who have received a spiritual discernment of the things which are freely given to us of God, should be able to speak of them, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in words which the Holy Ghost teacheth, 1 Cor. ii. 13, that the Spirit who prompts the emotion, should furnish the language in which such emotion may find suitable utterance for showing forth the praise of the Redeemer. This has been done for us in a beautiful manner in the Song of Solomon.

The services of the Jewish ritual point out the way in which this newness of heart, this divine love may be attained by sinners. The epistle to the Hebrews, as well as the general language of piety, shows how impossible it is to understand the worth of Christ and the office of the Holy Spirit, without those typical allusions. The leprosy is the emblem of our spiritual state by nature; the sacrifices show the ground of pardon; the sacred anointing oil and the water of the laver illustrate the excellency of the Holy Spirit, and his cleansing power in developing those fruits, the first of which is love. In the same mode by allegorical language and emblems, the Song shows what this affection is as already formed and in operation. The heart on which the work of the Spirit has been felt to the greatest extent can best tell how much at a loss we must be in speaking of spiritual exercises and love to Jesus, were we cut off from the language of this song. Should the soul be influenced to these feelings by the Holy Spirit, and inclined to use such expressions of devoted love, without having at the same time a knowledge of this book as given by inspiration,—we would hesitate, would feel ourselves guilty of presumption, and would not answer those who might presume to upbraid us with irreverence or fanaticism. There are persons of undoubted piety, in the early stages of the Christian life, though having long borne the profession, who are as reluctant to believe the reality of the exercises of the most advanced Christians, as is the impenitent to admit the reality of the first emotions attending a change of heart: the error in both instances arises from unwillingness to believe what has not been personally experienced. If in consequence of never having

felt such deep emotions, persons of certain attainments in piety may object to this book as using language too strong; the unrenewed heart may, with the same propriety, doubt the reality of all the exercises of religion. Beyond controversy, there are spiritual exercises which can be better and more naturally expressed in the language of this song, than in any other portion of the scriptures. And the Holy Spirit has put into our hands this precious scroll written full of the characters of love, and whispers to us that we can never do wrong in speaking of Jesus in these terms, and that we may judge of the nature of our love to him by our disposition to speak of him in such language, and by finding in our hearts emotions corresponding with these expressions.

The several books of the word of God have some particular aim and some leading topic. The gospels furnish the life of God manifest in flesh; the epistle to the Hebrews opens the doctrine of atonement as vicarious and possessing infinite value from the divine nature of Him who suffered; Proverbs embody the practical duties of daily life; the Psalms are the pious heart's language of devotion, the song is its language of love. Devotion being the utterance of the different feelings of the soul in combination, and resting with reverence on the majesty and goodness of God, and love being the bond which brings us into union with God, and gives all our other powers their proper exercise: we find in the Psalms expressions in which to embody our general feelings of repentance, contrition, trust, veneration, and praise: in the Song, the expressions are restricted to the various operations of the one exercise of love. The deepest spiritual emotions of the human soul are here exhibited in a way best adapted to the comprehension and wants of man. In the portraits of Shakspeare, we have veins of a profound metaphysics never surpassed, yet so arrayed in flesh and blood, that we overlook the mental abstractions, in the beauty and attractiveness of their guise. And no metaphysical disquisition however labored no didactic statement, however clear, could give so intelligibly as does this Song, the nature of those exalted exercises of the human soul, which constitute love to our redeeming Lord.

Love to Jesus Christ becomes, through sanctification, the strongest passion that can take possession of the human heart.

Ambition, avarice, and passion may have more of the unnatural vigour attending fever; this carries with it the quiet, enduring energy of health, with sufficient power to consume those unhallowed principles and bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Jesus. The power of this love cannot be known without being felt; and none but those who have experienced the greatest intensity of it possible on earth, can be capable judges whether language used in expressing it, may be exaggerated. The love of the pious heart to God being thus strong and indeed not utterable even by the strongest terms; the love of God towards us is as incomprehensible as his eternity, omnipresence, or almighty power. If therefore He condescends to illustrate to our comprehension the nature of this reciprocal love, the Holy Spirit must be expected to draw his comparisons from the strongest and tenderest instances of affection known among men, and use, in so doing, all the coloring that can be supplied even from the domains of poetry. Hence in this Song the relation of husband and bride is selected. Nor is this comparison peculiar to the Song. It is read throughout the New no less than the Old Testament; and at the close of revelation the church is spoken of as the bride, the wife of the Lamb. The relation of father and son, imperfect though it be, is nevertheless the best that language can furnish for setting forth the union between the first and second persons of the Trinity; and the relation between husband and wife is the best known to us for illustrating the union between Jesus and his redeemed. This union must be far more intimate, and far more tender, than the marriage relation. The attachment of two persons, strangers to each other previously, during almost their whole life, must, even in its greatest purity, ripeness and strength, fall very far below the love of Jesus for a soul he has formed for the end of loving him; whose constitution has been framed by sanctification of the Holy Ghost, according to what he can love and desires to love; whom he has allured to himself by overpowering manifestations of love; whom he loved not merely from the first moments of its being, but even before the origin of its being, and who owes its being to his loving it before it was called into existence, even before the world began; over whose course he has watched from its first breath; for

whose reseue from misery He did himself submit to death. Besides all this, He has the tender and ineomprehensible love of the infinite God. Sueh love on his part, demands eorresponding affection on ours. And how ean any earthly comparison reaeh the measure of this love, when it is sueh that if any man hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be worthy of the love of his Lord. The eomparison of father and son is not more imperfeet in expressing the relation of the first and seeond persons of the Trinity, than is the love of husband and wife, even when taken in the strongest terms, imperfeet in unfolding the love of Christ for his people. This illustration of that love is the best we ean now have; but like all human comparisons applied to God, falls very far short of the truth. The expressions in the song, however hyperbolieal they may seem to some minds, give therefore nothing more than a shadow of this love. The language appears strong, not beeause it is exaggerated, but beeause we are not eapable of appreeiating the love of God. Now, we see the love of Christ, through a glass darkly, even in our brightest hours. Angels who have a better understanding of the subjeet, see that this language, instead of being exaggerated, is, as everything heavenly expressed in human language, must be, very imperfeet. Though the Holy Spirit has seleeted the most endearing relation on earth, the marriage state, and set forth the reeiproeal affeetions of that relation in the glowing terms, ardent language, and riehly eolored imagery of oriental poetry, the whole is not suffieient for enabling us to eomprehend in any other than an indistinct manner, the wondrous love of Christ whieh passeth knowledge.

Beset with the inseparable infirmity of human nature, an over estimate of ourselves, and forgetting that the diffieulty in understanding it, may be mainly with us, we aet as though capable judges of the extent of God's love, and of the way it should be expressed; and we eensure the language of the Holy Spirit as improper and extravagant, beeause we know so little of this love as to be unable to see how ineomprehensible is its nature. All the objeetions brought against the Song arise from this souree. Those who would rejeet it from the eanon of scripture, or if retaining it, would pass it over in silence as unfit

for use in the present age, do this, not because it has less direct testimony than the other books in favour of its inspiration, but because its general character is not what they would expect to find in writing coming from God. No part of the scriptures can show more uninterruptedly than this, the concurrent testimony of the Jewish and Christian churches. It bears the clearest internal evidence of having been written by the author of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The affection here illustrated is a leading one in the Christian life; the mode of illustrating it, is the one generally employed in other parts of the word of God, and is indeed the best that could be used for the purpose. All this certain opposers of the book will admit; but still object to it strenuously through prejudices arising from what appears to them exaggerated, if not indelicate expressions. Under these circumstances, and in view of what has been already said concerning the impossibility of doing anything like full justice to the infinite love of God in human language even adorned with the highest efforts of poetic genius; such persons would do well to reflect that the difficulty lies not in the book, but in themselves; that the Holy Spirit can use no other than the best possible words, and that all these apparent imperfections might vanish under the influence of a keener spiritual discernment and a deeper love. Different minds in which sin exerts an influence, have an affinity for different kinds of error, and opposition to different kinds of truth. As sanctification releases us from our native corruptions, by degrees, the Christian life is a gradual progress in working the soul loose from the dominion of error. Hence, some men reject the whole word of God; others reject particular books; while some persons who receive as inspired the whole canon of scripture, can never become reconciled to some of its doctrines. A defect in the intellectual or spiritual man, is at the root of all this error. The defect is not in the pages of inspiration, but in the human heart. "The cartoons of Raphael at Hampton Court Palace," says Dr. Arnold,* "the frescoes of the same great painter in the galleries of the Vatican at Rome, the famous statues of the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvidere, and the church of St. Peter at Rome, the

* Miscellaneous Works, p. 370.

most magnificent building perhaps in the world,—all alike are generally found to disappoint a person on his first view of them. But let him be sure that they are excellent and that he only wants the knowledge and the taste to appreciate them properly, and every succeeding sight of them will open his eyes more and more, till he learns to admire them, not indeed as much as they deserve, but so much as greatly to enrich and enlarge his own mind, by becoming acquainted with such perfect beauty. So it is with great poets: they must be read often and studied reverently, before an unpractised mind can gain anything like an adequate notion of their excellence. The reader must be convinced that if he does not fully admire them, it is his fault and not theirs. Here, as in everything else, humility is the surest path to exaltation." These remarks apply with the greatest force to the scriptures, embodying, as they do, in the noblest and most appropriate language, not the conceptions of the human intellect, but truths so unusual, so grand, and so ennobling, that even after having been revealed, they cannot be received by the natural man without a discernment imparted by the Spirit. The truths illustrated in this song are preëminently among those which are spiritually discerned. They are not so much the principles of the doctrine of Christ, as the things which are brought more particularly into view as we go on unto perfection. The nature of the subject, love, makes it belong to the advanced part of the Christian life more especially; and as sanctification refines our spiritual perceptions, and by raising us from our degradation of darkness, towards the condition of saints in light, gives us the ability to appreciate the love of Jesus,—we see more and more beauty in this song,—we see in it nothing but beauty, we find our objections against it arose from the corrupt heart rather than from the book, we feel thankful that the Author of our faith has provided for us words so rich, so glowing, and so perfect, for giving utterance to our emotions; and we rejoice to find, under the light of the Holy Ghost, our unsanctified misapprehensions giving place to the conviction that the love of Jesus towards us is infinitely greater than is even here expressed.

The scriptures contain truths, promises, and illustrations adapted to every variety of circumstances and to every grade

of religious experience. Particular truths can be fully understood, and the power of certain promises can be adequately felt, only by our being brought into situations where the soul is made to feel the need of those very truths and those very promises. Here are innumerable gradations of truths adapted to the different degrees of the growth of the soul in grace, from the first exercises of conviction, to the highest measure of sanctification attainable on earth. A particular development of our spiritual perceptions is requisite for feeling the beauty and power of any one of the portions of truth in this ascending scale; and as the unrenewed man, even with profound learning, fails to apprehend the perfection of beauty in passages with which he has a mere scientific acquaintance; the Christian, while understanding all the heart can know of the truths adapted to the steps of religious experience through which he has passed, may yet fail to comprehend and appreciate thoroughly, portions of holy writ lying in regions of pious exercises whereunto he has not attained. Three things are necessary for understanding perfectly the scriptures: such an acquaintance with them as may be derived from human learning; the illumination of the Holy Spirit; and a position in the circumstances for which those truths were specially given and adapted. The two last are not inferior in importance to the first. And other things being equal, the man who has the advantage not only of the teaching of the Spirit, but of being led by Providence through the circumstances of life in which the want of certain promises is felt and their comforting power enjoyed, will be better able than other persons to see beauty, and richness, and glory in many domains of gospel truth, which must have lain unobserved by him, had he not been drawn into these green pastures and beside these still waters by the Presence that dwelt amid the pillar of fire in the wilderness.

Hence, this song is not so much a favorite in the early stage of the religious life, as at subsequent periods when we have grown in grace. It is the manual of the advanced Christian. When love has been more perfected by the Spirit, hither do we come for expressions of that love. When we are anxious to hear from the lips of Jesus the fulness of his love to us, here do we rejoice to sit and listen. The Jews were not wrong when they represented this book as the holy of holies in the fabric of

revelation; for assuredly, the voice here speaking, the living oracles here uttered, can be heard only by those who have been initiated into the mysteries of godliness, and dwell under the shadow of the Almighty. Accordingly, this book has been a favourite with eminent Christians. While some persons versed in biblical lore, but ignorant of the alphabet of piety, can see nothing further in this song than an amatory eeloguc; and others whose piety we are far from doubting, can represent these words given by inspiration, as "leading us away from pure and spiritual devotion," by "connecting amatory ideas and feelings with a devotional frame of mind;" there is, and always has been in the church, a class of persons of no questionable character for ability, learning, or holiness, who esteem this book among the choicest portions of the word of God. There must be excellence in that which occupied so deeply the affections of such persons as Leighton, Lady Guyon, President Edwards, Rutherford and McCheyne.

When, therefore, this song is admitted to be inspired, and to have been sanctioned and loved by the ablest and most saintly men of even the present age; those who make these concessions, and yet hold the book in disesteem, would act with humility and wisdom by feeling that the difficulty in appreciating it lies with themselves. Much of what is censured as exceptionable, is found in our translation rather than in the original. If this book be rejected on account of objectionable passages, other parts of the scriptures must be set aside on the same grounds. What are called by some persons the indelicate passages of holy writ are far from being found in this song. We venture to assert that the parts looked on with most distrust are capable of a natural interpretation incapable of offending the most sensitive modesty, and tending directly to our edification in holiness. With the same reasonable spirit which is essential for enjoying the finest works of uninspired genius, let us feel that this song is everything it has been represented by an innumerable crowd of witnesses; that we are not at liberty to reject or neglect a book so manifestly of divine origin; that if the Song has been ridiculed by the corrupt heart or misused to purposes of evil, the same has happened with almost every other portion of the Bible: that all scripture is given by inspiration of God,

and is profitable; and that by patient continuance as learners at the feet of Him who is meek and lowly of heart, we too shall become sensible of its beauties and filled with admiring love.

The first words are as certainly given by inspiration as any succeeding portion of this book, and show the estimation in which the Song is held by the Holy Spirit. It is called the Song of Songs, or the most excellent song. For the purpose of meeting the numerous objections brought against this portion of scripture, the divine wisdom writes on the very front of it, an attestation of its superior excellence not only to the thousand and five songs of Solomon, but to all the songs ever produced by all other poets. He who cannot err, tells us, in language of no doubtful meaning, that this song is unrivalled.

Poetry is the expression of the best and most beautiful thoughts, of exalted emotions, in the best and the most beautiful language. The language of poetry is the language of excited feeling. The best poetry must have the noblest theme, deal with the purest emotions, and be adorned with the richest ideas. God has garnished his works of every kind with beauty, and formed us with a capability of receiving pleasure from that beauty. Hence in conveying to us important truth, He does, throughout the scriptures, make it attractive by adapting it to this love within us of the beautiful. Now, love is the very excellence of God, for "God is love." Love is the purest, deepest, and most powerful emotion known to man. Nothing can therefore be better or more beautiful than the subject of this song; and being a song, a poetical composition, it must be in the best and most beautiful language. A translation gives no idea of the excellence of Homer; and beautiful as is this song in our English version, we must remember that it is the poetry of an age more remote than the earliest Greek poets, in a modern language of very different structure and idiom.

The fact that this song is so much rejected is a proof of its excellence. How many persons can see no excellence in the best productions of genius, even when there is about them no allegory, as is here the case, to be interpreted by the Holy Spirit. The better the poetry the more profound the ideas embodied in it, the farther is it above the range of the common mind and the more likely to be appreciated only by the cultivated few whose taste has been carefully refined. This being the Song of Songs

the same thing must be expected here, and to a much greater degree, because there is need of a taste which cannot be attained without the supernatural aid of divine grace. Even when the highest beauty and excellence was personified in Jesus Christ, how perfectly was all this above the comprehension of man. They saw in him no beauty that they should desire him. Isa. liii. 2. His beauty cannot be seen and understood without a taste imparted by the Holy Spirit. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost." 1 Cor. xii. 3. Much is said about the Beautiful, the Good and the True. Jesus was the personification of them all. For him, did God represent unto us these abstract spiritual excellences, in a sensible, bodily form. In its loftiest flights, the imagination of man never had so glorious a conception as that which is given in the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Jesus Christ. The object of this song is the celebration of the love which led to that union, its beauty, its attractiveness and its glorious results. Others of the divine songs of scripture celebrate some particular consequences flowing from this love; the song of Moses at the Red Sea, speaks the praise of Jehovah for their deliverance; the Psalms are utterances of pious feeling for various mercies; this song goes to the spring of all that is beautiful, good, and true, and celebrates the love which is the fountain of all blessedness. Homer, generally received as the prince of poets, sings of the malignant passions, the wrath of his hero, the cause of woes unnumbered; this book sings of the wondrous love of God which is the spring, not of desolation, misery, and tears, but of the new creature, the deliverance from guilt, the consolation, the heavenly anticipations that are abroad in our world of woe. It sings of the same love which is the burden of the new song in heaven. How glorious was the chorus, when at the completion of creation, "the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Will not that be the song of songs which shall be heard amid the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness, when the innumerable company of the redeemed and the angels join to celebrate the love of the Lamb that was slain? The theme of this song is the same redeeming love; and those whose hearts are here brought by grace to feel the excellence of this portion of scripture are

already learning that song which no man could learn but those redeemed from the earth.

God can express to us inward spiritual beauty, only through the means of outward, sensible beauty; and in this song, He makes use of this outward beauty for impressing on us that which is inwardly beautiful, true, and good. What beauty is comparable to the beauty of holiness? This is the source of all other beauty. All the deformity, ugliness, and filthiness in this world are owing to the want of holiness. In the heavens where no stain of sin has fallen, there is nothing but beauty. This beauty of holiness is that which the Psalmist so earnestly desired to behold. Ps. xxvii. 4. And the celebration of that beauty in this divine poetry, renders it the song of songs. A few years ago, on a clear winter's night, there burst forth a northern light that suffused the whole heavens with a rosy tinge and threw over the snow and landscape the same unearthly hues, different from anything previously seen, and causing emotions of inexpressible pleasure in those who beheld this transient burst of heavenly splendour—this song, is, as it were, a rosy burst of the divine love which, through the Lamb, is the Shechinah of heaven; and those whose souls have the spiritual perception for seeing the divine light here beaming, feel their hearts thrill with the beauty of the tinge it throws over our blighted and wintry world. Elsewhere there can be seen nothing of equal or like beauty.

It was proper that such a song should be written by Solomon. Aaron having prefigured Christ as a priest, and Moses foreshadowing Him as a prophet, Solomon prefigured Him as a king. And while David represents Jesus as suffering persecution and subduing the enemies of his people, Solomon represents Him as the triumphant prince of peace. Under Solomon the kingdom of Israel was perfectly established by the conquest of all their enemies and by the building of the temple in Jerusalem; and as the camp in the wilderness may represent the church in this world, the reign of Solomon may be a representation of the church in heaven. While therefore David sung in the Psalms of the various conflicts of the Christian life, Solomon here sings of that which is the end of all our conflicts, the consummation of the love of Christ and his church. His mental endowments were as glorious as his position. Not only did

he surpass all others in wealth and splendour, the most kingly of kings; but before him there was none like him for wisdom, neither after him shall any arise like unto him. 1 Kings, iii. 12; and he possessed noble poetic powers. A man combining these rare qualifications, was very properly selected by the Holy Spirit as the means for conveying to the saints this divine allegory, this unequalled song of love.

As the enemy of our souls contests every step of our progress from error into the full light of truth, failing to make us reject this book as uninspired or as improper for the use of the pure in heart, he will be equally satisfied in depriving us of its benefit by leading to a wrong interpretation. Much of the dislike to this song by even Christians, has arisen from the erroneous method pursued in the exposition by some of the most pious commentators. Even a pious man may go astray through a false theory of interpretation. There is no book in the Bible further removed than this song, beyond the capability of an impious man, even of great learning, for giving a proper exposition. There are portions of scripture containing an unadorned statement of doctrine or facts, which a scholar who takes them up as he would an uninspired classic, may interpret fairly, according to the literal meaning. Such a man may be called a commentator on the scriptures; he can hardly be called an expounder of them. It is a dangerous error, and one into which the unsanctified heart is continually liable to fall, that learning is the one essential thing in biblical interpretation. The importance in this work of a well furnished head, may cause us to undervalue the aid necessary from a pious heart. Bringing to the subject of religion our modes of thinking on common topics, we forget that the scriptures have difficulties which require spiritual discernment, no less than philological acumen, and that a man may "understand all mysteries and all knowledge," while destitute of the love which is the key to the solution of its deepest and most edifying problems. The mere philologist and antiquary perform an important work in the business of exposition. It is nothing more than the work of hewing the wood and drawing the water. In religious worship the tendency of the heart, under its corrupt inclinations, is to exalt the ceremonial above the spiritual; and in devotion to the study of the scriptures, we are in danger of exalting the

scientific above the spiritual, of resting in the means rather than in the end, in learned investigation rather than in the spiritual apprehension by the heart, of the truths to which those investigations lead. The enemy of holiness and parent of error cares not in what way he succeeds in keeping us from understanding the truth, whether by inducing us to neglect the essential aids of learning and study, under the fanatical impression that the Spirit will give all needed illumination, without the use of means; or by leaving us to rest in these scientific investigations alone, without the indispensable assistance of the Holy Spirit. Here especially must the well furnished head be found in alliance with a heart controlled by grace. There is no portion of the scriptures which requires more than does this song, a sanctified state of the affections in him who undertakes the interpretation. Without this the marrow of the book cannot be relished or detected. Here especially are things which must be not so much philologically, as spiritually discerned; and which to the natural mind, however learned, without the teaching of the Spirit, must appear as absolute foolishness.

In this song, truth is taught not by didactic statements, but by figurative allusions. As the doctrines relating to the person and work of Jesus, are set forth literally in the New Testament, but are illustrated by the emblems of the Jewish service; so the reciprocal love of Christ and his people, unfolded by plain statements in other portions of the Bible, is here elucidated by poetical imagery and comparisons. The types are correctly interpreted by a knowledge of the doctrines of the New Testament; while those doctrines are in turn, made clear only by intelligent acquaintance with the meaning of types. And the love of the Redeemer and the redeemed, as taught by himself and his inspired disciples, is illustrated in the emblematical language of this song, while at the same time, the key to a knowledge of these instructive figures is found in acquaintance with the divine love here so beautifully elucidated. A single emblem or illustration standing out by itself, is called a type or figure of things to come. When the emblems are multiplied and the figure continued to some length, the whole becomes an allegory. Such is the nature of this book. It is an allegorical illustration of the operations of love in the bosom of the saint and of the Redeemer. Hence, we must not expect to find here any state-

ment of doctrine in a didactic form. We must here search for truth not in the form in which it appears in the epistle to the Romans, but in the guise it assumes in the figures of the Jewish ritual. Beautiful and instructive though the services of the law are to ourselves, how dim was the apprehension Israel had of their significance; and how great is the flood of light poured on them by studying them with the knowledge imparted by God manifest in flesh. As mere poetry, this book has transcendent beauty; but when viewed in the light of the knowledge of the glorious love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, it assumes a splendour and instructiveness unimagined and unsurpassed.

In the interpretation of this song, there are therefore two separate lines of investigation, bearing upon each other and converging, though perfectly distinct. There is the study of the language, and the study of the allegorical meaning. After knowing all that can be known of the literal import and the customs here referred to, there remains the more important task of determining what are the spiritual truths intended to be conveyed to us in this figurative language. The meaning wrapped up in the folds of the allegory is the main object of search. Hence the commentators who have gone no farther than an elucidation of the literal meaning, even by all the learning that may be here brought to bear, cannot be considered as having expounded this scripture. The meaning of the allegory yet remains untouched; and to the scholar who has gone thus far this meaning may be as perfectly unknown, as is the narrative of the facts there contained, to him who does not understand the language. Biblical learning furnishes the key to a knowledge of a book as a poem; there is another element necessary for giving us a clue to the spiritual meaning embodied in this mystical poetry. The mere literal meaning of the prophecy of Isaiah, was intelligible to the Ethiopian eunuch, and yet he said, How can I understand except some man should guide me. Of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other man? Acts viii. 31. In this song particularly, a knowledge of the letter gives nothing like the meaning of the book without a knowledge of the spirit. The words of Jesus are equally applicable here, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they

are spirit, and they are life." John vi. 63. This is the key to the whole interpretation of the song. The meek will he teach his way, and he will show them his covenant. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him; and as without a parable spake our Lord not unto the multitudes, but when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples, Mark iv. 54; so must we still, with meekness and godly fear, seek to be alone with him in prayer, that we may ask of him the meaning of the parables contained in the written word, and receive the Holy Ghost that he may teach us all things and guide us into all truth. A fundamental inquiry in studying the song, is, Of whom speaketh Solomon this? of himself or of some other person? And never can we understand what we here read, until, after diligent study and humble meditation, we have the Holy Spirit to begin at the same scripture and preach unto us Jesus. He must open our eyes, before we can behold the wondrous things contained in this portion of God's law. Whatever our knowledge of the word of God, certain it is that our hearts will never burn within us, till Jesus himself opens to us the scriptures. None other can expound to us in all this song, the things concerning himself. The necessity of the influence of the Holy Spirit interpreting divine truth, is taught by Peter, who says we must receive it as a first principle, "That no prophecy of the scripture is of any private* interpretation." Showing in this passage he had not followed cunningly devised fables, in making known the power and coming of our Lord,—he points out two distinct grounds of confirmation for the truth of the gospel. The first is external, and depends on the testimony of the witnesses who were with him in the holy mount of transfiguration, and were there eye-witnesses of the magnificent glory, and heard the voice of the Father from heaven in attestation of the divinity of the Son. The second is internal, the persuasion which every true believer has of the divine origin of the scriptures, from what he sees and feels of the power of these truths under the influences of the Holy Spirit. This demonstration, this inward witness of the Spirit, is a safer reliance than a voice from heaven—is a more sure word of prophecy, of divine instruction regarding the truth of our faith, an interpretation or

* Ἴδιος quod animo acquisivimus et possidemus.

expression of the divine will on which we may more certainly rely. Without at all undervaluing the external evidence, the miracles wrought in confirmation of Christianity, the believer finds, as he grows in grace, that his convictions of the inexpressible excellence of his faith, is felt more and more distinctly to rest, not on the testimony adduced from men, so much as on the words which the Holy Ghost speaketh through the scriptures to his sanctified heart. Divine truth kindleth to a flame by the Spirit which is within his soul as a light shining in a dismal place. To this word, a lamp unto his feet and a light unto his path, he does well to take heed until the shadows of error and sin flee away, until the day dawn and the day star arise in our hearts. But in receiving the advantage and pleasure had from the scriptures thus spiritually discerned, we must start with the essential truth; must know this first, that no prophecy of scripture, no portion of divine instruction there revealed, is of any private interpretation; that is, of an interpretation which may be reached by the exercise of any powers peculiar to the unaided human mind by nature; for as prophecy, or the teachings contained in the scriptures, were not discovered and uttered by the unassisted intellect of man, but were spoken by men borne along by the Holy Ghost; those truths cannot be understood and interpreted by us with the enlightening influences of the same Spirit.

The parable of the sower derives its great interest from its instructiveness through the exposition of our Lord. This application of those simple facts to the illustration of spiritual things, invests them with great beauty. Touching as is the parable of the prodigal son, how greatly is the attractiveness of the narrative heightened when viewed as illustrating the joy there is in heaven over one sinner that repenteth. The types, parables, and allegories of scripture, rich in literary materials, are like the curiously wrought lanterns of oriental countries, which do not reveal their beauty of transparency and emblems till lighted up within; these portions of truth, though a lamp unto our feet and a light unto our path, reveal their excellence, splendour, and power to guide, only when through their divine emblems, streams on us the inner light of the Holy Ghost and the Lamb. An exposition of the sower or the prodigal son, that might go farther than an elucidation of the literal meaning,

without searching for the golden view of spiritual instruction there concealed, might be of use as materials ready to the hand of some other person, but would fail to give an idea of the mind of the Spirit. In all our duties, human agency must be blended with divine coöperation. In raising the fruits of the earth, there is a duty for the husbandman, and there is an influence that can be supplied only by the Creator, and in spiritual things, Paul may plant and Apollos water, but God gives the increase; so in interpreting the scriptures, in this song more especially than any other part of them, there is a work to be done by the mind in gathering all that can be furnished from the stores of biblical learning; and besides this, there must be the aid of the Holy Ghost for rendering our efforts perfect and successful. Here learning can go no further than the threshold; the key by which the mysteries within are reached, must be furnished by the Spirit of God. Like the tabernacle, beautiful in the eyes of the spectator, with its sides overlaid with gold, the song unsurpassed in poetic excellence may fix the admiration of even an unrenewed mind, but when the soul is admitted into the recesses of its interior meaning, and the hand of the Holy Spirit lifts the mysterious veil, we gaze with the trepidation of holy affection on something more entrancing than the ark of the covenant, the cherubim, and the human form seen amid the cloud of glory. Hence, says Leighton, the true experimental knowledge of Christ's loveliness and the Christian's love is the best commentary on the whole strain of this allegorical song. Fanaticism and ignorance may undervalue the indispensable and fundamental assistance supplied by learning, but the mind best instructed by the Holy Spirit will be best able to use these aids aright without either unduly exalting them or treating them with neglect.

The error into which many pious commentators have fallen, seems to have sprung mainly from the attempt to make too much out of the allegory. In expounding the types, some of the most learned and pious among the old divines, are greatly at fault by the extremes to which they have pushed their principle of interpretation. They appear almost to think that every thing must be a type in which there can be found even a remote comparison; and in those things which are really types, seek for numerous resemblances evidently not intended

by the Holy Spirit. As might be expected, this principle has been carried beyond all reasonable bounds in their efforts to expound this song. A controlling impression with them seems to be, that every thing must be drawn from this figurative language, that can be devised by a lively fancy in alliance with a spiritual heart. The duty of an interpreter of scripture is to search for the mind of the Spirit. The facts and personages, the services and figures of the word of God, may receive applications well nigh innumerable by way of accommodation and illustration, but these uses of sacred truth, however pleasing and instructive, should not be the leading aim of a commentator. Much of what is intended for exposition of the types, viewed as such an exposition, is perfectly worthless, but viewed as an ingenious improvement of scripture, is edifying and attractive. The use of a fact or allusion as a mere literary embellishment or illustration, may be allowable and profitable, when the same fact put forth in the same way authoritatively as a type, would be a perversion of scripture. And when the analogies of the real types are carried too far, we are perverting the scriptures. In every parable and allegory, there is some leading principle running through the illustration, and for this principle we must search, without expecting to find similitudes in the minor incidents introduced as necessary appendages to the narrative. There can be no better models for us to follow in interpreting allegorical scriptures than the exposition given by our Saviour of the parables of the sower and of the tares of the field.

Perhaps nothing has done more to bring this book into disrepute than the well meant but ill-judged efforts of pious men to draw some hidden meaning from almost every word. They could hardly have been more minute in dissecting and weighing the didactic portions of the epistles. Their expositions are often so overloaded with ingenious appropriations of these figures, as to crowd out of sight the one leading truth designed to be taught by the Spirit. Even with the best trained imagination, this principle must draw the expositor into offences against good taste. "Every word of God is pure. The words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times." Nothing can therefore be clearer than the truth, that any interpretation of this inspired allegory, which is in the

least contrary to delicacy and correctness of taste, cannot be the true expression of its meaning. The inspiration of this book is established beyond all cavil; as the word of God it must therefore be very pure. The word of God must be consistent with its author and consistent with itself. In consequence of the peculiar manner in which truth is taught by allegory, any interpretation of this book must be wrong which does not harmonize with the rest of the scriptures. Here we must keep in mind the direction, "Prophesy according to the proportion of faith," understanding it, as we do, to mean, Interpreting the language of revelation, the will of God, according to the standard of things believed as gathered from the general tenor of revelation. By adhering to this principle, exercising good taste, and not trying to draw too much from the figures, while seeking humbly the guidance of the Holy Spirit, we shall find every anticipated indelicacy to vanish.

The words of ch. i. verse 13 may be taken as an example. Unto those who believe Jesus is precious, his presence is delightful. We are asked the question, how precious, how agreeable, is the society of our Lord? What are the sensations of pleasure like, that we have in his presence? We reply, what are the sensations of delight you experience from a cluster of camphire blossoms or from the fragrance of a bundle of myrrh so sweet that you love to have it dwelling in your bosom? Now the delights shed abroad in our soul by the presence of Jesus, are more pleasant than the exquisite delights thus received through the bodily senses. Such is the language necessary from our present position in the flesh, that we must use, such comparisons or say nothing concerning the loveliness of the presence of Jesus. We imagine that the passages describing the pleasure had by our Lord in contemplating the redeemed soul, ch. iv. 1–5, ch. vi. 4–7, ch. vii. 1–5, and the illustration of the beauty and loveliness of Christ, ch. v. 10–16, were not intended to be dissected so minutely as they have been by some commentators. Like the description of the New Jerusalem, these are representations of spiritual things by clusters of the richest emblems. The elegance and force of such a passage is lost by taking it to pieces and turning the fragments in every imaginable direction for finding in them various shades and views of allegory. It is as unreasonable as tearing a rose to pieces and examining it leaf

by leaf for getting at its beauty, or as breaking portions from a piece of statuary, instead of surveying it as constituting a finished whole. The use to which the emblems in such a description may be applied for illustrating truth by way of accommodation, is one thing; the leading intention had by the Holy Spirit in inditing the passage is another. The latter is what we must seek for in the interpretation of the book. The appearance of our Lord to John at Patmos was for representing emblematically the offices now sustained by him as ascended, in behalf of his persecuted people. Hence the garment down to the foot and the girdle about the breast, show him to be a still, a merciful, and gracious High Priest; his head and hairs white like wool, bespeak the eternity of the son of God manifest in the human form of Jesus of Nazareth; his eyes as a flame of fire, denote his omniscience. The exhibition given of him in the Song, ch. v. 10–16, is confined to the single idea of illustrating his loveliness. When a beautiful object is contemplated, the sight of it raises within the mind a train of pleasing emotions. The more these emotions are multiplied, the more intense must be our pleasure. The sight of the Lord Jesus as contemplated by faith, calls up within the soul clusters of ideas of the greatest beauty, and emotions of the greatest pleasure. No one thing will illustrate his loveliness, and therefore many objects of beauty are brought together, and they show by their diversity the variety of shades of beauty there is in Christ. The white and ruddy colour, the most fine gold, and raven's locks, the eyes of doves by rivers of water, the bed of spices and sweet flowers, the gold rings set with beryl, the white ivory overlaid with sapphires, the pillars of marble set on sockets of fine gold, the majesty of Lebanon with the excellency of its cedars; each one of these objects separately pours into the mind a rich stream of beautiful ideas; each reference or emblem forms by itself a pleasing study; all these objects combined and viewed at once, if this were possible, would flood and overpower the heart with beauty. Now when the inquiry is made, What is the beauty of Christ, of which so much is heard? the Holy Spirit says, view these different objects each of which is so beautiful, gather into your mind all the ideas of splendour they shadow forth, contemplate them collectively; and then, with your mind thus dazzled and drunk with beauty, think that the single view of

Christ alone raises in the soul an overflowing flood of beautiful ideas, visions, and conceptions, so deep, so rich, so captivating, that all these things with all their resplendent beauty, can only serve unitedly as one great and glorious but comparatively dim emblem, for representing the beauty of Jesus. The essential thing the mind must search for in this allegorical description is the loveliness of our Lord.

The blessed Saviour thinks of us far more constantly and far more fervently than we, even in hours of deepest emotions, think of him; he contemplates us with far more steadiness and intense interest than we can contemplate Him. How could he illustrate to us the beauty he sees in the saints, the work of his hands as well as the purchase of his blood? How tell the pleasure he has in dwelling on our souls in process of sanctification? Only by illustrations from the beauties seen around us in the world. The eyes of doves, the flock of goats on Mount Gilead, the flock of sheep coming up from the washing, the thread of scarlet, the piece of pomegranate, the majestic tower of David, whereon hung a thousand shields, the twin roes feeding among the lilies, the city Tirzah situated beautifully on Judah's hills, Jerusalem on Mount Zion, magnificent for situation, the jewels wrought by the hands of a cunning workman, the heap of wheat set about with lilies, the tower of ivory, the limpid fish-pools in Heshbon, the tower of Lebanon which looketh towards Damascus, Carmel crowned with verdure and flowers, the stately palm trees with clusters of grapes, the fairness of the moon, the clearness of the sun, the grandeur of an army with banners; all these things are beautiful in themselves, and on any one of them we can dwell long with great pleasure; what is the measure of the beauty pouring into our mind from them all combined? Yet the Lord Jesus says by his Spirit, that all the pleasure we can have from contemplating all these objects is nothing more than a shadow of the pleasure He has in dwelling on the character and ripening graces of his saints. It is no part of our duty to let the imagination so carry us away from the direct line of interpretation as to inquire what there is in the renewed soul answering to the teeth in the body, and why believers "have not such teeth as lions and tigers, but such as sheep have, nor tusks like dogs and ravenous beast, but

even shorn."* ch. iv. 2; as to inquire what is meant by the head of Jesus and in what respects that head resembles the most fine gold; in these and in all other particulars of the descriptions here given, the material point of the comparison lies in the beauty of the impression made and the pleasure thereby excited. The spiritual beauty of Christ could not be set forth intelligibly to our dull and carnal comprehension, otherwise than by reference to the beauty of the human form; the same is true concerning the beauty of the renovated soul of man; and it may assuredly encourage and gratify us to know that the soul of the believer excites in the bosom of Jesus, and the loveliness of Christ excites in the heart of the saint, deeper emotions of beauty and delight than can spring from the contemplation of all the objects of splendour mentioned in these descriptions, combined in one dazzling group.

Truth lies amid the beauties of allegory as the clusters of grapes hang among the branches and leaves of the vine; and as the good husbandman, instead of cutting down the vine and manufacturing it into various shapes according to his peculiar fancy, will gather the fruit and leave the branches untouched, we are using allegories aright only when gathering carefully the clusters of truth hid in their rich and luxuriant folds. This Song is a beautiful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well,—a choice vine brought out of heaven and planted by the spiritual brook of Eshcol, those waters of life along which are found those trees of life, the diversified books of the scriptures. He who gave us this spiritual vine growing so luxuriant over the fountain of the waters of the Holy Spirit for our refreshment in this valley of Baca on our weary pilgrimage to the heavenly Zion, intended that we should gather the fruit not that we should break and destroy the branches,—and that with leaf that never withers these fruits however frequently gathered by passing pilgrims should still bud forth in fresh and ripening clusters, beautiful and reviving to each successive generation even to the end of the world. Much is said about the indelicacy of this poem; but these objections have arisen less from an examination of the book on its own merits, than from looking at the fancies of commentators. With the best intentions, many

* Durham.

of these men instead of trying to soften down and accommodate to present views any expressions apparently too glowing for our days, seem to have exerted their ingenuity for getting from it as many amatory ideas as possible. What we mean may be seen by referring to Bishop Henry's "Commentary." We are free to say that after reading, studying, and meditating on the Song for years, we had never entertained the faintest suspicion that some passages are to be understood in their literal sense; according to his gross and offensive explanations. Let any person who is disposed to find fault with this portion of scripture, take it and read it as it appears to an unprejudiced mind unoccupied with any theories, and then let him read what has been made out of it by commentators; and we are confident he will feel that the Holy Spirit has woven the allegory of a beautiful and delicate texture, and that the offensiveness imputed to it, arises from the perversion of man. We are unable to understand what good can possibly arise from such representations as those of Bishop Percy. But they do positive injury. They degrade the scriptures in the estimation of the irreligious; and they infest the pious mind with associations of which it can be with difficulty divested and which might never have arisen without this foreign aid. Even in the commentaries of such men as Gill and Durham, amid so much that is spiritual and edifying there are interpretations offensive to every thing like good taste, and the more to be regretted because irrevelant, unnecessary, and incorrect. Like the miracles of the fabulous gospels, in contrast with the narrative of the Evangelists, many of the efforts of the human mind on this Song, in comparison with the simplicity of the language, not in the English version, but in the original Hebrew,—show with what superiority the Holy Spirit manages so delicate a subject.

Much of the learning gathered around this subject contributes little, if at all, to that spiritual understanding of the Song, which is the ultimate end of its inspiration. The history of the interpretation of the scriptures gives a pitiable exhibition of the workings of error in the human mind. There is hardly a passage without a variety of interpretations, opinions, and fancies engrafted on it; of these notions this book has received no ordinary share. So far from being able to discover divine truth by its unaided powers, how

does the mind pervert these truths when revealed, and weave from them the most silly dreams. The surmises concerning the structure of the Song, as stated by Bossuet and adopted by Bishop Percy; the fanciful conjectures of Taylor are worth very little save as a literary curiosity connected with the history of the book. It matters not whether the Song combines the characteristics of the Greek drama; whether it contains according to regular divisions the actions of the seven distinct days allotted to the celebration of the Jewish nuptials; or whether, according to Dr. Good, it consists of twelve sacred idyls. Nor is it necessary to spend time in determining the truth or falsity of the opinions that it was written to celebrate the marriage of Solomon; that the bride was the daughter of Pharaoh; or even that the circumstances here recorded are undoubted. Were these points settled beyond all cavil, they could not throw a single ray of light on the spiritual meaning of the allegory. The truths intended to be taught remain the same whether the incidents had existence in reality or in imagination. What benefit could be derived from our knowing there was a specific individual designated in the parable of the sower, who he was, what was his name? The truths and duties inculcated by our Lord, in Luke xix. 12—27, receive no additional force from knowing that the nobleman mentioned was the son of Herod, and the far country to which he went was the city of Rome. The beauty and instructiveness of the allegory in Spenser's Fairy Queen are no more delightful and profitable to him who sees in the different sketches portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Philip Sidney and others, than to him who may happily read the same poetry, ignorant of any such historical allusions. The very nature of an allegory renders it perfectly unimportant whether the incidents be real or imaginary.

We have deemed it more profitable and natural in meditating on this book, to view the bride as the representative of the individual believer rather than of the whole church. As the church is a collection of individuals, its state must be that of the members composing it; and no distinction can be drawn between the love of Jesus for the collective body and his love for the several persons constituting the whole mass. In the glorious temple of revelation, a place which the Lord our God has chosen to cause his name to dwell even in brighter glory than

in the temple of the material world, does this book stand like one of the apartments in the temple on Mount Zion, small indeed, but exquisitely finished, the walls and ceiling of something richer than cedar, richer than bright ivory overlaid with sapphires, and filled with specimens of truth brought down from heaven by the Holy Spirit and here deposited for the comfort and delight of those who love the habitation of God's house and the place where his glory dwelleth. As the man skilled in geology will take a bone of fossil remains from a by-gone world, and from this alone restore the whole fabric of the creature to which it belonged, with a knowledge of its nature and instincts, so may we take the germs of truth, the heavenly fossils laid up for us with such care in the spiritual treasury of this Song, and taught by the Holy Spirit, our souls may develope the system of heavenly love, the mutual affection of Jesus and his saints, a love not native to our earth in its present fallen state, but existing in all the vigour and fulness of an immortal life in yonder heavenly world.

ART. III.—1. *The Constitution of Man*, by George Combe—on Secretiveness. See index.

2. *The Covenant and Official Organ of the Grand Lodge of the United States.* Vol. I. 1842. p. 97, on "The Secret Principle."

3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* 7th Ed. Art. Mysteries.

OUR present object will be to discuss the principle of secrecy in its relations to man's moral and religious obligations. This inquiry is rendered necessary by the rapid extension and multiplication of secret societies of every kind, and the efforts which have been made to justify them upon the ground of philosophy and religion.

The love of secrecy it is said "is an element in the constitution of mind" and "must therefore, in some mode or other, find its appropriate and lawful exercise."* "Secrecy is a virtue," says another, "a thing never yet denied."†

Now to begin with the beginning of our subject, we deny

* The Covenant, p. 97. † Freemason's Monitor.

both of these axiomatic and fundamental data. Secrecy is neither an element of mind nor is it a virtue. Secrecy is a quality of an action, or a state and condition. It is a state of separation, concealment or of being hid from view.* "It is," says Dr. Johnson, "a state of privacy, solitude, retirement. A thing set apart, removed, withdrawn out of sight or view, hidden, concealed, private, is secret."†

Now the love of such a state of isolated separation is not a part of man's nature. It is, on the contrary, opposed to that nature, and painful to it. "It is not good for man to be alone," and hence the social principle, developing itself in love and friendship, in the family and in society, is the chief and characteristic distinction of human nature. It is only "use," as Shakspeare says, that "doth breed the habit in any man"

> "The shadowy desert, unfrequented woods,
> To better brook, than flourishing peopled towns."

This a man may do to "tune his distresses and record his woes," but the truth still remains, that

> "In solitude
> What happiness who can enjoy alone,
> Or if enjoying, what contentment find."‡

Nay, another great poet has said that solitude is but a slight relief from pain, and that

> "The vacant bosom's wilderness,
> Might thank the pang that made it less,
> E'en bliss 'twere wo alone to bear."

Man is not then naturally disposed to be secret in any sense. He is on the contrary naturally social, free, open, unreserved, communicative and candid. These, beyond controversy, are the universal, unvaried, and proverbial qualities of natural and unsophisticated childhood. For a child to love solitude is unnatural, and to be secret and reserved impossible. An ability to endure retirement, to exercise reserve and to maintain secrecy, is a power which man attains with great difficulty, after long experience of the selfishness and evil of his fellow-men,—after much training and indoctrination,—and, after all, in a very feeble and imperfect degree. This is proven by the universal complaints respecting the faithlessness of men. Dr. Johnson

* Webster. † Richardson's Dictionary. ‡ Milton.

doubted therefore whether the quality of retention be generally bestowed, and supposed that commonly secrets were unnatural and incapable of retention.* Chesterfield thought able men alone could exercise secrecy and that mystery was the only secrecy of weak and cunning ones, that is, of the great mass, and he advises therefore that neither fools, knaves, nor young men should be entrusted with them. The use of the word secrecy to express inviolate fidelity to any trust, is the very latest meaning to which it has been appropriated.† This use of the word is derivative, secondary, and figurative, and it indicates, not the primitive and natural condition of society, but that which is most advanced in civilization and philosophy.

Secrecy therefore is not a virtue nor an element of mind and it is perfectly gratuitous to affirm that it is so. No philosopher or divine has ever laid down such a proposition. Until phrenologists undertook to make out every state and exercise of the human mind, and to provide for them a "local habitation and a name" among the cerebral functions, in what system of mental or moral science, ancient or modern, is secrecy enrolled among the principles or the virtues of the mind? It cannot be: because it is a state not an act—a means not an end. No man conceals himself for the mere purpose of being secret, but he is secret because he has a purpose in being so, to accomplish which this is necessary. The truth is, that as the quality of an action or a state of mind, secrecy is neither virtuous nor vicious. The principles on which it rests, and the motives by which it is maintained, give to secrecy the azure hue of virtue, the blackness of vice, or the perfectly colourless atmosphere of indeterminate moral character. Mr. Combe manufactures a faculty of secretiveness out of those of judgment, prudence and will, by which it is that a man is capable of self-restraint and of doing or not doing, speaking or not speaking, according to his view of duty and advantage. With him, however, the principle is supremely selfish,‡ or has in it no moral character whatever.‖

* See Rambler, No. 13. † See Johnson, &c., as above.

‡ As "a moral sentiment" it is represcdted as aiming at the suppression of all that might injure us with others, and at getting hold of every secret by which we may increase our influence and power. But "in itself it does not in any respect desire the benefit of others." p. 62.

‖ "In reference to external objects it is the power of restraining the internal activities of our powers." p. 76.

The love of secrecy implies a state of moral evil, probation and defect. It is only here "we see in part and know in part," and that a veil is drawn around every human heart. It was not so in Paradise. It is not so in heaven, and it will not be so in the Paradise regained. The love of secrecy is in itself considered, an evil and an imperfection. It is a necessity imposed by the introduction and prevalence of sin and all its viperous brood of selfish, unbrotherly and vindictive passions. It was only when man became by sin the enemy of man, that he became afraid of him and therefore reserved, cautious, and secret. In proportion as wickedness prevails men "love darkness rather than light," and wrap themselves around with the garment of concealment. Secrecy is therefore the shield of weakness, the refuge of the oppressed, the altar of the assailed, and the resistance of the enslaved. Where purity dwells it is unnecessary. Where there is peace it is a stranger. Where there is mutual love and confidence, and honorable preference of each other it is needless. And in proportion as the heavenly spirit and principles of religion prevail, and peace, purity, integrity, generosity, disinterested benevolence, and philanthropy shall become personally and universally, the characteristics of mankind, the existence and operation of secrecy will be limited to pure and benign purposes. We now hide much in our bosoms only because there is much which we ought to conceal, and dare not unveil. And secrecy is now a wide-spread principle in business, in politics, in arts and commerce, because it is found to be absolutely essential against the craft, the cunning, the circumvention and the unprincipled selfishness and rapaciousness of human nature.

The origin of secrecy as a quality of human conduct is therefore truly, though suicidally, stated in the organ of the Odd Fellows, when it is said that "it was manifested in the bowers of Eden, where its undue operation, "brought death into the world and all our woes."* (See Gen. iii. 5, 6.) The Freemason's Guide also traces this principle to the very beginning of time,† and very curiously admits that the order certainly included Cain; received its first name from the builders of Babel, and was zealously promoted by Nimrod or Belus in founding

* The Covenant. †

his empire.* The author, however, was certainly unphilosophical in assigning the origin of the order to God as the first "Grand Architect,"† since all his dealings were then open and unreserved, and since a grand architect had actually found his unnoticed way into the garden of Eden, and under the garb of secrecy had seduced our first parents into apostacy, and thus given origin to the principle and practice of secrecy. These writers cannot therefore be contradicted when they teach that from that time to this the love of secrecy has characterized fallen, guilty, fearful, artful, cunning, deceitful and wicked man, in all ages, in all countries, and under all forms of government and religion; and for this reason, that these evils came by sin, and as all men have sinned, all are partakers of them.

Secrecy is to the nature of man what darkness is to the natural world. It is a negation, a privation. It is the absence and inactivity of its regular functions and operations. It limits and restrains. Like darkness it is doubtless made conducive to good ends. It is adapted to cover up what, if left exposed, might prutify and breed corruption; to allay and put to rest stormy winds of passion that might agitate and convulse; to disarm malice of its sting, envy of its hatred, jealousy of its revenge, wealth of its ostentation and poverty of its curse. It is to human nature what drapery is to a dilapidated room, or costume to a very homely person. It veils what would disgust, and reveals only what may please. It hides deformity and exposes what is becoming. It covers the shame and the nakedness of humanity, obscures what is "earthly, sensual and devilish" in our nature, and throws over our defects the mantle of charity.

To every man individually secrecy may be made a means of defence and of self-preservation. It enables us also to "make the worse appear the better," the bad tolerable, and the good attractive. We can thus think the kindlier of ourselves because we are esteemed by others. It is sometimes also a shield of defence. It parries many a hard thrust, and turns aside many a deadly weapon. By avoiding the occasion of offence, it prevents the thirst for revenge. But on the other hand secresy is as potent for evil as it is for good. If it is pal-

* The Freemason's Monitor, p. 17, 18. † Do. p. 17.

liative and protective it is not less pernicious. It puts the dagger into the assassin's hands, envelopes him in darkness, and thus gives him the opportunity of unerring aim and of unredressed wickedness. It enables a man to plot mischief upon his bed, to harbour traitorous and even murderous passions, to support within him all manner of evil purposes, and crafty, tricky, mean and overreaching plans, and to make his heart like a den of thieves, or a cage of unclean birds, or like the house of those wicked spirits whose name is legion, and thus to appear outwardly as fair as the whited sepulchre, while all within is rottenness.

To society at large, as to individuals, secrecy is available for much both of good and evil; it is a wholesome check and preventive of vice, and at the same time an incentive and patron of its utmost excess of riot. It gives to law and justice the hundred eyes of Argus, and yet puts into the hands of lawbreakers the hundred hands of Briareus. It is the club of Hercules by whosoever hands it is wielded. Without it society could not be defended, and with it that society can be grievously wounded and bruised. It is, in short, a two-edged sword, powerful for evil as well as good. Thus is it evident as we have said, that secrecy has in itself no moral character, and is a state or condition which becomes virtuous or vicious according to the motive and end for which it is employed.

From what we have said it may be inferred that the proper field for the exercise of secrecy is where the true and rightful interests of man, individually and socially, are involved. As it regards man individually it may be remarked that what is not necessary to be revealed for the good of others and what may prove injurious to ourselves, we ought to leave in undisturbed secrecy. What the good of others however demands we ought not to conceal from them. This is the only limit to personal secrecy, the law of truth, honour, probity, justice, and humanity. But it is, we apprehend, different in society. Society is constituted with a reference to the common good of each other and of all. It is one body of which there are many members, and in which the common health and vigour is maintained by that which every limb and joint and muscle supplieth. If any member of the body is necessary to perform requisite, but at the same time private and homely offices it is on that very account

uncomely and shameful." Secrecy in the conduct of social affairs is a necessity not a choice, an indispensable instrument but not an ornament, like the drains of a city which are covered from public view. No part of the social body is designedly, and for its own sake, secret. Secrecy is the exception to the rule, "a needs be"—which the moral maladies of the body to some extent renders unavoidable. It is only lawful and proper, therefore, where it is a means to the one end of all society, that is, to the common good of all. The propriety of secrecy in a community "hath this extent, no more." Beyond this, it is the badge of despotism and of inquisitorial power. And hence secrecy may be regarded as no bad standard of the character of any government. In arbitrary governments it is the rule, but in free countries it is the exception and the last resort of prudential necessity. In a free republic like ours everything is and ought to be open, public, and revealed. All participate in the government; all share equally in its benefits and its burdens; are labourers in the common vineyard; and all are under obligations to devote themselves to the common interests of the whole body. Local, sectional, and party association for the special benefit of some to the neglect of others and under the covering of secrecy, is contrary to the genius of our constitution, to the spirit of our laws, and to the etherial temper of our institutions. It is without excuse, unnecessary, and injurious. There is but one "order" in a republic—one "fraternity." "All we are brethren." Our equality of right relates not merely to person, to property, and to the pursuit of happiness, but also to the right of knowing the truth as it regards the nature, rules, and order of every society amongst us. This right, if not jural, is moral. It is necessary to that fraternity, and equality, and to that confidence, trust, and heartfelt sympathy, which are essential to the good will and harmony of the social family. While therefore it may be legal it is certainly not morally expedient or desirable that any part of the social family, dwelling in the same homestead, and having common interests at stake, should separate themselves for their own benefit, and under a veil of absolute secrecy "hide themselves from their own flesh," their own kindred.

It is very certain that as what is allowable in one party is allowable in all, and what is proper for one purpose is equally so for others, that in this way the social family may be divided

into cliques, each occupying a separate chamber, and pursuing separate ends for selfish advantages, under rules of absolute and complete seclusion. And how, we ask, could a family thus separated by secret vows, for private benefit and pleasure, live in peace, harmony and happiness, and how could a kingdom thus torn and divided within itself possibly endure?

But secrecy is not less injurious to friendship than it is to social equality and fraternity. Cicero long ago remarked that secrecy is the ruin of friendship, and an effectual barrier to its foundation. And as in a family there should exist the most tender friendship, there must also exist the most perfect freedom. Secrecy openly avowed would at once erect a wall of separation, and thus chill and freeze the warm current of mutual affection. And so it is in the social as well as in the domestic family. Here all are friends and secrecy is a crime against humanity and the very life of all society.

But secrecy is a still greater violation of the rights of love. For if friendship thus knits society into one body, how much more does love identify the interests of those who are its objects. The very bond of such an union is a community of interest, of happiness and of purpose. The manifest good of others, can alone warrant an infringement of this covenant. The creation therefore of conventional associations which exalt their claims above this supremacy of love, and without absolute and imperative necessity, erect between its objects, an open and avowed wall of separation and of secrecy, is, we apprehend a serious, a fatal, and an unjustifiable interference with the claims of true and whole-hearted love; with the duties of man and the rights of woman; with all the sanctity of that holy relation which requires a man to "leave father and mother and cleave unto his wife," and which "out of twain makes them one flesh." The authority of God and the real interests of others which might lie jeoparded by disclosure will even in such a case undoubtedly justify and even require the withholdment of certain facts; but nothing can justify the subjection of that heart which has been given in covenant devotion and in supreme and entire appropriation to a heart equally and entirely consecrecated to it, to the usurped dominion of a self constituted society.

Secrecy is not therefore a virtue, or in itself considered, proper and commendable. If the object aimed at in any social

combination is praisworthy then the veil of secrecy is unnecessary, and if that end is evil or liable to corruption then it is criminal.* "We should never," says Cicero,† "do any thing out of the hope or expectation of secrecy." "There is," he says, "such a thing as a mutual relation and society amongst all men." . . . "It is true not to tell a thing, is not properly to conceal it; but not to tell that, which people are concerned to know, merely for the sake of some advantage to yourself, I think is: and there is nobody but knows what concealing this is, and who they are that make a custom of it: I am sure not your plain, sincere, ingenuous, honest, and good sort of people; but rather your shifting, sly, cunning, deceitful, roguish, crafty, foxish, juggling kind of fellows. And must it not necessarily be unprofitable for any man to lie under this, and a much longer catalogue, of such black and most odious names of vices?"

Secrecy instead of being in itself a virtue is we contend burdensome and a temptation both to the giver and the receiver; both to the holder and to the recipient. It subjects them to many dangerous equivocations. It cultivates a jesuitical double-dealing with the truth. It cherishes the positive wrong of denying to another his moral right to know the truth. It accustoms a man to convey a false impression, and thus to violate the principle of truth without openly lying. It teaches a man how to use language which conveys one meaning to the hearer while he attributes to it another. It gives to a private and conventional society the authority and power to limit, qualify and restrain promises made previously, made absolutely, made to God and to man. It justifies open or implied falsehood, falsehood by direct misstatement or falsehood by equivocation, and all this in order to preserve a conventional secrecy; and thus it habituates a man to do evil that good may come, and to tarnish his soul with a moral stain at the expense of sacred truth and inviolable love and friendship.‡

Secrecy therefore where it is not made imperative for the good of others, or for our own benefit, and where the interests of others are not at stake, is at war with the very principles of

* See Wollaston's Religion of Nature, p. 265.

† De officiis, B III., ch. 8 to 13.

‡ See Whewell's Morals, Vol. I, p. 222, 272, 280-282, and Bp. Hall's Wks., vol. 6, p. 32, Johnson's Rambler, No. 13.

society; is destructive of the equality, fraternity and social rights of a free republic, is suicidal to the claims of friendship, and of love; and is seriously detrimental to the moral character of those who are under its yoke. Absolute and unqualified, and unconditional secrecy is in its very nature and under all circumstances immoral, unchristian, anti-social and subversive of every interest of truth, of justice, and of righteousness.* "The love of our country," says Cicero, "must swallow up all other loves whatever,"† and no vow or promise or oath or secrecy can justify the withholdment of that which the interests of truth, or justice, or common good require to be made known.‡ This right of society is acknowledged and not denied. "It is," says Mr. Porter,§ "a right of self-protection, a right inherent in all society to know the principles and aims of any association which may be organized in its midst." But where the whole interior, economy, order and proceedings of such a society are veiled under inviolable secrecy, this right is manifestly denied. The secret doings may for aught the public can tell, contravene all published statements, and in many, very many, cases have done so. The character of any society is determined not by its rules but by its members, and hence the noblest ends under the wisest constitutions may be and often have been, employed as the cover for the most immoral, injurious and iniquitous proceedings. But of secret societies, it is our entention to speak in another article.

ART. IV.—*The Apostleship a Temporary Office.*

IN a former article we endeavoured to show that the Apostolic office was not meant to be perpetual; first, because the continuance of the office is nowhere explicitly asserted; secondly, because the name Apostle, in its strict and proper sense, is not applied in the New Testament to any who were not of the original thirteen; thirdly, because the qualifications for the

* See Baxter's Wks., vol. 6, p. 418.
† Offices, B. i., ch. 17.
‡ Baxter, vol. 6, p. 413.
§ Oration before the Order of O. F., Charleston, 1844, p. 21.

Apostleship, as a permanent office in the church, are nowhere stated.

A fourth argument against the perpetuity of the Apostolic office 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.

The only cases which have been alleged are those of Timothy and Titus, and the allegation, with respect to them, is founded not upon the historical statements of the New Testament, but on the instructions given them by Paul, from his epistles addressed to them respectively. Let this fact be duly noted, and borne in mind, when we examine the proof from the epistles. If, in the Acts of the Apostles, Timothy and Titus appeared as the equals and colleagues of Paul, this would create a presumption in favour of their having been Apostles; and this presumption would materially influence the interpretation of his epistles to them; that is to say, expressions of a dubious import might be fairly interpreted so as to agree with the presumption afforded by the history. But what is the true state of the case in this respect? The first mention of Timothy is in Acts xvi. 1, where we read that Paul "came to Derbe and Lystra, and behold a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman which was a Jewess and believed, but his father was a Greek, which was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium. Him would Paul have to go forth with him, and took and circumcised him, because of the Jews which were in those quarters, for they all knew that his father was a Greek."

In the subsequent narrative it is hard to tell whether Timothy is represented as performing even ordinary ministerial functions, as Silas was also in Paul's company, and the plural forms of speech employed may be restricted to these two. In the account of the persecution at Philippi, (Acts xvi. 12, &c.,) Timothy is not mentioned, and in ch. xvii. 4, 10, "Paul and Silas" are mentioned without Timothy, who was still in their company, however, as appears from Acts xvii. 14, 15; xviii. 5. The omission of his name seems to show that he was not so intimately related to Paul, at this time, as Silas was. The office of Timothy would indeed appear to have been precisely that which John sustained in Paul's first mission, namely, that

of an ὑπηρέτης, an attendant (Acts xiii. 5). And accordingly we find Timothy and Erastus afterwards described by an equivalent expression, δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ, (Acts xix. 22). They are called *ministers*, not of God (2 Cor. vi. 4), not of Christ (xi. 23), not of the gospel (Eph. iii. 7), not of the New Testament (2 Cor. iii. 6), not of the church (Col. i. 25), but of Paul, i. e. personal attendants on him. Or if they were *ministers* in a higher sense, their relative position, with respect to Paul was that of διάκονοι to an official superior. Timothy next appears as the fifth in a list of Paul's companions on his return from Greece to Syria (Acts xx. 4), in which list Silas, Paul's colleague in the mission, is not included. These are all the traces which we find of Timothy in the Acts of the Apostles; and in these, he acts no other part than that of an attendant upon Paul.

That he became a preacher of the gospel, a διάκονος in the higher sense, an elder, is admitted. Hence in the epistle to the Romans (xvi. 21), Paul speaks of him as his "work-fellow," a title, however, which would not have been inapplicable to him, even as a lay attendant. In the second epistle to the Corinthians, he mentions him twice, once as his "beloved son and faithful in the Lord," (ch. iv. 17), and again as "one that worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do." (ch. xvi. 10). That this does not imply official equality between them as Apostles, may be argued (1) from the fact, that the terms are perfectly applicable to the ordinary work of the ministry, (2) from the fact, that the phrase "worketh the work of the Lord" is more applicable to the ordinary work of the ministry than to peculiar apostolic functions, (3) from the fact, that in this very epistle, (ch. iv. 17, xvi. 10, 11), Paul directs the movements of Timothy, as those of an inferior.

In the second epistle to the Corinthians, Timothy is mentioned in the title as follows: "Paul, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the grace of God, and Timothy the brother." If Timothy had been then an Apostle, could there have been a more appropriate occasion so to call him? Could it well have been avoided? And if the mention of his apostolic character had been neglected once, could the omission be repeated as it is in the title of Colossians? It may indeed be said that in the title of the epistle to Philemon, Paul is called "a prisoner of Jesus Christ," and Timothy "a brother," whereas both were

prisoners. But in Hebrews xiii. 23, an epistle of the same date, it is said, "know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty;" not to mention that δεσμώτης is no title of office like ἀπόστολος.

This argument from the use of the word "brother," where "Apostle" might have been expected, has been very summarily set aside as follows. "Why does Paul in some places call himself an Apostle, and Timothy only a brother?. . . . Really it is too late to inquire; but the fact has not the least bearing on the point in question. The Apostles were brethren to each other, the elders were brethren of the Apostles, so were the deacons; so were the laity. The circumstance, therefore, of Paul's calling Timothy a brother, while he calls himself an Apostle, proves no more that Timothy was not an Apostle, than it does that he was not a clergyman at all, but only a layman."* This explanation takes for granted, that the argument, to which it is an answer, depends for its validity upon the meaning of the word ἀδελφός, which is not the case. The argument is not that Timothy was no Apostle, because Paul calls him a brother, but because Paul does not call him an Apostle, when he calls himself one. The case would have been substantially the same, if any other title had been given to Timothy, or none at all. If, for example, he had said, "Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and Timothy," the inference would still have been that Timothy was no Apostle, not because Paul describes him as being something else, but because he does not describe him as being an apostle, in the very circumstances where such a description, if consistent with the fact, would seem to be unavoidable. It matters not, then, how vague or indecisive the term *brother* may be, in itself considered, or when separately used. If Paul had merely called Timothy "a brother," the term would have had no distinctive meaning; but when put in opposition to "apostle," it becomes distinctive, as in Acts xv. 1, where "apostles, presbyters, and brethren" are enumerated. Are not three distinct classes here intended? Yet "the apostles were brethren to each other, the elders were brethren of the apostles, so were the laity." But the vague term *brethren*, when connected with the specific titles *apostles* and *elders*, itself acquires a specific meaning. That this is the case in Acts xv. 1, we

* Episcopacy Examined and Re-examined, p. 50.

are happy to prove by the same high authority which denies it in the case before us. "These two classes of ministers are distinguished from each other in the passage which speaks of them as "apostles *and* elders," or which enumerate "apostles *and* elders *and* brethren," or the laity. If "priests *and* levites," if "bishops *and* deacons," are allowed to be distinct orders, if "apostles *and* brethren" are also allowed to be distinct orders, then on the same principle that the conjunction is not exegetical, "apostles *and* elders" may fairly be accounted distinct orders likewise. And as in the expression "apostles *and* elders *and* brethren" severalty is unquestionably implied between the latter of these three classes and the others, it must as clearly be implied between the former two. Apostles were therefore one class, and elders another class, just as the laity were a third class.*" Now there seems to be no reason why the principle thus clearly and correctly stated in relation to the plural forms "apostles and brethren," should not apply to the singular forms "apostle and brother." If it be said that in the latter case, ἀδελφὸς is not the specific designation of a class, as ἀδελφοὶ is in the other, we reply that ἀδελφὸι owes its specific meaning to its combination with two other terms of office. This may be rendered clear by supposing that certain persons had been mentioned in Acts xv. as οἱ ἀδελφοὶ simply, without the use of any other title. The term would then be perfectly indefinite and we should be left to gather from the context or to guess whether it signified apostles, or apostles and elders, or the whole body of believers. But when employed in combination with the other terms, it necessarily acquires a distinct sense analogous to them. Why then is not the same effect produced upon the meaning of the singular ἀδελφὸς by its combination with the singular ἀπόστολος? It is not disputed that the latter is as much a name of office as ἀπόστολοι in Acts xv. There is no reason therefore for supposing that ἀδελφὸς is not as distinctive in its meaning as ἀδελφοί. The perfect analogy between the cases will be clear if we advert to the grammatical principle on which the general expression *brethren*, as used in Acts xv., acquires a specific meaning. Since the name, in itself, was applicable to the apostles and presbyters as well as the lay-brethren, it would

* Episcopacy Examined and Re-examined, pp. 14, 15.

embrace them all unless its meaning had been limited by the express mention of two classes comprehended under the generic term. That is to say, the name ἀδελφοί comprehends apostles, presbyters, and private Christians, and when used alone might be naturally understood to signify them all. But when either of those classes is expressly mentioned by its proper title, the general term, if still used, must of course be used to signify the rest. Thus "Apostles and elders and brethren" means "Apostles and elders (who are not Apostles), and brethren (who are neither Apostles nor elders)." So too "an Apostle and a brother" means "an Apostle and a brother (who is not an Apostle)." Or if it does not, some reason should be given for the use of an expression which seems just as distinctive as the one in Acts xv. We have said, however, that the strength of the argument does not depend upon the meaning of ἀδελφὸς, and that even if that word had been omitted, the natural inference would still have been that Timothy was no Apostle. This admits of illustration from analogy. When Cicero and Antony were consuls, it is scarcely conceivable that a joint official letter from them could have been inscribed as follows: "M. T. Cicero consul et M. Antonius civis Romanus." Such an inscription would have been universally regarded as presumptive evidence that the Antony thus mentioned was not at the time consul; a presumption capable of being removed, but only by positive proof of the most conclusive kind, including the assignment of some reason for the obvious distinction drawn between the colleagues. But why should such proof be required? The terms of the inscription would be absolutely true, even if Antony was consul; for both he and his colleague were Roman citizens, and there is nothing inconsistent with the fact in giving Cicero a specific name and Antony a generic one. All this is true and yet it would be wholly inconclusive for this reason, that the inference, as to Antony's not being consul, was not founded on the truth or falsehood of the title *civis*, nor on its general or specific sense, but on the unaccountable distinction drawn between him and his colleague, by the marked application of the official title to one of them exclusively. This view of the matter serves to show the fallacy involved in the assertion that "Paul's calling Timothy a brother, while he calls himself an Apostle, proves no more that Timothy was not an

Apostle than it does that he was not a clergyman at all, but only a layman." The inference that Timothy was no Apostle is deduced from the distinction so expressly made between him and Paul as an Apostle. There is no such distinction made between him and Paul as a clergyman or minister, and therefore there is no ground for the inference that Timothy was "only a layman." An argument founded on the express mention of a certain office, however little it may prove as to that office, cannot prove as much, because it can prove nothing, as to an office which is not mentioned at all. If we read, in a Presbyterian publication, of "A. B. the pastor and C. D. a member of the church," although we know that according to our constitution, pastors are always elders, and elders are always members of the church, we should certainly infer, with absolute certainty, that C. D. was not a collegiate pastor with A. B., nor would our confidence in this conclusion be at all impaired by being told, that the writer's calling C. D. a church-member no more proved that he was not a pastor than it proved that he was not an elder. If again we read, in an Episcopal journal, of "Bishop Potter and Dr. Dorr," we should certainly regard the very form of the expression as sufficient to evince that Dr. Dorr was not Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, even in spite of the assurance that the terms used no more prove that Dr. D. is not a bishop, than they prove that he is not a presbyter, because bishops, presbyters, deacons, and even laymen, may be doctors. In both these cases, as in that which they are used to illustrate, every reader feels that, if the higher title belonged equally to both the persons mentioned, its being applied to one, and not the other, would be an anomaly requiring explanation, in default of which the inference seems unavoidable, that the application was designed to be exclusive; or, in other words, that when Paul, in two epistles, calls himself "an Apostle" and Timothy a "brother," he excludes the latter from the rank of an Apostle.

In the epistle to the Philippians (ii. 19) we find Paul proposing to send Timothy to them, and describing him as one "like-minded," who would "naturally care for their state," "who had served with Paul in the gospel, as a son with a father." These expressions are not only reconcilable with the supposition, that Timothy, although a presbyter, was Paul's inferior and under his direction, but agree far better with that supposition than

with the supposition that he was Paul's equal, a "supreme" Apostle. In the epistles to the Thessalonians, Silas and Timothy are joined with Paul in the inscriptions. It has never been contended that this of itself implies equality of rank; and that it does not, is sufficiently apparent from 1 Thess. iii. 2, where Paul again appears directing Timothy's movements, and where Timothy is described as a brother, a minister of God, a fellow-labourer in the gospel of Christ, but not as an Apostle. And yet here, if anywhere, the introduction of that title would have been not only natural, but almost unavoidable, if Timothy had been entitled to it.

These are all the cases in which Timothy is mentioned, except in the epistles addressed to himself, and from a view of the whole it would appear, (1) that in the history he is mentioned only as a personal attendant upon Paul; (2) that in the epistles, he appears as a minister of God, a preacher of Christ, a fellow-labourer of Paul in the gospel, all which expressions are applicable to him as a presbyter, and cannot therefore furnish any proof that he was an Apostle; (3) that this agrees perfectly with the fact, that he is never expressly called an Apostle, even when he is particularly mentioned and described, and when the omission of the title could not fail, on any ordinary principle of interpretation, to distinguish him from Paul who is described as an Apostle; (4) that while he is no where represented as performing apostolic acts, he is repeatedly described as being subject to Paul's orders and directions, a fact which harmonizes perfectly with the supposition of his official inferiority, and can only be reconciled with any other by means of forced constructions and gratuitous assumptions. This view of Timothy's official character, as it appears in the other epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, will prepare us for the consideration of the two epistles to himself, and for the question whether these epistles contain proof of his apostleship so clear as to invalidate the strong presumption, that he was officially inferior to Paul.

In the title or inscription of the first epistle, Paul addresses Timothy as "his own son in the faith," and in that of the second as "his dearly beloved son." These epithets prove nothing, as to official rank or power, and are only remarkable as additional instances of the consistent uniformity with which the name Apostle is withheld from Timothy, whether in speaking to or of him.

From 1 Tim. i. 3, it appears that, when Paul went into Macedonia, he left Timothy in Ephesus, that he might "charge some" to "teach no other doctrines, neither give heed to fables," &c. This *charge* he is again said, in v. 18, to have committed to Timothy, according to the prophecies which went before upon him. The phrase "this charge" must refer either to the "ministry" which Paul himself had received, according to v. 12, or to the charge mentioned in v. 3. If it means the former, the word διακονία being applicable to all ranks, proves nothing as to Timothy's apostleship. But that it means the latter appears more probable, (1) from the parenthetical character of the whole intervening passage, vs. 5–17, (2) from the verbal correspondence between παραγγείλῃς v. 3. and παραγγελία vs. 5, 18.

The second chapter contains directions with respect to public prayer, its subjects (vs. 1–7), the persons permitted to perform it (v. 8), and the duty of women with respect to public worship (vs. 9–15). No personal agency is expressly ascribed to Timothy, but it is evidently implied that he was to enforce these regulations, and of course that he was clothed with power so to do.

The third chapter contains the qualifications of bishops and deacons. Here again no personal agency is ascribed to Timothy. It is said, indeed, in v. 14, "these things write I unto thee, hoping to come to thee shortly; but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church," &c. This might possibly refer to Timothy's own conduct in one of the two offices which had just been described, or in both, for the greater includes the less. But when taken in connexion with the "charge" mentioned in ch. i. 3, 18, it seems to imply that these directions are given to him, because he would be called upon to ordain others, and that he might know what qualifications to require.

In the fourth chapter, after enumerating certain heretical and fanatical errors which were to be looked for, Paul says to Timothy, (v. 6) "if thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ," &c. The "brethren," whom Timothy was thus to "put in mind," may have been either brethren in the ministry, or laymen, or the whole Christian brotherhood, including both. In relation to these and some other matters, the Apostle adds, "these things

command and teach," (v. 11). He then commands him to avoid contempt, by setting an example of consistent conduct, purity, &c., adding "till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," (v. 13). This implies that when Paul did come, he would give him more particular directions for his subsequent conduct, a suggestion which by no means favours, though it may not directly impugn, the hypothesis of Timothy's apostleship. The important passage, 1 Tim. iv. 14, having been examined at length in a former article, is here omitted.

In ch. iv. 15, Paul exhorts Timothy to meditate on these instructions, and to give himself wholly to his work, that his improvement (προκοπή) might appear to all. This, to say the least, is more in accordance with the supposition, that the person thus addressed was a young preacher, of the common rank, who had a character to form and influence to gain, than that he was a "supreme apostle," the official equal of the person writing. In the next verse (ch. iv. 16) Paul exhorts him to take heed to himself, (i. e., his personal deportment and hopes), and to his doctrine (what he preached), and to continue in them, because in so doing he would both save himself and those who heard him. Timothy here appears in the character of a preacher, without any allusion to higher powers than might have belonged to an ordinary presbyter.

In ch. v. 1, he is told not to rebuke an elder, but entreat him as a father. Even if πρεσβύτερος had here its technical meaning, as a name of office, the passage would prove nothing as to Timothy's official rank, because upon the supposition that he was a presbyter, nothing could be more natural than the exhortation not to rebuke a brother presbyter, but to entreat him. But that πρεσβύτερος is here used in its primary and proper sense, viz. an old man, is apparent from the whole drift of the passage, and especially from the antithetical relation which πρεσβυτέρῳ sustains to νεωτέρους in v. 1, and πρεσβυτέρας in v. 2. In v. 7 he is commanded to give these things in charge (παράγγελλε), which implies that he was vested with authority to reprove and exhort both old and young, and to regulate the conduct of the church towards widows as the object of their charity. The same may be said of v. 11 and the intervening verses, and indeed of the whole passage ending v. 15.

1 Tim. v. 17 has been a subject of much controversy, as to the questions whether πρεσβύτεροι means *old men* in the popular, or *elders* in the official sense; and whether a distinction is here recognised between the two classes of teaching and ruling elders. The discussion of these questions would be foreign from our present purpose. Whether ruling elders, as distinct from preachers of the gospel, are here spoken of or not, it is admitted upon all hands that the text relates to presbyters or elders in the highest sense, and it will therefore be sufficient for our present purpose, to assume that they alone are mentioned. It appears, then, that Timothy is here directed, at least by implication, to treat certain presbyters with particular respect. This does not necessarily imply that he was their superior; for the very same exhortation might have been addressed to the people, who seem indeed to be included in the exhortation, as the indefinite passive form (ἀξιούσθωσαν) is used, instead of a direct address to Timothy. If Paul, in writing to the whole church, might have said, "Let the presbyters who rule well be counted worthy of double honour," without implying that the presbyters were subject to the body of the brethren, his use of the same form of speech to Timothy cannot possibly prove that they were subject to him. But one thing it does prove, of a very different nature, viz. that Presbyters were *rulers* in the church, and not mere agents of "apostle-bishops." It may be said, that προεστῶτες merely means presiding or holding the first place. This is a question to be settled by usage. In Rom. xii. 8, ὁ προϊστάμενος cannot denote mere rank or conspicuous position, for two reasons; (1) because a man could not be exhorted to hold such a position with diligence; and (2) because all the other terms connected with it denote specific actions. The same thing is evident from the collocation of προϊσταμένους in 1 Thess. v. 12, between κοπιῶντας and νουθετοῦντας, both denoting specific functions of the ministry. In 1 Tim. iii. 4, the bishop is described as one that ruleth well (καλῶς προϊστάμενον) his own house, which can hardly mean one who holds the first place in it, without any original jurisdiction over it. The same remark applies to v. 12, where the deacons are described as ruling (προϊστάμενοι) their children and their households well. Let the same sense which προΐστημι evidently has in these four cases, be applied to that before us, and it becomes plain that presbyters are spoken

of as ruling just as really as bishops and deacons are said to rule their own families. That the rule referred to is that of the church, appears from what follows in the same verse as to labouring in word and doctrine. Here then is an explicit mention of presbyters as rulers in the church, without any reference to a superior human power. Where shall we find an equally distinct ascription of the ruling power to Apostles, not of the original thirteen? If here, as in the case of πρεσβυτέριον, it should be said, that πρεσβύτεροι means Apostles, then, besides that the assumption is entirely gratuitous, Timothy, according to the adverse doctrine, was a hyper-apostolical church-officer, not only equal but superior to Paul, who was a mere Apostle.

"Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses," i. e. upon their testimony, (1 Tim. v. 19). If πρεσβύτερος here means a ruling elder, as distinguished from a preacher, this is nothing more than a direction to a pastor with respect to charges brought against his assessors. But granting that presbyter is here to be taken in its highest sense, what does this verse prove, as to Timothy's relative position, with respect to these presbyters? Simply this, that he was empowered to "receive an accusation" against them. There is nothing said of punishing, condemning, nor even of trying them. The only act mentioned is that of receiving an accusation against them. For anything that appears, the reference might be merely to accusations of a private kind, which Timothy is cautioned not to "receive" without satisfactory proof. But even granting that the reference is clearly to judicial process; it will only prove that Timothy had power to judge presbyters. From this the adverse party argues that, in judging presbyters, he held an office superior to theirs. Let us grant, for a moment, that he did; this superior office may have been a temporary one. The most that can with reason be inferred is that a presbyter was sometimes clothed with extraordinary powers to try other presbyters. Nor is there anything unnatural or contrary to analogy in this hypothesis. The favourite privilege of modern freemen is to be tried by their peers. If an Apostle, or "Apostle-bishop," were accused, by whom would he be tried? By one or more of the same order. Would it follow from this that the judges, in that case, were superior to the accused, in permanent official rank? There is no distinction

between the cases arising from the fact of Timothy alone being referred to. Admitting that the fact is so, although it may be customary and, on the whole, desirable, to appoint a plurality of judges in such cases, there is nothing absurd in the appointment of a single one. Some writers on jurisprudence have contended for such a constitution of all courts as the most safe and reasonable. We do not assert that Timothy was clothed with this extraordinary power. We only assert that this is quite as fair an inference from the proposed interpretation of the verse before us, as the inference that Timothy must have had a permanent office above that of presbyter, because he acted as the sole judge of presbyters.

But what proof is there, that he was to be the sole judge? We have hitherto conceded it, in order to evince, that even in that case, nothing could be proved as to his holding a superior rank. But the concession was entirely gratuitous. It rests on nothing but the fact that Paul's instructions are addressed to Timothy in the second person singular, "Receive not THOU an accusation. "Let us see what would follow from the rigid application of this rule. If the singular form of the command in question proves that Timothy alone was to receive accusations against Presbyters, then the similar form, used in other parts of the epistle, proves that he alone was to "war a good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience, (ch. i. 18, 19); that he alone was to refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise himself rather unto godliness (ch. iv. 7); that he alone was to command and teach these things," (ch. iv. i.); that he alone was to be an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, (ch. iv. 12); that he alone was to give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine (ib. v. 13); that he alone was to meditate upon these things and give himself wholly to them (ib. v. 15); that he alone was to take heed unto himself and to his doctrine, and to continue in them (v. 16); that he alone had hearers, whose salvation or perdition was at stake (ib.) Is it valid reasoning to infer from these commands, that Timothy was the only preacher in Ephesus? If so, where were his presbyters? If not, why should the personal address, in ch. viii. 19, prove anything more, as to the limitation of the powers and duties there referred to, than it does in all the other cases above cited? If it be asked, who else could be included in the

exhortation, the answer is, they who held the same office, or the Presbyters mentioned in the context. It is not necessary for our present purpose, to allege that this must be the meaning. It is sufficient to maintain that it may be, and that consequently there can be no just ground for assuming, that the official acts, ascribed to Timothy, were exclusive acts.

If it be asked, why he is individually addressed, and not as one of a number, it is a sufficient answer, that Paul was writing to him alone, and that the acts to be performed were individual acts, whether performed in connexion with others, or not. If an English Bishop should address a letter to an American one, advising him as to the performance of his duties, might he not naturally say to him, "I hope my brother will be careful, both as to the persons whom he admits to the episcopal office, and as to the reception of charges against them, when they are admitted?" Would it be fair to infer from this, that the person addressed had the sole right of consecrating bishops and of trying them? Would not the inference be at least as fair, that what was said to him individually, had respect to functions, which could only be performed in conjunction with others? And if so, may we not infer the same thing, in the case of Timothy? The bare possibility of such an inference makes it at least unnecessary to infer, that because Timothy is individually addressed, he alone was competent to do the acts commanded. We have no doubt that multitudes of letters have been written to young Presbyterian ministers, in which precisely the same form of address was used, in reference to acts which, according to our constitution, no presbyter can ordinarily perform alone. If then Timothy is not here mentioned as the sole judge of accused presbyters, nothing can be inferred as to his superiority. If, on the other hand, he is so mentioned, it is more natural to infer, that he was clothed with an extraordinary judicial power, than that he held an office which he is nowhere said to have held, by the name of which he is nowhere called, and the very existence of which, as a part of the permanent church-system, is a matter of dispute.

The fallacy of the adverse reasoning may be made apparent by an illustration. Suppose a letter should be found hereafter, addressed to an officer in our navy, and advising him as to his conduct, with respect to certain accusations brought against a

captain in the same service, the address throughout being singular in its form, and without any intimation of its being applicable to any other person. Suppose this passage to occur in the letter, "I would advise you never to receive a charge against a captain without ample proof." A writer on naval history infers from these expressions, (1) that they relate to judicial process, (2) that the person addressed had the sole right of trying the accused, (3) that he must therefore have been superior in rank to a post-captain. Subsequent inquiry shows, perhaps, that the language of the letter related merely to private accusation; or if not, that the person addressed was one of a Court Martial, and in rank precisely equal to the accused party. Are not the supposed words perfectly consistent with this state of the case? If so, what follows, as to the nature of the reasoning, which led to the false conclusion? That it proves nothing, because it proves too much. If, now, this reasoning had been used to prove that the rank of Admiral existed in the United States navy in 1849 (the supposed date of the letter), would it not very much resemble that which is used to prove that Apostles (not of the original thirteen) existed in the primitive church? That argument, so far as it is founded on this passage, takes for granted (1) that the words relate to judicial process against presbyters; (2) that Timothy is represented as the sole judge; (3) that he could not be so, unless superior to presbyters in permanent official rank. Waving the first point, or admitting its correctness, we allege, in opposition to the second, that he need not be supposed to have been the sole judge; and to the third, that his judging presbyters, whether alone or not, is no proof that he was more than a presbyter himself. Indeed, supposing presbyters, as we do, to have been the highest permanent officers in the church, it was only by presbyters that they could be tried, just as in the Protestant Episcopal Church bishops must be tried by bishops, and in the army generals by generals. Whether Timothy tried presbyters by virtue of extraordinary powers, or in the discharge of his ordinary duties as a member of a presbytery, matters not. Either of these suppositions sufficiently accounts for the expressions in the text, and thereby precludes the necessity of assuming a permanent superiority of rank. He is elsewhere described as a presbyter; he is nowhere described as an Apostle;

what he is here described as doing he was competent to do as a presbyter; it is therefore unreasonable to infer, that he was an Apostle.

The same remarks apply to ch. v. 22: "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins." It may even be questioned, whether this relates at all to ordination. Why may it not refer to the gift of the Holy Spirit? If such a reference is even supposable in ch. iv. 14, it is highly probable in this place, where nothing is mentioned but the bare imposition of hands. But granting that it does refer to ordination, it is not said to what office; and why may it not have been to that of deacon? But even granting that it refers to the ordination of presbyters, it does not follow, for the reasons above given, that Timothy alone was to lay on hands. And if he did it alone, he may have done so merely as a presbyter, or by virtue of an extraordinary but temporary power. A solitary Presbyterian minister, in a heathen land or elsewhere, might ordain others, in perfect consistency with Presbyterian principles. Whether Timothy was clothed with extraordinary powers, for a particular occasion, matters not. If he was the only Presbyter in Ephesus, the necessity of the case would authorize him to ordain. The requisition of a plurality is not to be found in scripture. The principle involved in ordination is that it can only be performed by one who has himself been ordained. And this requisition is as really complied with by the act of one ordainer as by that of twenty. For obvious reasons of expediency, the exercise of the power may be limited, in ordinary cases, to a plurality of persons; but the restriction rests upon no principle. If one bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Church can admit others to an order inferior to his own, there is no reason, except usage and arbitrary regulation, why he should not, if necessary, admit one to the same office which he holds himself. Even supposing, then, that Timothy ordained alone, it does not follow that he was superior in rank to presbyters. The Apostle's exhortation would be perfectly appropriate, if addressed to one of a body of presbyters. And we know from Acts xx. 17, that there were other Presbyters in or about Ephesus. The assumption, then, that Timothy held an office superior to that of presbyters, is wholly unsupported by the text before us.

In 1 Tim. vi. 2, Timothy is commanded to teach and exhort servants as to their relative duties. In the next verse, Paul denounces any who should teach otherwise, implying that there were others authorized to teach. This passage, then, relates to powers which Timothy possessed in common with others. From such false teachers he is commanded to withdraw himself. This could hardly be addressed to an ecclesiastical superior, who possessed the sole right of exercising discipline. It applies much better to one among a number of authorized teachers, whose defence against them was to shun their company. In v. 11, the Apostle exhorts Timothy to avoid the sin of covetousness, and to cultivate the Christian graces, to fight the good fight of faith, and to lay hold of eternal life. He speaks of him, at the same time, as having "professed a good profession." This commandment he charges him to keep "without spot, unrebukable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ." (vs. 13, 14). This refers evidently to the immediately preceding exhortation, as to the seeking of salvation, and the cultivation of the Christian graces. It cannot, therefore, be used as an argument to prove that Timothy had not a temporary commission of an extraordinary kind. In vs. 17–19 Paul tells him what exhortations he should give to rich men. In v. 20 he charges him to be faithful to his trust, and on his guard against a spurious philosophy. All these advices are perfectly appropriate, if addressed to a mere presbyter or ordinary minister.

The second epistle is addressed by "Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ," to Timothy, not as a brother-apostle, but as a "dearly beloved son." Such an address would certainly not have been unnatural, even to an official equal, much inferior in age. But it cannot be denied that the continual omission of the apostolical title, in the very places where we might expect it, is somewhat unfavourable to the truth of the position, that Timothy was a "supreme Apostle." In the sixth verse, Paul says: "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." This relates either to the gift of the Holy Ghost or to ordination. If the former, it proves nothing as to Timothy's official rank, since mere disciples not only received but conferred the Holy Ghost, as appears from the case of Ananias, Acts ix. 10, 17. If

it relates to ordination, it must have been either to the deaconship, the eldership, or the apostleship. The first has never been alleged. If it was to the eldership, the same transaction is referred to as in 1 Tim. iv. 14, from which, as we have seen, it may be proved that presbyters ordained. Or even granting that the ordination was performed by an Apostle, if it was to the office of a presbyter, Paul's twice exhorting him to stir up the gift conferred upon him in his ordination to the eldership, strongly implies that he was nothing more, and indeed that this was the highest permanent office in the church. If, on the other hand, the ordination spoken of is to the office of Apostle, then it follows that Timothy received this ordination in the interval between the two epistles, and, consequently, that the powers ascribed to him in the first epistle (including those of discipline and ordination) belonged to him as a presbyter. The same remarks apply to v. 14, "that good thing, which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." In v. 13, Timothy is exhorted to hold fast "the form of sound words" which he had heard from Paul, who still addresses him as his pupil and inferior, without the least allusion to his being a colleague and "supreme Apostle."

Ch. ii. 12. "Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus; and the things that thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also." Timothy is here directed to ordain teachers. From this it is inferred that he held an office superior to that of Presbyter. But this assumes (1) that he was to ordain alone, (2) that a person cannot be admitted to a given rank, except by one who holds a higher rank. The first, as we have seen, is a gratuitous assumption. The second would render it impossible to perpetuate the highest order. If an Apostle could ordain Apostles, it is not to be assumed as an impossibility that a Presbyter should ordain Presbyters. How can it be argued that, because Timothy ordained Presbyters, he must have been more than a Presbyter himself, any more than that because Paul (according to the adverse theory) ordained Apostles, he must have been something more than an Apostle? If the latter conclusion does not follow of course, neither does the former. If an Apostle could ordain Apostles, the natural presumption (in the absence of all proof to the con-

trary) is that Presbyters could ordain Presbyters. This would be a natural presumption, even if the perpetuity of the apostolic office could be proved. How much more when the antecedent probabilities are all against it, and when this very text is relied upon, as one of the few passages which prove it. The question is whether peculiar apostolic powers are ascribed to Timothy. The proof of the affirmative is, that he ordained Presbyters. The very same fact we adduce as proof that Presbyters ordained. If we have no right to assume that he acted as a presbyter, still less right have our opponents to assume that none except apostles ordained. We know that Timothy was a presbyter, but we do not know that he was an Apostle. It is, therefore, more allowable to assume that Timothy ordained as a presbyter, which we know him to have been, than that he ordained as an Apostle, which we do not know him to have been.

In this same chapter Paul exhorts Timothy to endure hardness, (v. 3) to consider what he heard or read, (v. 7), to put the people in remembrance of these things, charging them before the Lord that they strive not about words to no profit, (v. 14.) "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth, but shun profane and vain babbling, for they will increase unto more ungodliness," vs. 15, 16. How much more natural and appropriate are these advices, if addressed to a mere Presbyter than if addressed to a "Supreme Apostle;" and how strange is it that among these exhortations, having reference to the duties of a Presbyter, not one should have crept in, relating to any peculiar apostolic function. How strange that Paul should have nothing to say to his brother-Apostle about apostolic powers and duties, while he exhorts him to "flee youthful lusts," (v. 22), to "follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace," &c., (v. 22), to "avoid foolish, and unlearned questions," (v. 23.) Instead of telling him what a Supreme Apostle ought to be, he tells him that "the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle, apt to teach, &c., (v. 24.) It may be said, indeed, that many of these advices have respect to common Christian duties, and that it might as well be argued that Timothy was a private Christian, as that he was a mere Presbyter. And so it might, if there were not mingled with these exhortations to common duties, some which clearly and confessedly relate to those of Presbyters. But as there are none

which indubitably recognise Timothy as an Apostle, the cases are not parallel. In ch. iii. 14, after describing the false teachers and seducers, who were to be looked for, Paul exhorts Timothy, not as might have been expected on the opposite hypothesis, to interpose his apostolical authority, but to continue in the thing which he had learned, knowing of whom he had received them. And on what ground does he exhort him so to do? Not because he was an Apostle, but because he had fully known Paul's doctrine, manner of life, &c., (vs. 10, 11), and becaue he had himself from a child known the holy scriptures, (v. 15), which were able to make him wise unto salvation, and which were given that the man of God might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works, (v. 17.) Here again the most tempting opportunities of mentioning Timothy's apostolic rank, and insisting on his apostolic duties, are neglected. This is still more strikingly the case in the last chapter, where, in view of his own approaching death, the apostle exhorts Timothy to a faithful and diligent discharge of duty. Here, if anywhere, something might be looked for which should set at rest the question of Timothy's official superiority to the presbyters at Ephesus. But what are the exhortations given him? To preach the word, to reprove, rebuke, and exhort, to be watchful, to endure afflictions, and to do the work of an EVANGELIST.

This last word has been taken in a twofold sense. Some suppose it to denote a presbyter clothed with extraordinary powers, for a limited time and a specific purpose. Others understand by it a *preacher* indefinitely, without any reference to his official rank. The former supposition, though perhaps incapable of demonstration, is far more probable, and in better keeping with the tenor of the New Testament, than the supposition that Timothy was an Apostle. If adopted, it explains completely why he was commissioned to ordain alone (as alleged by our opponents), and to discipline presbyters. But let it be granted that the word means nothing more than *preacher of the gospel;* it only furnishes another instance of the extraordinary fact, that every title and description, which could be applied to Timothy, seems to have come into the mind of Paul more readily than that of Apostle, which he seems indeed to have strangely forgotten, not only as respects the word, but the thing which it denotes. However then we may explain the word *evangelist*,

it favours our conclusion. If it means nothing more than a *preacher*, it indirectly strengthens our presumption that Timothy was no Apostle. If it means an extraordinary temporary officer, it precludes the necessity of supposing that he was more than a presbyter, even on the supposition that he exercised more than presbyterial powers.

In ch. iv. 9, Paul commands Timothy to come to him, as soon as possible, and in v. 21 he fixes the time, before which he wishes him to come. The reason which he gives is, that Demas, Crescens, Tychicus, and Titus had left him. Luke was the only companion or ὑπηρέτης who still continued with him. Does not this imply that Timothy was wanted to supply their place? This is rendered still more probable by the direction which is added, (v. 11), "Take Mark and bring him with thee, for he is profitable to me εἰς διακονίαν," i. e. as a διάκονος, in which capacity both Mark and Timothy had travelled with Paul before, as we have seen. With this, too, agrees the subsequent direction, as to the cloak and parchments, from which of course, nothing can be proved, as to Timothy's official rank, but which, by a vast majority of readers, must be seen to agree better with the supposition of his inferiority than with that of his equality. And thus at the close of Paul's last epistle to Timothy, we find the latter acting in the same capacity as when he first appeared in history, viz. that of a personal attendant upon Paul, and subject to his orders. He is here re-called as one who had been absent on a temporary service. This serves to corroborate the conclusion that, if Timothy did exercise powers above those of presbyters, it was by virtue of a special commission.

Having now shown that the case of Timothy presents no exception to the general statement from which we set out, we shall reserve the case of Titus for a future opportunity.

Art. V.—*The Life of Ashbel Green*, V. D. M., *begun to be written by himself in his eighty-second year, and continued till his eighty-fourth; prepared for the press, at the Author's request*, by Joseph H. Jones, Pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. New York. Robert Carter and Brothers. 8vo. 1849. pp. 628.

There has been a long expectation of this work; for before the death of the Reverend Dr. Green, it was understood among his pupils and admirers, that he was preparing to leave an autobiography. Indeed this venerable man so far survived almost all the friends of his prime, that if his life was to be written at all, it seemed necessary that it should be written by himself. This has actually been accomplished, and we have the result before us, to an extent for which we were scarcely prepared.

The life of Dr. Green connects itself most remarkably with the history of our church, comprising as it does the two remarkable epochs of the organization under the first General Assembly, and the secession of the New School party in 1837. Still more real and important was Dr. Green's connexion with our whole internal polity, the establishment of our missions, and the founding of our Theological Seminary. There is scarcely an important event in the history of our General Assembly, with which this excellent man was not in some way connected, and it would be difficult to name any one of whom it can be said that he was more devotedly attached to Presbyterian Institutions. The volume now published will therefore be peculiarly interesting to the members of this church; but it likewise presents points of attraction to other classes of readers. Dr. Green, in common with the whole Presbyterian body throughout our territory, was a staunch American Whig: as such he was intimately related to the very highest class of patriotic statesmen, admitted to the counsels of leading minds in church and state, bred in the most ardent temper of revolutionary times, and closely observant of those events which form the materials of our constitutional history; and of all these particulars he has made accurate and often minute record, with that honesty and candour which were his characteristics. He was not less prominent, in a high literary position, as president of a great and venerable college,

the alumni of which, during a very long period, are familiar with his name and services. Then, in the autumn of his fruitful life, he came reluctantly but boldly into an ecclesiastical conflict, which was severe and critical; in regard to which he was grievously misrepresented; but through which he passed, if not without obloquy, yet exempt from every charge of duplicity or malice. It may be added, that at a time when our periodical literature was as yet immature, he devoted his talents to the diligent and laborious employment of the press, as an engine for defending evangelical truth. The summary, therefore, of such experiences could not fail to contain matter of enduring interest.

From the prefatory observations it appears that the editor is not responsible for the body of the work, which indeed is wholly from the pen of the autobiographer. The closing chapters however, at the request of the subject himself, are due to the Rev. Dr. Jones, and this editorial work has been accomplished with affection, respect, modesty, and judgment. Availing himself of the aid of several competent witnesses, all distinguished friends of Dr. Green, the editor has added the abundant results of his own near observation. The estimate of this venerated clergyman as here given is highly favourable, and yet guarded: it is happily expressed and condensed within reasonable bounds. In a word, we see nothing of editorial work, in which the numerous admirers of Dr. Green ought not to find gratification. As to style and even typography, the volume is attractive in a high degree.

In a record so extensive as this, and made in this manner, there will of course be many details which are far more valuable in the eyes of the writer and of intimate friends than they are to the public. This is remarkably exemplified in the volume before us. At the same time we have perused many parts of it with awakened feelings, and most parts of it with instruction and benefit. If Dr. Green kept an exceedingly minute diary of his smallest variations in corporeal and spiritual health, the lights and shadows of his daily picture, we regard his authority in the case as very weighty; and though our judgment differs in this particular, it also differs we know from the prevalent opinion of religious biographers. Justice requires us to add, that the work here published is not such a diary, but a newly

written memoir, from his own hand, founded on the more accurate memorandums of such a diary; in this it may be likened to the Confessions of Augustine. The book will be almost universally read by such of our readers as knew Dr. Green; for the sake of others we will offer some specimens of its character.

Ashbel Green was the son of the Rev. Jacob Green, of Malden, in Massachusetts, but long settled in the ministry at Hanover, Morris county, New Jersey, and was born at Hanover, July, 6, 1762. To those of us who remember Dr. Green's bible-recitations in college, it is pleasing to remark the origin of this scheme in his mind; it was the recollection of his good father's family custom, namely the prescribing five chapters of the Bible to be examined on as a Sabbath-day's exercise. "The Rev. Robert Finley," says he, "who was afterwards settled at Baskenridge, was then [when Mr. Green was tutor in college] a member of the Freshman class; and he was the first clergyman except myself, that I ever heard of, as instituting a Bible class in his congregation. When I became the president of the college in 1812, all the students were formed into a Bible class, and I not long after heard of what I have stated in regard to Doctor Finley. Perhaps this valuable instruction of Bible classes may be traced into my father's family."

The early years of the American Revolution coincided with the boyhood of Dr. Green, and of this period his reminiscences are invaluable, containing original anecdotes never before committed to writing and important to the historian. Connected with these are lively sketches of the state of manners and arts in that day, which throw our present condition into high relief.

"Dr. Young, who lived to be an octogenarian, exclaimed—'At the age of fourscore, where is the world into which we were born?' referring to the death of coevals and the rising up of a new generation. But if this was proper and pithy in the capital of Britain, with how much greater propriety and emphasis may it be uttered by an inhabitant of the United States, at the age contemplated? Not only will he have survived the most of his contemporaries, and seen them succeeded by a new race, but the whole face of nature and of society will have been changed during his lifetime. I can remember the time when there were dense forests where there are now fertile fields; and when agriculture in the whole United States did not furnish an Irish potato which would now be thought tolerable. Cities and towns, within the scope of my recollection, have sprung into being, in number and beauty, and with a rapidity, of which the world does not

afford another example. Cincinnati, and all the other towns in what are now called the Western States, and, indeed the States themselves, had no existence in the days of my youth. I well remember that it was at college, about the twentieth year of my age, that I first heard of a fertile region of country, called Kentucky. You know, I suppose, that the capital of this State received its name in honour of the Lexington in Massachusetts, where British troops were first resisted by arms. Pittsburgh, at this time, was just coming into notice, and Baltimore was yet quite a small town. Philadelphia was scarcely a third as large as it now is. The extension of New York city has been still greater; and what is now called Western New York was then literally a howling wilderness. Boston has been greatly enlarged; and the towns of the eastern States generally, as well as those in the south, have, many of them, come into existence; and those which before had being, have been much beautified, and in every way received great improvements.

As to canals, steamboats, railroads and cars, every body knows that they are things of yesterday's production. Even turnpike roads did not exist in our country till long after a period to which I can look back. There was something that was called a turnpike road, although it little deserved the name, across Horse Neck, in the state of New York, in 1790. The first good turnpike was that between Philadelphia and Lancaster. A great clamour was raised against this by some of the German population of Pennsylvania; and several owners of farms opened their fields adjoining the turnpike gates, to let all who were so disposed pass without paying toll. Experience, however, soon not only reconciled the Germans and other opposers of the turnpike to this improvement, but made them its ardent friends, and prepared them to be advocates for other meliorations.

"Before our revolutionary war, there were no more than seven colleges, or institutions authorized to confer degrees in the arts, in the whole of British America. These were Harvard, in Massachusetts; Yale, in Connecticut; King's College, now Columbia, in New York; Nassau Hall, at Princeton; and Queen's College, now Rutgers, at Brunswick, in New Jersey; a college and charity school, since grown into the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia; and William and Mary College, in Virginia. The number at present is six or seven-fold more numerous—far more so than is really advantageous to the cause of sound science. Academies and common schools have multiplied in like proportion, and are not obnoxious to the like censures.

I will just set down, as they occur to me, some of the most important scientific discoveries or improvements, which have been made during the period to which my memory extends. I thus notice, the planet Georgium Sidus, or Herschel; and the four smaller planets, Ceres, Pallas, Juno and Vesta, denominated asteroids, by Dr. Herschel, and several satellites of the larger planets; nearly the whole of what is called modern chemistry; the application of steam to the useful arts. The great power of steam had been long known, but its application (particularly after Watt's famous discovery

or invention,) to engines, mills and boats, and a variety of other purposes, is comparatively of recent date. To these I only add ballooning, vaccination, and the life-boat. This enumeration, I am well aware, is very far from being completo, and I with design omit all military improvements, or facilities for the destruction of human life."

A lively picture is given of the tumultuous and indignant patriotism which manifested itself in New Jersey during the war. Mr. Jacob Green was a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, and the county in which he lived was beyond most exposed to alarms from the British. These causes led young Green to enter with great warmth into the service of his country, so that even in his fifteenth year, in the coldest December weather, he stood sentinel at a bridge over the Passaic, and indeed arrested a straggler who had not the countersign. We remember no memoirs which more strikingly set forth what the author calls the 'domestic military spirit' of our revolutionary times; while the events related in detail constitute a long but animating chapter in our national history, especially in regard to the state of New Jersey.

The religious education of Mr. Green did not prevent his being visited with infidel suggestions. Being greatly shaken, he entered on a course of reading, but the Scriptures themselves, as in many other instances, cleared away his doubts. In this period, between 1778 and 1782, occurs the following delightful record, which many a youth ought to read with a glow.

"It was not long before I was made to feel, that if the Bible contained revealed truth, my state and prospects were fearfully alarming. Such a seriousness as I had never known before, pervaded my mind: yet I still kept my feelings entirely to myself. I sought and found a place for retirement and devotion, in a copse of wood, on a piece of rising ground, a short distance from the house in which I resided. In this beautiful little grove was a large rock, precipitous on one of its sides, and from its base, and nearly in contact with it, had sprung up a young chestnut tree. On the bark of this tree, I cut with my penknife, in large letters, 'Holiness to the Lord,' that these solemn words might meet my eye whenever I came to the place of meditation and prayer. Being engaged at this time in teaching a numerous school, chiefly but not wholly of grammar scholars, my time was much occupied; but once a day at least, if not forbidden by the state of the weather, I paid a visit to my favourite grove, and spent some time sitting at the foot of the tree, in solemn meditation, concluded with a prayer, on my knees, or standing and leaning against the rock. Sweet and sacred spot! it is at this moment before my mind's eye, in all its loveliness. Some

ten or twelve years after I was an ordained minister, and journeying near the place, I made an attempt to find it, for its remembrance has ever been precious. But my attempt was not successful. I found with great regret, that the whole surface of the ground on which the grove had formerly existed, had entirely changed its aspect. The trees had all been cut down, and the field which contained them had been ploughed up for cultivation; and as there were several rocks in the field, I could not with certainty even identify the one that was so dear to my memory."

In 1781, after having been a teacher, young Green entered the Junior class in the college of New Jersey. He had intended to go to Yale, and was prevented by what might seem to be the most trifling occurrence. But he adds, "the whole of my subsequent life has taken its complexion and its course from the college with which I then became connected." The following statements will gratify graduates of New Jersey College, and perhaps induce them to procure the work. We have opportunity of knowing that no remembrances of a college life linger more affectionately in distant alumni, than those of the literary societies.

"In my last letter, I mentioned that the Cliosophic Society had repaired their hall in the college edifice, in which their meetings were held. The American Whig Society had not, at that time, resuscitated their institution, after the revolutionary war. Some account of its revival will form a part of a brief statement I shall give you of the origin and progress of both those rival societies, which must be unknown to you, as your college course was not passed at Nassau Hall. Before Dr. Witherspoon's accession to the presidentship of the college, the tradition in my time was, that two voluntary associations of the Students had existed, under the names of 'The Well Meauing' and 'Plain Dealing' societies; but that shortly after Dr. Witherspoon entered on his office, these societies changed their names or titles. The Well Meaning association took the name of Cliosophic, the Plain Dealing assumed the appellation of American Whig. At their origin, these societies had a sectional patronage. Those students who came from the eastern part of New Jersey, and from New York and New England, almost uniformly united with the former, and those from West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the southern States, joined the latter. This sectional patronage was entirely done away by the revolutionary war. Since that period, both societies have included members from every part of the United States. My room-mate and myself were principally instrumental in reviving the Whig society. Very soon after our matriculation, I drew up a paper, pledging the subscribers to become members of this society, provided the original constitution could be obtained, and enough of the old members could be collected, and should be disposed to receive us to their fellowship. Both the constitution and the former minutes of the society had been care-

fully preserved by a graduate of the college, and were forthcoming at the request of the old members, when assembled for the purpose of admitting the pledged associates; and on inquiry, we found that a lady in the town had preserved some of the furniture of the old hall, which she was willing and desirous to return. The inventory was not long, and I will give it: a looking glass of considerable size, a pair of brass andirons, and two octavo volumes of Johnson's abbreviated dictionary, constituted the whole. The old members admitted nine of us as their associates, and the faculty of the college granted us the privilege of holding our meetings in the library room of the college, till our hall should be repaired."

"The halls of those societies have had three locations; the first in the fourth story of Nassau Hall, in the two half rooms, which, with the entry between them, fill up, in that story, tho front projection of the edifice. The second location was in the upper story of the present library, which they entirely occupied. Within a few years past, two large and handsome structures have been erected for their accommodation, at the south end of the back campus, The Cliosophic Society occupy that on the west side of this campus, and the American Whig that on the east. Each of these societies now possesses a large, well selected, and very valuable library. The funds for the erection of the new structures were obtained by subscriptions from their graduate members, together with the contribution of those who were still in the classes of the college. The graduate members are, at present, very numorous. Among them are found the trustees and officers of the college, many of the most distinguished officers of the General and State governments, of the past as well as the present time, and a large number of literary and scientific individuals in private life—both societies confer diplomas on their members. At all times, the greatest secrecy has been enjoined on all who belong to these associations, in regard to their laws, usages and transactions—except that on public occasions they wear a badge, to indicate that the wearer is either a Whig or Clio. Between these literary corps, there has always oxisted an ardent spirit of rivalry, which, once beforo our revolutionary war, and once sinco, broke out into a paper war, which procoeded to such a length that the authority of the college was obligod to interfere and prohibit its continuance. Of late years, I believe the members of theso socicties form friendships with each other, and have more cordial intercourse generally, than was customary in former times; yet there is still a high spirit of competition, especially for what are called the honours of college. The influenco of these societies, when they are rightly conducted, is, beyond a quostion, highly salutary. I used to think and say, that I derived as much benefit from the exercises of the Whig Society, whilo I was a member of collego, as from the instructions of my teachers."

In the year 1783 Mr. Green received his bachelor's degree. The president of the College had recently been a distinguished member of Congress, and that body itself had been accommodated in Nassau Hall, and now adjourned to attend the Com-

mencement. They appeared on the stage therefore, in the old Princeton church, with the French and Dutch ambassadors, and the Commander in Chief. The valedictory oration had been assigned to young Green, and he concluded it with an address to General Washington. The General coloured as he was addressed. The next day as he was going to a Committee of Congress, Washington met the orator in one of the long passages of the College, stopped, and took him by the hand, and complimented him highly on his address, further sending his best wishes to the recently graduated class. General Washington made a donation of fifty guineas to the trustees, which they laid out in a full-length portrait of him, painted by the elder Peale; a work of art well remembered by all collegians, as predominating over the Junior benches in the old chapel; it contains the only portrait known to us of the lamented Mercer. Here it has long occupied the place, if not the very frame, of a preceding portrait of George the Second. This was decapitated by a cannon ball during the battle of Princeton. Passing from this to Mr. Green's licensure, we give another extract:

"My first public service after being licensed to preach was performed in the church at Princeton, then statedly supplied by Dr. Witherspoon, who accompanied me to the pulpit. While under his direction, in my theological training, he had earnestly recommended his own mode of memoriter preaching; and, accordingly, my initial sermon was delivered without the appearance of notes; although I persisted, in opposition to his remonstrance, to place them under the Bible, from which I had read the chapter that contained my text. I had, however, no occasion to recur to them, for I had committed every sentence to memory, with as much accuracy as I ever did a grammar rule. After the worship was over, he tapped me on the shoulder, and said, 'Well, well, continue to do as well as that, and we'll be satisfied'—the only praise that he ever gave me to my face."

It is scarcely needful to ask attention to the history of our first General Assembly. The notices here given by Dr. Green though exceedingly useful are for that very reason not to be offered in abstract or abridgement. The incident respecting the "tolerating a false religion" is worthy of special note. Another passage on a subject now much misunderstood, admits of being extracted: it expresses a judgment to which we call the attention of our readers, a judgment moreover which we venture to predict will become that of the most advanced portions of our Presbyterian churches in dense districts. The experi-

ence of the Reformed Church, in its palmy days, as well as the general principles of presbytery, is in favour of collegiate charges.

"The difficulties attending collegiate pastoral charges have nearly, if not wholly, banished them from the Presbyterian Church. Why is this? There certainly are congregations in our connexion that cannot be adequately served by a single pastor. The primitive church, even in the apostolic age, appear to have had more than one pastor. Collegiate charges were common at the period of the Protestant reformation. They are still common in Scotland, and in the Dutch Church of Holland, and in this country. For myself I can truly say, of the three colleagues whom I had been connected, that I never had a difficulty with one of them. We lived together in uninterrupted brotherly affection and confidence. Let no pious minister consent to be the colleague of a man whose piety he thinks very questionable. But with one of whose personal religion he has no doubt, let him make an agreement, that each shall pray earnestly for the other in the daily prayers that he offers for himself, and that each shall defend his colleague's character, as if it were his own, and there will be between such men very little danger of alienation. To this practice, under the blessing of God, and not to my own prudence or good nature, I attribute my happiness in the several collegiate charges that I have sustained.

"Dr. Sproat, my first colleague, was 'an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile.' His common appellation in addressing me was, 'My son,' and if he had been a natural father I could scarcely have loved and honoured him more than I did. I visited him very frequently, and in all cases, when an honourable distinction in our pastoral charge was to be made, and in appearance it belonged to me, I not only offered it to him, as his due, being senior pastor, but I insisted on his taking it. He had three unmarried daughters, and my wife so gained their confidence, that if she had been their own sister, they could hardly have loved her more, or have respected her so much.

"My second colleague was the Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel. He had been my pupil both before he entered college, and during his whole academical course. It was therefore natural that I should love him, and that he should respect me, and this was verified in the whole course of our ministerial connexion, which indeed lasted only two or three years, when he accepted a call to the Dutch Church in New York. But a warm friendship continued between us till the day of his death.

"My last colleague was the Rev. Dr. Jacob J. Janeway. We were colleagues for thirteen years. It was with him, that I had an explicit understanding, that we should remember each other in our daily prayers, and treat each other's character, as if it were our own. The consequences were most happy. We laboured and loved as brethren during the whole period of our collegiate connexion, and an untroubled and ardent attachment has existed between us to the present hour. I still pray for him daily in my private devotions."

A commencement at Harvard, fifty-eight years ago, is very entertaining: and it is to be observed that there are no readers of this volume who will find more valuable pickings, in respect of dates, and biographical anecdotes, concerning the chief men in church and state, than our New England neighbors: among those mentioned are Dr. Styles, Dr. Dwight, Dr. Spring, Dr. Edwards, Dr. Dana, Mr. Bancroft, father of our late minister at London, Mr. Morse, father of the eminent Morses of New York, Samuel Adams, Mr. Belknap, the two Elliots, Mr. Eckley, and Dr. Hopkins.

"Set out in the morning with Mr. Eckley for commencement. The Governor invited us to breakfast with him, but we could not go. We took a chaise at Charlestown bridge, and rode on to Cambridge. The road was crowded with carriages, and men and women, and boys and children, all going to commencement. We arrived at the college, and by favour as a stranger, I walked in the procession with the overseers. The exercises were introduced with prayer by the president, who is awkward enough in the pulpit. In prayer he frequently hesitates, and sometimes recalls a word; yet on the whole he performs the duty in a judicious and sensible manner. The distortion of his features when he is speaking, is the worst thing about him to a person who is looking at him. We had two forensic disputations, and one syllogistic. The syllogistic was in Latin, and in my opinion, of little more use than to give a number of indifferent speakers the opportunity of saying something in a language not generally understood. The negator in repeating his position, called the word corpŏrum, corpōrum, which the president corrected from the pulpit, and with which I was well pleased. The oration, disputations and dialogues, which were in English, were in general pretty well composed and tolerably spoken. The speaking however, was for the part far inferior to the composition, and below what I have seen elsewhere. The best oration was one on the French Revolution, spoken by a candidate for the master's degree. At three o'clock wo adjourned for dinner, and on invitation, I dined in the dining hall with the corporation. This hall will accommodate two hundred persons, and each graduate at taking his degree, pays a certain sum, (I believe it is three dollars,) and in consequence is entitled to dine in the hall on commencement day, at the expense of the corporation, as long as he lives. The class who are candidates for degrees perform the office of waiting-men or servants at this dinner, and for this purpose they lay aside their college gowns and coats, and gird themselves with a towel, or throw it over one of their shoulders. It was not a little curious to me to see the orators of the day metamorphosed into servitors in a few minutes, and I could not prevail upon myself to call upon them to do any thing I wished. Yet I am not quite certain but that it is an useful custom, tending to teach the youth humility, and the important lesson that it is an honour as well as a duty to wait on their superiors in age and station. They do not dine until their *betters*

have risen from the table. After dinner we sang a psalm. This was a good old primitive and pious custom; but in the present state of things it appears rather formal, and by some it is treated with reproachful levity at the time of its performance. Indeed it is affecting to a serious mind, to observe in many respects what an incongruity there is produced by uniting the forms and customs of the good old Puritans with the latitudinarian and licentious spirit in regard to religion which is now prevalent.

"After dinner we proceeded again to the church in procession. The first speaker had scarcely begun his oration when he was interrupted by a noise in the gallery. Two men, who were probably a little intoxicated, were quarreling about a seat or a favourable stand. Some of the troop of light-horsemen who had escorted the governor, went into the gallery with drawn swords, and one of them seized one of the disturbers by the collar and a scuffle ensued between them. The light-horsemen pressed forward to support their companion, and the countrymen from every part of the gallery cried out, 'Let him alone, don't strike him.' The countrymen eventually overcame the troopers, and as I was informed took some of their swords from them and threw them away. The governor at length rose and ordered the sheriff of the county to do his duty forthwith. The sheriff went forward with his white staff and no one attempted resistance. He took the disturbers and put them in prison. I consider this affray as marking the spirit of Americans in general, and of the New Englanders in particular. They will submit to the white staff of peace and civil order, but they scorn to be terrified by red coats and drawn swords, and I hope they will ever retain this spirit. The music composed the assembly when the rioters were removed, and the speaker resumed his subject and possessed a profound attention. When all was finished, except the valedictory oration, the president conferred the degrees. He sat as he did it in a very antique two-armed chair which is a century and a half old, for it is coeval, as I understand, with the erection of the college. The president rose from it, and in Latin asked leave of the governor and council to admit the candidates for degrees to the honours of the college—informing the *honoratissimi* that the *juvenes* were entitled to these honours from their examination. The governor answered in a short, handsome reply in Latin, which he delivered with great propriety; as he also did a short address in English on another occasion. This formality of asking leave was repeated at the conferring of the masters' and medical doctors' degrees—the latter were called *viri* by the president, to distinguish them, I suppose, from the *juvenes*. Twenty-seven bachelors, two masters, and two medical doctors, received on this occasion the honours of the college. The president made the mistake of 'trado *hoc librum*,' for '*hunc librum*.' He corrected himself the first time; but he made it the second time and did not correct it; but every time afterwards he had it right. He seems to be deficient in address, and readiness, and recollection; but in real and solid learning, I am told and believe, he excels. The whole was concluded with prayer." . . .

"24th. Sabbath I went to the residence of Dr. Hopkins and preached for him twice to-day. The text of my first discourse was, "Grieve not the

Holy Spirit," &c.—of the second, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." In both exercises I spoke with some freedom. After the public service of the day, I had a conversation with Dr. Hopkins on some points of new divinity, and he conversed very rationally and candidly. He acknowledged to me that there was something difficult and inexplicable in attempting to reconcile the divine agency and influence with perfect human liberty and accountableness, and in explaining how moral evil came into the universe, and how the evil thoughts and actions of creatures are reconcilable with the perfect moral purity and unblameableness of God. I told him that those who are called moderate Calvinists complain that the new divinity men pretend that there is no difficulty in these subjects. He said in reply that he exceedingly disapproved of the conduct and preaching of some young ministers who embrace and propagate such sentiments. He said they were rash and imprudent, and made unjustifiable expressions; and that they proclaimed their peculiar sentiments too much on all occasions, where they had not time fully to explain them and to guard them against abuse. He is considered as the author and champion of the new divinity by some; but he is certainly a man of much more candour, liberality and catholicism than most of his disciples. He is just finishing a system or body of divinity on his own plan. There is nothing striking in his manner and conversation. On the contrary, there is something which would lead a person ignorant of his character to think him rather weak and simple and unthinking. He looks like a vacant minded man, and his conversation on common and ordinary topics is not calculated to remove such an impression. Yet he is certainly a man of a subtle and discriminating mind. He is indeed more calculated for minute inquiries than for comprehensive views. His mental optics seemed formed to see small objects distinctly, but are unable to survey large ones—he sees parts but not the whole. His love of distinguishing sometimes leads him to make distinctions where there are no differences. He separates in reasoning, things which are never separated in fact. His love of metaphysics carries him out of real life; but he appears after all to be a man of real and fervent piety. His congregation is almost extinct, and I have had queries with myself whether his abstruse manner of preaching has not contributed to drive his people from him."

After a certain point in the narrative, Dr. Green divides his matter under several heads, viz., the composition and delivery of sermons—pastoral visitation and visiting the sick—catechizing—chaplaincy in Congress—pestilence—and the like. The value of the statements under these heads varies very much: of many we have no hesitation in saying they are so minute, so merely personal, and so often repeated, that if the will of the author had allowed, they might well have been omitted. Interspersed among these are some of the most agreeable and permanent portions of the book. Dr. Green's observations

on ministerial life and pastoral duty are all founded on successful practice of what he recommends, and are very precious. In regard to pastoral care, we regard his maxims as eminently valuable, the rather because we remember with veneration and gratitude his great wisdom and kindness in dealing with afflicted minds; qualities which have made his *Questions and Counsel*, as published by the American Tract Society, so welcome and so fruitful in many languages.

"I have already mentioned the advice I received from Doctor Witherspoon, 'not to write more than one sermon in a week,' and the reason he assigned, which was, 'if you attempt more you will spoil all;' at the same time he advised me to preach as often as I should be providentially called to the service; but to do it by meditation only, without writing. 'Your prepared sermon,' said he, 'which should be the product of your best efforts, will cover the defects of all the rest; will gain you reputation, and will be gradually accumulating a stock of correct preparations, not only for your old age, if you live to reach it, but for use in travelling, and for repetition after proper interval, to the people of your pastoral charge.' My habit of sermonizing in the former part of my ministry was in strict conformity with the foregoing advice. I recollect but a very few instances of departure from it, and the result has been, that I have numerous manuscript preparations for the pulpit, each of which cost me nearly four days of very severe study. But after I was considerably advanced in ministerial life, although I often wrote at large, yet in order to gain time for reading and pastoral visitation, I wrote only the introduction, method, and some or the whole of the doctrinal part of my discourses, with hints for the application, but without writing in detail. Indeed I know of no method of preaching except the close reading of notes, which I have not practised."

"I remember, that in once instance I was requested to print a sermon, of which, as far as I recollect, I had not written a word. But I always wrote when I could, and as much as I could, consistently with my other engagements, till I left my congregation on my call to assume the presidentship of the college of New Jersey. The proper delivery of sermons as well as the proper reading of the scriptures and sacred poetry in the public worship of the sanctuary, are of far more importance than they are too often believed to be by ministers of the gospel. The attainment of a good elocution ought to be regarded as a sacred duty by every candidate for the gospel ministry, for a large share of his future usefulness will depend upon its attainment. It is often slighted as a vain acquisition, calculated to minister to the vanity of being esteemed as an orator. If this be the motive of cultivating an impressive manner of public speaking, by any one who expects to minister in holy things, it cannot certainly be too much abhorred. But every laudable attainment may be pursued from corrupt motives. Let the motive be to do good and to increase usefulness—which are deeply involved in the matter we here contemplate—and eminent piety itself may

urge a candidate for the sacred ministry to acquire the talent of *speaking well*, when he delivers God's holy truth. No man who is not born for it, will ever produce the highest effects of eloquence; but every man who has not some invincible natural defect may become an agreeable public speaker; most men may not only be agreeable, but also impressive. Dr. Witherspoon had a small voice, and used but little gesture in the pulpit, but his utterance was very distinct and articulate; and his whole manner serious and solemn; and no speaker that I ever heard, has thrilled my feelings more than he. President Davies, from what I have heard of him, was probably the most accomplished preacher that our country has produced. His ordinary habit was to lay his notes before him, having made himself so familiar with them, as to give his eyes and action to the audience with freedom. I am persuaded that notes can be used with such address as to remove objections to them from all who believe that a minister ought laboriously to prepare in ordinary circumstances, the discourses that he addresses to the people of his charge, especially on the Lord's day. I have mentioned above, that for a short time I made the experiment of committing my written discourses to memory; but some of my most judicious hearers informed me, that while I did so, I spoke with manifestly less freedom and energy than when my notes were before me."

Dr. Green was Chaplain to Congress, in connexion with Bishop White, from 1792 till 1800. This brought him into daily intercourse with the first men in our country, particularly with Washington. The anecdotes of eloquent orators, in that Periclean age of American eloquence, awaken a mournful interest, in this day, when orators are judged by their wind, and when legislative argument is measured by the newspaper-square-foot. To understand what follows, it should be remembered that he writes concerning a period of much free-thinking.

"About one-third of the members in Congress in each house were commonly present at prayers. On one occasion I expressed to a member, who was a professor of religion and with whom I was well acquainted, the feeling of regret I experienced, that the attendance on prayers was not of a greater number. 'Will you,' said he in reply, 'tell me on your veracity, whether our attendance is not as good as that of the members of your General Assembly, or Synod, at your constituting prayer in the morning?' I was completely confounded with the interrogation; for on recollection I was convinced that our ecclesiastical bodies were not more numerously attended at the opening prayer than was the fact in the Congress of the United States, and this I had to admit to the member to whom I had expressed my regret at the beginning of the conversation on the subject. I have frequently mentioned the fact which I here record to my clerical brethren, but with too little effect to the present hour. It was the usage under President Washington's administration, that the chaplains of Con-

gress should dine with him once in every month, while Congress was in session. This brought me often in the presence of the illustrious man whose fame has filled the world."

The sections relating to the Princeton Theological Seminary, and the Secession from the Presbyterian Church, the controversies in divinity and church government, and the lawsuits, occupy a large space; but to abridge them would clearly be to injure the effect of this the most valuable testimony known to us. We earnestly commend them to those, if any such there are, who continue to ascribe those acts of discipline to malignant motives. Reasons of a like nature would restrain us from entering upon the copious history of Dr. Green's presidential life in the college. In the view of many, this will be thought too copious, and too minute in its details; as materials for future history however, the most trivial events sometimes have their value. Our recollections of Dr. Green connect themselves with this period, and represent him to us as diligent, conscientious, usually stern, yet often affectionately paternal in the discharge of his duties. Especially do we recall the lively and inexpressible interest which he appeared to take in the revivals of religion in the college; the private counsels given by him to inquirers; the continual expositions of the scripture to the assembled faculty and students, in which he surpassed all men whom we have known, so as to leave impressions for life on those who were at the time careless, depraved and resisting; and the extemporaneous Thursday evening lectures, delivered as he sat in his chair in the Sophomore recitation-room, and which, as we then thought, excelled his more laboured efforts. Those who have not known Dr. Green in these relations, and who think of him as a heresy-hunter and a belligerent, altogether miss one aspect of his very decided and uncompromising character. And though his record gives painful evidence that the young men often grieved his soul by their petulance and refractory violence, it also shows that at some of these very times he was fasting and praying before God; so that we marvel the less that we have often heard from some who were youth at that day, that they have never forgotten the pious lessons of President Green. Indeed the literary and scientific part of college life was in his case less prominent than the disciplinary and religious, and his soul manifestly yearned for the salvation of the

youth committed to his charge. So it must be, if the number of candidates for the ministry is to be much increased. Our colleges must be places to which parents shall send their sons with assured hope, as to influences that tend toward their conversion. If our Board of Education is to be reinforced, there is no place from which the auxiliary effort may more hopefully come, than from our grammar-schools and colleges. Our memory of what we have seen again and again in Nassau Hall, convinces us that the prayers of pious founders are still a memorial before God.

Of that period of seclusion, diligence and prayer, which Dr. Green spent in his beloved city of Philadelphia, his record is ample, but abruptly terminated. The labour of copying had become irksome. The last act of his penmanship, one so graceful and noble, was his signature as president of the Pennsylvania Bible Society. The history of his remaining years was confided by himself to the Reverend Joseph H. Jones, D.D., of Philadelphia, and completes the volume. Valuable communications appear from the pens of Doctors Miller, Janeway, McDowell, Plumer, and Murray. The few letters written by Dr. Green, in his best days, are so much superior to the general tenor of his private journals (the same is true of every literary man) that we cannot but express our wonder that so little draught has been made on the epistolary correspondence of one who was for more than half a century in constant intercourse with some of the chief minds in America: possibly this satisfaction is contemplated in another volume. Of the private habits of Dr. Green his biographer gives the following statements.

"For several years before his death he spent the greater part of his time when awake, in exercises of devotion. It was his custom to employ the interval between breakfast and eleven o'clock, in reading the Scriptures, and prayer. After dinner he rested from one to two hours, and at five resumed his private religious exercises, which were continued until six. At this time he prayed for each member of his family by name, next for the church, and then for the pastor. Not long after tea, the household were assembled for worship, which was conducted by himself so long as he was able to do it; afterwards by some inmate of the family, and was never omitted unless on account of some providential hinderance. At nine in the evening he returned to his secret devotions, and continued reading in the Scriptures with several hymns, and in prayer, until he retired to

rest. His exercises in the evening were usually concluded with a hymn. So long as he was able to kneel, he was accustomed to read and pray on his knees after having first pressed the Bible to his lips. This token of reverent affection, however, was never exhibited in the family, nor knowingly in the presence of others. On one occasion it was observed by a person in the room, whom he supposed to have withdrawn; and when subsequently mentioned to Dr. Green, he remarked that it had long been his custom to do it when reading the Bible in secret, not from any superstitious veneration of the cover and leaves of the volume, but out of love to its precious contents. Not long before his last sickness, his mind appeared for a while to be absorbed with painful thoughts and to be greatly depressed. The change was obvious, and so long continued, that his ever vigilant domestic friend was constrained to ask him the cause. He admitted that her conjectures were correct, and that for some days his mental conflicts had been severe and sometimes dreadful. It seems to me, said he, that I can adopt the language of Luther, when he felt that all the devils in hell had been let loose upon him. At the time of this conversation however, the trial appears to have come to its crisis. His mind shortly after recovered its former tranquillity, and his countenance its wonted cheerfulness."

"The decline of Dr. Green was not attended with any positive disease which accelerated his death. Though every menacing symptom was watched by his most assiduous and skilful medical friend, who did much to retard his downward progress, yet the tendencies of more than four score years and five were not to be resisted by any power in the art of healing; and it was evident to all who saw him, that the time of his departure was at hand. How far the change from day to day was alarming to himself, or even perceptible, or what were his mental exercises, could be inferred only from the usual composure of his manner, and placid countenance, indicative of the movements of a mind engaged in meditations of interest and solemnity. So long as he was able to articulate with so much distinctness as to be understood, he requested every clerical friend who entered the room to pray with him. To the remarks and quotations of the Scriptures by his brethren or others, he would usually give his assent by motion of his lips or head, and sometimes by the utterance of a single word. When in one of these interviews, a brother remarked in the language of the apostle Peter, 'Unto you therefore, who believe, he is precious,' he promptly responded, 'Yes, precious Christ, precious Christ, precious Christ,' repeating it three times with the strongest emphasis.

"His wakeful hours at night, which were many, were spent in devotion. Several months before his decease, a member of the family was wakened at midnight by a noise in his room, like the sobbings of a person that was weeping. On going to the door and gently opening it, he was found with his eyes closed and lips moving, as if speaking in whispers with the greatest earnestness, while his cheeks and pillow were wet with his tears. When asked in the morning without any allusion to what we have mentioned, how he had slept, he answered, that he had 'had a precious night in communion with his Saviour.' One of the most interesting and impressive scenes of his

last days occurred on the Sabbath but one before his death. After the family had returned from the morning service, it was observed on entering his room, that his mind was burdened with meditations, to which he wished to give utterance, and that his emotions were producing a restlessness and agitation that were inexplicable and alarming. To the inquiries of his ever watchful friend, what was the cause of his disquiet, and what she should do to relieve him, he appeared to be unable to give any verbal reply; when it occurred to her that she would suggest the reading of the Scriptures, to which he readily assented. The portion to which she turned was the first chapter of the Gospel of John, and finding that he became tranquil and attentive, she read deliberately to the close. The sixteenth verse, 'And of his fulness have we all received, and grace, for grace,' was a passage of peculiar interest to him, and appeared to produce a flood of touching reminiscences. Several years ago, when confined to his chamber by sickness, he had composed three sermons on this text, which he afterwards preached to the edification of his whole congregation, and to the special benefit of several persons who received from them their permanent religious impressions. The reading of this chapter not only allayed that distressing nervous excitement which preceded it, but seemed to impart a sort of inspiration by which his faculties were for the time emancipated: his tongue was loosed, and he burst out into an ecstasy of joy and thanksgiving; 'blessing God for the gift of his Son and the gospel, which contained the record of his coming, life, crucifixion, resurrection, and intercession. That he had been permitted to preach this gospel, and had been honoured with any measure of success in his ministry. For the comforts which the gospel had imparted to him, and the ineffably glorious hopes it had inspired of a state of sinless perfection beyond the grave.' His voice was loud, his enunciation clear and distinct as it had been in the best days of his ministry; and this elevated strain of praise and holy exultation was continued until his strength was exhausted, and he sunk into a sweet and refreshing sleep. The scene was indescribably impressive and solemn. No person that did not see it, can imagine the majesty of the preacher and the power of his utterance, scarcely more unexpected than if he had spoken from the coffin, in which his dust was to be laid before the return of a second Sabbath. It seemed to be a momentary triumph of grace over the infirmities of expiring nature, a taking leave of mortality and the labours of his militant state, like the dying effort of Jacob; after which the Patriarch 'gathered up his feet into the bed and yielded up the ghost.' With this brief eucharistic service, his communion with earthly things ceased. From the time of this affecting occurrence his change was rapid and obvious to all. His difficulty in speaking was so great that he did not make the effort, but remained silent with his eyes closed, except when opened to signify to some inquirer his consciousness and understanding of the question which he had not the power to answer. The occasional motion of his lips and lifting of his hands and clasping them upon his breast, were indications that his thoughts were absorbed in the exercises of meditation and prayer.

As his strength diminished there were intervals more and more prolonged of sleep, when these tokens of his thoughts were suspended. There

seemed to be no bodily suffering nor mental disquiet, but a peaceful waiting for the release of his spirit, which at last was called away so gently, that the moment of its escape was not perceived even by those who were watching to see it. At the hour of six in the morning of the 19th of May, 1848, he was lying in his usual position, his face upward, arms extended, and hands clasped as if engaged in prayer, when one of his hands became detached from the other and fell at his side; the other remained elevated a moment or two longer, when it began to sink gradually until it nearly reached the body, when its muscular strength failed and it suddenly dropped. At the same instant the motion of his lips ceased, and it was discovered that he had ceased to breathe. Such were the closing scenes of his long and useful life, and some of the circumstances that attended it. Had it been prolonged until the 6th of July, he would have completed his 88th year. Thus he came to his 'grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season.' It was a coincidence noticed by many, that Dr. Green and Dr. Chalmers both died during the meetings of the General Assemblies of their respective churches, and 'that Dr. Green was buried on, or very near the anniversary of Dr. Chalmers' burial in the preceding year.' Both had occupied positions of equal prominence in devising and executing measures which resulted in great changes in their respective churches. Both lived to see the fulfilment of their expectations in the results of their agency, and both possessed to the last, in an eminent degree, the confidence and affection of their brethren."

The work closes with a careful and touching portraiture of Doctor Green as a minister and a Christian. In our judgment all that the editor has appended is prepared with prudence, discrimination, and much finish of style. If some regard the character here given as too gentle and peaceful for that of the Dr. Green they knew, they may remember for their correction that their own views are perhaps formed upon more slender means of observation, that the real motives and temper of every man are liable to misapprehension, and that in a life of eighty-seven years there is room for great diversities and alternations, seasons of action and seasons of repose.

Some views of Dr. Green's character, which are wanting in the memoir, have been supplied by the correspondence in the appendix, which carries authority from the eminent names of the writers. In none of these do we consider our revered friend as over-praised, for his good sense, devotion, honour, truth or courage; in few of them is there any adequate account of Dr. Green's force and prominence as a pulpit orator. This is part of the tax paid for a long life; the few who remember the finished preparations and awakening delivery of his prime will

scarcely find credence among such as know only his decay. For similar reasons, the whole impression made by this autobiography, considered as a specimen of Dr. Green's pen, is exceedingly below what would have been produced by a larger presentation of extracts from his best writings, especially from his copious correspondence. The portrait here given is true, interesting and instructive, but the likeness is that of 'Paul the aged.' If we understand the preface, it was at one time thought best to construct an entire biography out of these materials; in our opinion it would be the only method of doing justice to the excellencies of Dr. Green in his prime of life. As it is, the book has a sacredness in our esteem, bringing us into the privacy of one whom in our childhood we wondered at, in our youth dreaded, and in our riper years revered and loved.

ART. VI.—*The Question of Negro Slavery and the New Constitution of Kentucky.* By Robert J. Breckinridge, D.D.

The Legislature of Kentucky having submitted the question to the people whether a convention should be called to revise the constitution of the state, and the people having decided that question in the affirmative, the character of that convention became a matter of absorbing interest to the inhabitants of that important commonwealth. The point about which the people were most divided, and to which public attention was principally directed, was negro slavery. The question in debate was, What provision shall be engrafted in the new constitution in relation to that subject? Shall the constitution make provision for the permanent existence and indefinite increase of slavery? or shall it prohibit the introduction of slaves from abroad, and provide for the gradual emancipation of those already within the borders of the state, or at least leave the subject open for the action of the Legislature and of the people, untrammelled by any constitutional provisions? The question at issue was no less than this, Whether Kentucky was to remain for an indefinite period a slaveholding state, or whether it was to be allowed to take its place among the free commonwealths of this great confederation. This is a momentous question, involving

the interests for generations of the state itself, and affecting in no small measure the whole union. No wonder, therefore, that the public mind in Kentucky was deeply agitated by this discussion, and no wonder that the eyes of the whole country watched the progress of the struggle with the liveliest interest. For months previous to the election of members of the convention to frame a new constitution, the press teemed with arguments and appeals, public lecturers and orators travelled over the state to address the people, and county and state conventions were held to embody and express the sentiments of the contending parties.

In Fayette county, including the city of Lexington, and embracing a larger number of extensive slave-owners than almost any other county of the state, a convention was held on the 14th of April last. "The object of the meeting having been explained in a few eloquent remarks by the Hon. Henry Clay and Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, on motion of the latter gentleman, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted: 1st, That this meeting, composed of citizens of the county of Fayette, met in pursuance of public notice, to consider the question of the perpetuation of slavery in this commonwealth, considering that hereditary slavery as it exists amongst us,

I. Is contrary to the natural rights of mankind;

II. Is opposed to the fundamental principles of free government;

III. Is inconsistent with a state of sound morality;

IV. Is hostile to the prosperity of the commonwealth;

We are therefore of opinion, that it ought not to be made perpetual, and that the convention about to meet to amend the constitution of this State affords a proper occasion, on which steps should be taken to ameliorate the condition of slavery, in such a way as shall be found practicable in itself, just as it regards the masters of slaves, and beneficial to the slaves themselves.

2d. That in order to concert with those who agree with us, throughout the State, a plan of action suitable to be adopted on this occasion, and to agree with them upon a common platform of principles, this meeting appoints the following citizens, and recommends as many others as are of similar sentiments and can conveniently attend, to meet at Frankfort on the 25th inst., dele-

gates from other parts of the State, similarly appointed, for the purpose herein expressed." Then follow the names of thirty gentlemen appointed as delegates to the State Convention.

When the Convention met at Frankfort, the Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge submitted a document, which after being amended with his concurrence, was adopted, and is as follows: viz.

"This Convention, composed of citizens of the common wealth of Kentucky, and representing the opinions and wishes of a large number of our fellow-citizens throughout the commonwealth, met in the capitol on the 25th of April, 1849, to consider what course it becomes those who are opposed to the increase and to the perpetuity of slavery in this State to pursue in the approaching canvass for members of the Convention, called to amend the Constitution, adopts the propositions which follow, as expressing its judgment in the premises:

"1. Believing that involuntary hereditary slavery, as it exists by law in this State, is injurious to the prosperity of the Commonwealth, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of free government, contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and injurious to a pure state of morals, we are of opinion that it ought not to be increased, and that it ought not to be perpetuated in this commonwealth.

"2. That any scheme of emancipation ought to be prospective, operating exclusively upon negroes born after the adoption of the scheme, and connected with colonization.

"3. That we recommend the following points as those to be insisted on in the new Constitution, and that candidates be run in every county in the State, favorable to these or similar constitutional provisions. 1. The absolute prohibition of the importation of any more slaves to Kentucky. 2. The complete power in the people of Kentucky to enforce and perfect in or under the new Constitution, a system of gradual prospective emancipation of slaves.

"4. This Convention confines its recommendation to the question of negro slavery, and makes no expression of opinion on any other topic.

HENRY CLAY, *of Bourbon*, Pres't.

HENRY WINGATE, W. P. BOON, } V. Pres'ts.

Frank Ballinger, *Bland Ballard*, } See's.

O. S. Poston, Samuel Shy, } Assist't See's."

Such is the standard raised by the friends of emancipation in Kentucky. The struggle maintained with so much vigour around it has for the present ended. The members for the convention to revise the constitution of the State have been elected, and not more than one or two emancipationists if any, accord-

ing to the public papers, have been elected. It may be difficult for those out of the State to discern all the causes of this lamentable defeat. There are, however, some things connected with the subject patent to every observer. In the first place, the failure of the cause of emancipation is not to be referred to any want of ability on the part of its advocates. Those advocates comprise some of the most distinguished men not only of Kentucky but of the Union; men who have no superiors in the power to control public sentiment. If the cause of freedom could have been carried, it must have been carried by such men. If any appeals could produce conviction, it would have been produced by the address mentioned at the head of this article. Self-interest, ignorance, and prejudice are proof against any thing, but the human mind, when unbiassed and sufficiently enlightened to comprehend their import, cannot resist such arguments, nor harden itself against such sentiments as are here presented. It must be conceded then, that the cause of emancipation in Kentucky has failed for the present, in spite of the exertions of men of the highest order of talents of which the country can boast.

Again, some seem disposed to refer this failure to the lukewarmness of the churches in Kentucky. We are not prepared to speak on this subject for other churches, but surely this reproach cannot fairly be brought against our own church. The Presbyterians have taken the lead in this struggle. There is not a prominent man in the Synod of Kentucky, who has not been conspicuous for his zeal and efforts in behalf of emancipation. No names in connection with this subject, are more prominent than those of Drs. R. J. Breckinridge, John C. Young, William L. Breckinridge, and of the Rev. Mr. Robinson of Frankfort. As far as we know, there is not a single Presbyterian minister, whose name is found among the advocates of slavery. We advert to this fact with the more satisfaction because the steady opposition of our General Assembly to the principles of the abolitionists, has subjected our church to the reproach or misconstruction of fanatical parties both at home and abroad. It is now seen that the principles which our church has always avowed on this subject, are as much opposed to the doctrine that slavery is a good institution, which ought to perpetuated; as to the opposite dogma, that slaveholding is in itself sinful, and a bar to christian communion.

With perfect consistency our church has borne its testimony against the doctrine that immediate and universal emancipation was the imperative duty of all slave-holders; and the no less fanatical opinion that one class of men may rightfully keep another in ignorance and degradation, in order to keep them in bondage. It has steadily inculcated on the one hand, that the holding of slaves is analogous to political despotism, and is therefore right or wrong according to circumstances; and, on the other, that neither the slave owner nor the despot had a right to use his power to prevent the intellectual, moral, and social improvement of its subjects, in order that his authority may be undisturbed and perpetuated. The old school Presbyterians have been the great conservative body, in reference to this subject in our country. They have stood up as a wall against the flood of abolitionism, which would have overwhelmed the church and riven asunder the State. But at the same time they have been the truest friends of the slaves and the most effectual advocates of emancipation. Their failure in Kentucky is in a great measure due to the unhealthy state of the public mind produced by the abolition controversy, and to the want of preparation on the part of the people. We sincerely rejoice that Presbyterians as a body, were found on the right side in this great conflict, and that the failure deplored, is not to be imputed to their remissness or indifference.

Again, the impression seems very general that the emancipationists have been defeated by the slave-holders. This is a great mistake. A large and most influential class of the slave-holders are themselves emancipationists. The struggle was not between the slave-holding and the non-slaveholding part of the community. Had such been the case, the issue would have been very different. It is probable, indeed, that a majority of the slave-holders are opposed to emancipation, but they form numerically too small a portion of the state to determine its action. Dr. Breckinridge estimates the slave-holders in Kentucky, as only one-eighth of the population. The state has about 600,000 white inhabitants, and 200,000 slaves. There are 140,000 persons entitled to vote, and of these not more than 20,000 are owners of slaves. Here then we have 120,000 non-slaveholding voters, and 20,000 voters owning slaves, and yet the state has gone for slavery by an overwhelming majority. This is not the work of the slave-holders. If any suppose that though numer-

ically a small portion of the people, by their superior wealth they influence the votes of their poorer neighbours, they evince a great ignorance of the real state of feeling in this country. Office-holders and actual subordinates whose bread is dependant on the favour of superiors, may be under their political control. But in the great majority of cases, there is an antagonism between the rich and the poor. The whole tendency of our system is not only to throw the actual power into the hands of the masses, but to make them jealous of any appearance of control. They almost uniformly assert their independence by going, on mere questions of politics, in opposition to the wealthier portion of the community. The fact therefore that the non-slaveholders in Kentucky have voted against emancipation, is not to be attributed to the influence of the slave-owners. Their conduct in this matter is to be attributed to various causes. There is a natural opposition between the free whites and the slaves, both as a race and as a class. Without for a moment admitting that there is any essential difference between the different races of men, it must be acknowledged there is the same difference between races that there is between individuals of the same race. We do not deny the name of brother to a man of the Caucasian race who may happen to be intellectually and physically inferior to the majority of the members of the same great family; nor is there any doubt as to the essential equality of those particular families, who from one generation to another exhibit marked inferiority to others of the same nation. This diversity is observable in every department of creation. All oaks of the same species are not alike, much less are the several species of the same standard. In like manner all men are not equally endowed with the gifts of God, neither are the several races of men on a perfect equality. There is a marked difference, physical, intellectual and social, between the Caucasian and the Malay. They are indeed of one blood. They are the children of the same parents. They are brethren having the same nature in all its essential attributes, but separation and the protracted operation of physical and moral causes, have given each its peculiar and indelible type. And where there is diversity there is sure to be superiority and inferiority. While therefore we joyfully admit the negro race to be bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, to be brethren of the same great family to which

we ourselves belong, it would be folly to deny that the blacks are as a race inferior to the whites. This is a fact which the history of the world places beyond dispute. Whether under a process of culture, extending through generations, they might rise to an equality with their more favoured brethren, is a question which we need not discuss. It is probable that in their highest developement they would retain their distinctive characteristics, and be our superiors in some attributes of our common nature, and our inferiors in others. However this might be, it is indisputable that at present, in all parts of the world, the blacks as a race are inferior to the whites. This is a fact which cannot fail to have its effect on the minds of men. It leads too naturally to contempt and disregard of the rights and feelings of the inferior race. The more ignorant the whites are, the more violent and unreasonable are their prejudices on this subject. When therefore the question is presented to a community whether an inferior race, hitherto held as slaves, shall be emancipated, one of the strongest sources of opposition to such a measure is sure to be found in this pride of race. The whites, and especially the less cultivated portion of them, revolt at the idea that the distinction between themselves and those whom they have always looked upon as their inferiors, should be done away. They regard it as an insult, or as robbing them of a privilege.

To this is to be added the prejudice of class. The negroes are the labouring class. That portion of the whites who sustain themselves by manual employment, have a great jealousy of the interference of the blacks. They will not associate with them, and they dread the idea of their competing with them as mechanics or labourers. While slaves, the blacks are confined to the plantations of their masters; when emancipated they go where they please, and enter into whatever employment they find open to them. To this association and competition the labouring whites have everywhere the strongest repugnance. We are not surprised, therefore, at the vote of the non-slaveholders in Kentucky. It would be the same to-morrow in New York or Philadelphia. The labouring whites of those cities would doubtless vote to set free slaves at a distance, but if the question was about the emancipation of thousands of negroes to be their own associates and competitors in labour, we doubt not nine out of ten would vote against it. And this was

the light in which the question most probably presented itself to the majority of the people of Kentucky. That emancipation was to be gradual, and attended with the expatriation of the blacks, would not produce much impression on their minds. They took the matter up in gross as a simple question of freedom or slavery for the blacks.

There is another consideration, mistaken indeed, but still effective, which is apt to operate on the minds of whites against the emancipation of the blacks. While the latter are slaves their masters are obliged to provide for them when disabled by age, sickness or dissolute habits. If emancipated, they are thrown on the community. This is a burden which the non-slaveholding whites are not disposed to assume. They are wont to say, Let the masters take care of their own blacks. They have had the good of them, let them retain the burden of their support.

Perhaps a still more operative feeling is that of antagonism to the free states. The recent discussions on abolitionism have generated a state of morbid excitement in the public mind. The unreasonableness of a part of the people in the northern states, has produced a corresponding unreasonableness in a portion of the south. The free and slave states have been placed in a very undesirable position in relation to each other. They are assumed to have opposing interests, if not mutually hostile intentions. The consequence is, we find the whole population of southern states going together on questions relating solely to the supposed interests of slave-holders. The great majority of the inhabitants of those states own no slaves. They have no interest in what enhances or depresses the value of that species of property. Yet all their sympathies are with the slaveholders, and against their non-slaveholding brethren at the north. This is not to be referred to any fondness for the institution of slavery, nor to the predominant influence of slaveholders, but to state pride and state feeling. It is easy to see how this feeling must operate. Whatever identifies or characterizes a community, determines the form which its common life or spirit assumes. If a state is monarchical or aristocratical in its constitution, it will be so in its spirit. It is not only the privileged classes who contend for its peculiar institutions, but the majority of the people are pervaded by the same spirit. It requires a great

amount of real oppression to destroy in the middle and lower classes this sympathy with the characteristic constitution of their country. Nine Englishmen out of ten will be found to defend hereditary nobility and a princely hierarchy, especially in antagonism with republicanism. In like manner the non-slaveholders of the south, though almost as numerous in comparison to the owners of slaves as the commons of England in comparison to the aristocratical classes, stand up with fervent zeal in behalf of their peculiar institution. This is the reason why a few thousand slaveholders wield the authority of a whole state, and make the majority of the people think they are contending for their own rights and interests, while in fact they are contending for the exclusive advantage of a small minority.

All these causes to which we have adverted as tending to account for the non-slaveholders of Kentucky voting to perpetuate slavery, owe their force, it must be admitted, in a great measure to ignorance. If the people were duly enlightened, they would rise above their influence. This is obvious for two reasons—first, that the most enlightened class of the population in our slaveholding states, unless personally interested in slavery, are opposed to its being perpetuated. The advocates of perpetual slavery are a certain portion of slave owners, and the uneducated portion of the people. The great body of enlightened and disinterested men even in slave states, groan under the institution of slavery as an incubus, and long for deliverance. Second, it is easy to see that the reasons referred to have no real force, and that they could not control the action of men capable of estimating the real merits of the case. It is a mistake founded in ignorance that emancipation would operate injuriously on the interests of the labouring portion of the whites. It is capable of demonstration, as indeed Dr. Breckinridge has demonstrated, that freeing the blacks, according to the plan proposed in Kentucky, would greatly improve the condition of the working class among the whites. To see this, however, requires both knowledge and attention. It is therefore overlooked or disbelieved by that large class who are too ignorant to calculate remote consequences, and are governed by the mere appearance of things. We fear therefore that the cause of emancipation cannot be carried in those states in which the

blacks are generally diffused among the whites, until education has done its proper work among the latter.

In order to the proper understanding of this subject, it is necessary to consider the distinctive features of the plan proposed by the friends of emancipation in Kentucky. It differs essentially from that of the abolitionists. It was, in the first place, to be progressive and not immediate. Against the plan of setting the whole slave population free at once, the objections are so great that it has never been adopted by a slaveholding community. People at a distance, who do not see, and who do not expect to suffer from the evils attending such a measure, under the control of abstract ideas, may clamour for immediate emancipation, but those who are to bear the burden of hundreds of thousands of ignorant and generally indolent blacks, content to live in the lowest condition, will be slow to believe that any principle of duty calls for such a sacrifice. It is not a matter of right as it concerns the slaves. No man has a right to any privilege which he is incompetent to exercise—be he white or black. And even if personally competent, his exercise or enjoyment of such privilege may be rightfully restrained by a regard to the best interests of the community. Minors, as a class, are not competent to exercise the elective franchise; they have therefore no right to exercise it. Individual minors may be as competent as any other men, and yet the good of the whole justifies their being deprived of the privilege. On the same principle the right of voting is denied to females, though personally competent to exercise it with wisdom. If therefore the blacks as a class are incompetent to exercise, with benefit to themselves or others, the privileges of personal or political liberty, then, as long as that incompetency continues, they have no right to those privileges. This argument of course supposes the incompetency to be real. And it furnishes no justification of measures, the design or tendency of which is to produce and perpetuate such incompetency. All we contend for is that there is no foundation in morals for the reckless application of "the doctrine of inalienable rights" to the case of slaves, who from their physical, intellectual or moral condition, are incompetent to exercise the rights of freemen. It is, therefore, no valid objection to the Kentucky plan of emancipation that it conflicts with the inalienable right of men to personal freedom

Whether it was not too slow in its proposed operation, whether it did not unnecessarily prolong the period of bondage, and unfairly exclude all the existing generation of blacks from its benefits, are questions of detail into which we do not feel competent to enter. The advantages of any plan must depend in a great measure, not only on its radical principles, but on its special provisions. And the question which the friends of freedom may have to decide, is not what plan is best, but what is feasible. It would certainly be unwise to refuse everything, because unable to carry the measure they might consider most desirable.

It strikes us that it would be a great improvement on the plan which contemplates the liberation only of those slaves yet to be born, to engraft some provision for the emancipation of a portion at least of those now in existence. There are many obvious advantages connected with the Spanish system which has been adverted to before in our pages. The essential features of that plan are these. It assumes, what we believe is universally true, that the slaves are allowed and have the opportunity to make money for themselves. This is done by working at extra hours, by raising produce for the market, and by executing errands and commissions of various kinds. The money thus earned they are in all slave countries permitted to use as they please. In the next place, this plan provides for the appointment of a public officer who, on application of the slave, is required to set a value on his services, which the master is bound to accept. As soon as the slave has accumulated one-sixth of the sum at which he has been valued and paid it to his master, he has Monday free. When he has gained another sixth, he has Tuesday free; and so on until his whole time becomes his own. In this way he is trained to habits of industry and self-control, and prepared to provide for himself. If with this system could be connected some provision for liberating the wives and children of those who had worked out their own freedom, the plan of progressive emancipation would be relieved of much of its apparent injustice. It is undoubtedly hard, that the whole existing generation of slaves should be excluded from the benefit of any plan of emancipation that may be adopted.

Another provision of this plan is that it proposed to secure

compensation to the owners of slaves. This has been resisted on two grounds, first that the claim to the service of the slaves is an unrighteous claim, and therefore the loss of those services is not a proper ground of compensation; and second, that the master must ultimately even in a pecuniary point of view, be a gainer by emancipation. As to the former of these grounds, it is enough to say that the claim of the master is not necessarily unrighteous. The objection has its foundation in the assumption that all slaveholding is sinful. If that principle is false, then the conclusion drawn from it is vitiated. Besides, it is to be remembered that slavery is the work not of the individual, but of the community. It could not exist without positive enactments. The community is responsible for its existence. If the people, in their capacity as a commonwealth, have made laws sanctioning the existence of slavery, they have entered into a tacit, but binding contract with their fellow-citizens to respect the right of property in slaves. If they come to think that such right ought to be abolished, or that the interests of the commonwealth demand the emancipation of the slaves, it would be unjust to make the loss fall exclusively on the owners. The fault or error was that of the community; it was for the common good, the laws establishing slavery were enacted, and therefore the whole community should share in the loss attending the repeal of those laws. If by laws of the state men have been authorized and induced to invest their capital in any species of property, be it roads, manufactories, mines, or slaves, it would be obviously unjust to take such property from them, without a compensation. In the eye of the law it makes no difference wherein such property may consist, if the law has sanctioned it. The injustice lies in visiting upon the individual the sin of the community. If therefore the state has authorized the holding of slaves, the state must bear the expense of rectifying its own mistakes, when it comes to see that slavery is a public burden.

The other ground of opposing all compensation to the owners of slaves, is perfectly valid, if it really exists. If the master suffers no loss, he is entitled to no compensation. If emancipation makes him richer, he has no claim to be paid for it. There may be circumstances, in isolated communities, where slavery is such a burden on the master, that to liberate his slaves would

be equivalent to cancelling a mortgage on his estate. Such, however, is evidently not the case in this country. Slavery is every where, in some form, profitable to the masters. To deprive them of their slaves would be not only to take from them their capital, but to render unavailable their estates in land. Even if eventually from the rise of real estate, and the general prosperity induced by the abolition of slavery, the slave-owner should find his condition improved, the immediate effect of emancipation would be greatly to limit his resources. The resulting benefit would come in most cases too late, to be a real compensation to the present owners. On every principle, therefore, we think the friends of emancipation acted wisely and justly in engrafting the principle of compensation on their proposed plan.

Another feature of that plan was the expatriation of the liberated blacks. This also when feasible is wise. There are natural laws which forbid the union of distinct races in the same commonwealth. Where the difference is slight, as between Saxons and Celts, or the Teutonic and Romaic families, the different elements are soon fused. But even here we find that they often refuse to combine and remain apart for ages, the weaker constantly sinking, and the stronger constantly advancing. We have examples of this in the French paysans of Canada, and Louisiana. The effect of the amalgamation of distinct races is seen in the physically, intellectually and socially degraded mongrel inhabitants of Mexico and South America. In these cases the chief elements were the Spanish and Indians, elements less widely separated than the Anglo Saxon and the Negro. The amalgamation of these races must inevitably lead to the deterioration of both. It would fill the country with a feeble and degraded population, which must ultimately perish. For it is a well ascertained fact that the mulatto is far more frail than either the white man or the negro. We read in the disastrous physical effects of the amalgamation of the blacks and whites, a clear intimation that such amalgamation is contrary to the will of God, and therefore is not an end which statesmen ought in any way to facilitate.

If amalgamation would be productive of the most lamentable evils to the country, it is no less undesirable that the two races should live together as distinct. This again is forbid by natural

laws which we can neither abrogate nor counteract. It is a law that the stronger and more numerous race should displace the weaker. The weaker may be absorbed and assimilated, where the difference is slight, but if the difference is so great as to keep the races apart, one of two results seems invariably to follow, either the weaker race dies out, or it is reduced to a state of bondage, and is then kept in a good physical condition as an instrument of labour, at the expense of its intellectual and social improvement. The former of these results we see exemplied in the disappearance of the aborigines of this country. The same process is rapidly going on in the islands of the Pacific ocean. It is very likely that the blacks will prove the stronger race in the West India Islands, and in some other places still nearer the equator. In some of those islands the lowest class of the population, is a race of white men. Whether white or black be in the ascendency, the law is that the weaker sinks and perishes in the presence of the stronger. There can be no question that in this country the blacks are the weaker race, and therefore if emancipated and kept distinct, they must sink and gradually perish. Such has been the experience of the world. Individual instances of excellence and prosperity will doubtless occur, but all experience shows that the only chance for any race radically distinct from another, to arrive at general prosperity, is that it must be kept separate and placed in circumstances favourable to its development.

Expatriation, therefore, when practicable is an essential feature of any wise plan of emancipation. It is best for the blacks themselves by removing them from circumstances hostile to their improvement, and placing them in a situation where an unobstructed carcer is opened before them. It is best for the country, for the places occupied by an inferior race, incapable of general improvement so long as they remain among whites, will soon be filled up by Europeans and Americans. The State, freed from its black population, would soon find itself peopled with intelligent and prosperous farmers and mechanics from other portions of the Union and from the Old Word. That this would be an advantage, no man in his senses can doubt. The only thing that would be lost by such a change would be the race of masters. There would no longer be a class of men owners of their fellow-men, and exalted by such ownership, in

their own conception into a superior class of beings. Few will be disposed to contend, unless slaveholders themselves, that slavery is really desirable from its influence on the masters. It is indeed an argument which privileged classes are accustomed to use, that the institution of nobility is necessary to the highest development of our nature. The robber barons of the middle ages, who could neither read nor write, looked with contempt, not only on their serfs, but on the merchants, citizens and learned men of their generation, and regarded all measures which tended to break down the distinction between themselves and others, as fraught with danger to the true nobility of man. With the progress of civilization, these ideas are fast disappearing from the old world, and they are not likely to find a permanent abode among our planters. Our republican institutions are not favourable to the notion, that free men, though farmers or mechanics, are inferior either to slaves or to their owners. The comparison between the slaveholding and the non-slaveholding portions of the Union, as to every thing which constitutes national prosperity, must at once settle the question whether slavery be conducive to the general good. The number of men in our country is very small, who deliberately maintain that a State, with a population one-fourth whites and three-fourths blacks, is in a more desirable situation than are those whose inhabitants are free white men. The latter is immeasurably stronger for all purposes of good, and is more capable of progress in agriculture, commerce and in all that is desirable. It is, however labour lost to attempt to prove that a free white population is more to be desired than either slaves, or liberated blacks. It cannot, therefore, be rationally disputed that freeing a State from its coloured people, would be the greatest of all temporal blessings that could be conferred upon it. On this subject, all the great men of our history have been of one opinion, whether living at the North or at the South.

The advantages of expatriation or of colonization, however, are confined neither to the blacks nor to the commonwealth from which they are removed. Transported to the rising republic of Liberia, the free negroes carry with them the seeds of religion, civilization and of liberty to an entire continent. They perform for Africa the high mission which our fore-fathers have performed for America; and make Africa for the black

race what the United States now are for Europe and the world. The designs of Providence are already so far unfolded as to be deciphered with no small confidence. God seems to have brought the negroes to our land that, after sustaining a state of pupillage in this house of bondage, they may return as to their land of promise, to the habitation assigned them in the general apportionment of our globe.

To this feature of the Kentucky plan of emancipation several serious objections, however, have been made. It is said to be a violation of the rights of the blacks. This country, it is maintained, is as much theirs as ours; and consequently that we have no more right to send them away than they have to send us. We admit the force of this objection, under existing circumstances, as far as it concerns those blacks who are already free. But the case is very different in regard to those who are now in bondage. To render their present condition permanent would be a great injury to them and to the community. To free them is to confer upon them a great boon, and that gift may rightfully be connected with any conditions which their own benefit and the public good may demand. It is a great fallacy to suppose that the abstract rights of men can be enforced at all times and under all circumstances. The right to choose our own place of abode, as the right of property, is necessarily subject to many limitations. The parent has the right to take with him his minor children when he leaves the crowded provinces of Great Britain or Germany, and seeks a wider and more hospitable home in America or Australia. No injury is inflicted on his children, and their right to remain in their native country is subordinate to the right of the parent. The slaves in this country are in a state of pupillage. They are minors. They stand in that relation of dependence and inferiority in which a state of minority essentially consists. They may therefore be rightfully treated as minors and disposed of without their consent in any way consistent with benevolence and justice. If a great good to them as well as to those they leave behind, be designed in their removal, there is no principle of right violated in their expatriation.

The expense attending any extended scheme of colonization is another objection to the plan. The expense, however, of any scheme is not to be measured by its actual cost, but by the im-

portance of the object and the resources at command for carrying it into effect. Measured by this standard, the expense of colonization is inconsiderable. It is too great for individuals, but not too great for a commonwealth. Fifty dollars a head are said to be sufficient to meet the cost, not only of transferring the emigrants to Africa, but also of sustaining them for the first six months after their arrival in their new home. There are many ways in which such a sum could be procured. It is less than the clear profit of one year's labour of an emancipated slave. It would be more generous for the state to provide for the expense of removal from her general resources, but there would be no injustice in requiring the slave to labour for his own outfit.

A much more serious objection arises from the danger of overwhelming the infant colonies in Africa with an unprepared and therefore reckless population. This danger is great. The history of the world teaches us that civilization does not spring up within any community, it must be introduced from abroad. The original state of man was a state of high civilization, in the truest sense of the term, and savagism is an apostacy perfectly hopeless, so far as the inherent recuperative powers of the race are concerned. If therefore we colonize a country with savages, or imperfectly civilized men, they will continue barbarians or soon lapse into a savage state. We have in St. Domingo an illustration of this general truth. The negroes of that island were not advanced to such a condition of moral and social improvement, when they expelled their European masters, as to enable them to make progress in civilization. They are, in most parts of the island, but little in advance of their condition when slaves. And they will remain, in all probability, in their present degraded state, unless the influence of Christianity is brought to bear upon them from without. There is therefore great danger that uneducated colonists introduced into Africa, instead of raising the natives should sink into barbarism themselves. To guard against this danger it is essential that the foundations of a colony should consist of truly enlightened and religious men, in such numbers and in such a state of advancement, as to give the community its character, to create its life, so that all new accessions should be mastered and assimilated. This is the first and most important condi-

tion for successful colonization, more important even than abundance of land and salubrity of climate. It should never be forgotten that the character of nations is formed in their cradles. It depends mainly upon the germ which is first planted. The character of these United States is distinctly traceable to the character of the first colonists. So is that of Mexico and South America, and it will take ages to counteract the strength of this original impulse. We can never be sufficiently thankful as a nation that the original settlers of this country were pious and enlightened men and true Protestants; and that they were numerous enough to give character to its institutions, and create a public spirit, before the floods of ignorance and Romanism were opened upon us. Except in Maryland, there were scarcely any other than Protestants among the emigrants to this country for nearly a century and a half. Had the annual thousands of Romanists which for the last twenty or thirty years have been pouring in upon us, commenced their flow in the infancy of our country, we should have been overwhelmed, and become an Ireland or Austria on a larger scale. Next then in importance to the original character of a colony, is the character of the annual accessions to their numbers from abroad. The new colonists should not be so numerous as to oppress the resources, and choak the avenues of life in these recent settlements, and they should be sufficiently enlightened to fall in with the spirit of the community of which they become members. As the colony advances in strength it will be able to bear more—to receive and dispose of larger accessions, and even to master uncongenial materials, which at an earlier period of its history would master it.

It is true, then, that if the colony of Liberia was to be flooded with thousands of uneducated negroes, just released from bondage, they would be in imminent danger of relapsing into barbarism, and the light of civilization and Christianity just kindled on the dark coast of Africa would be extinguished. The plan in contemplation, however, does not propose to send out new colonists either in such numbers or of such a character, as to incur the danger of which we have spoken. It proposes to send annually only that class which year by year attains a certain age, and which has been in a long course of training for their new responsibilities. Instead of being a burden to the

colony, such men would be to it what the annual accessions from Europe were to our country during the first fifty years of its history. The colony would thus be enlarged and strengthened just in proportion as its strength would be taxed. In a few years it would be prepared to receive increasing numbers, until at length it would feel as little burdened by any probable amount of immigration, as we now are by the hundreds of thousands of Europeans, who annually seek among us an asylum from want or oppression. There is no reason why the colonies on the coast of Africa may not in time exhibit the same cheering spectacles of rising republics, which is now afforded by the almost annual birth of new states in our own happy country. Africa affords a wide field of fertile, unoccupied land, a climate suited to the black race, and the native neighbouring population belonging to the same great division of the human family, instead of melting away before the colonists, as the Indians have here disappeared before the whites, will gradually be assimilated and absorbed. This is one of the brightest prospects now open for our world. It is the great hope of Africa. We fully agree with Dr. Breckinridge, when he says that the plan of African colonization "is one of the greatest, most fruitful, and most sublime events of any age. The great necessity of the world at this moment, is a free, civilized, Christian, and powerful state within the tropics; a necessity felt through every period of the world's history, and now about to be realized. The western coast of Africa, is, in every point of view, the most effective for such a state to occupy; the black race, of which there cannot be less than 150,000,000 upon earth, is pre-eminently the race needing such a development, and prepared for it; and the United States are exactly in a condition to found such a commonwealth with this race, under circumstances most glorious to ourselves, the most hopeful to the world, and the most beneficial to the blacks." p. 14. This glorious prospect never can be realized, or at least very imperfectly, without a large system of emancipation in this country. This is the source whence the materials for this Christian commonwealth on the coast of Africa, must be principally derived. It would therefore be a great calamity to the world, if, in our blindness, we should dam up this current, and instead of allowing it to flow out as a healthful stream, force it to become a stagnant

pool, converting our own land, in some of its fairest portions, into malarious swamps. Let us, however, remember it is not simply men that Africa needs, but enlightened and Christian men, who shall carry with them religion and knowledge, the minister and the schoolmaster.

The radical principles of the plan of emancipation, then, as proposed in Kentucky, we believe meet the cordial approbation of the enlightened friends of the negro and of the country; a plan which contemplated a gradual emancipation, consistent with the rights of the slaveholder, and providing for the colonization of the liberated blacks. Though this plan, notwithstanding its merits, and the ability with which it was advocated, has failed for the present, we are persuaded it must ultimately succeed.

In the first place, it is demanded by the eternal principles of right. We have ever maintained that slaveholding is not in itself sinful, that the right to personal liberty is conditioned by the ability to exercise beneficially that right. We have ever been opposed therefore to the abolitionists, who demand immediate and universal emancipation, and who would exclude slaveholders as such from the communion of the church. But the right to hold slaves does not imply the right to treat them as brutes, or as mere chattels. It does not justify laws which conflict with the great principles of benevolence or justice, or with any of the enactments of the word of God. Men on all sides are apt to confound things essentially distinct. Because the scriptures allow slaveholding, just as they allow aristocratical or despotic forms of government, slaveholders are wont to appeal to the word of God in defence of slave laws which violate every scriptural principle. On the other hand, those who maintain that slaveholding is not sinful, are represented as sanctioning all the atrocities by which the system is any where or at any time attended. Both of these proceedings are illogical and unjust. Slaveholding may be justifiable, and yet the laws made by slaveholders be atrociously unjust. Slaveholding may be justified, and yet such slave laws be consistently condemned. No Christian has ever raised his voice in defence of the actual slave system as it exists in many parts of this country. Slavery in Kentucky, says Dr. Breckinridge, "presents this aspect: 1st, The rights of property are absolutely and universally abolished

as to slaves. 2d, The rights of person and character are unknown, as to them, except as the interest of the master and of the public peace may demand their recognition. 3d, The institution of marriage between slaves, has no legal recognition, nor do marital rights exist as to them. 4th, The relation of parent and child, as between slaves, is not recognised by law, except in determining questions of property." p. 13. Is it not monstrous to suppose that the Bible sanctions such laws as these? It might as well be said that the Bible sanctions all the cruelty and injustice ever committed by civil rulers, because it sanctions civil government. Every good man must respond to the indignant eloquence of Dr. Breckinridge, when he says, in reference to the rights just enumerated, that every one of them "is inherent in human nature, and that their existence and their protection lie at the foundation of human society, which could not exist for a day, under any form, if these rights were universally abolished. Moreover, they are all of divine authority; and as the state itself—that is, human society—is ordained of God, we have one of God's institutions abolishing as to an immense number of his rational creatures, the very foundations on which he has erected that institution, and rendered possible the social state he ordained for those creatures. This is a condition of things for whose *increase* there can be no justification; and whose everlasting continuance can be defended only on grounds which subvert the order of nature, the ordination of heaven, and the foundations of the social state." It is, therefore, no fair inference from the doctrine that slaveholding is not in itself sinful, that the Bible sanctions the actual system of slavery, or the slave laws now in force in this country. Much less can it be fairly inferred from the abstract lawfulness of slavery, that laws may be enacted and enforced to extend and perpetuate it. It is one thing to treat savages as savages, and another to endeavour to keep them in a state of barbarism. It is one thing to deny to minors the rights of adults, another to debase them that they may never exercise those rights. It is one thing to keep felons in prison, and another to force men to become or to remain felons that we may get their labour for nothing. Admitting, therefore, that a Christian may, with a good conscience be a slaveholder, he cannot be a Christian and deliberately endeavour to keep his slaves in a state of

ignorance and degradation in order to perpetuate their bondage. Nothing can be more distinct than the right to hold slaves, in certain circumstances, and the right to render slavery perpetual. Perpetual slavery implies perpetual ignorance and perpetual degradation. This the mass of slaveholders intuitively perceive, and hence in almost all slave states there are enactments, the design of which is to prevent the intellectual and social improvement of the blacks. It is everywhere seen and admitted that gradual improvement must lead to gradual emancipation, and therefore the former is strenuously resisted by those who are determined not to grant the latter. But as it is one of the clearest and highest duties of man to promote the improvement of his fellow men, as this duty is specially binding on parents and masters, in regard to their children and servants, and as the right to intellectual culture and moral and religious education is the most precious of all human rights, it follows that one of the greatest sins a man can commit against his fellows, is to endeavour to keep them ignorant and degraded that he may keep them in bondage.

If then it is the duty of a community in which slavery exists to provide for the education and social improvement of the slaves, which we presume no Christian will deny, then it is the duty of such community to adopt some system for emancipation. It is certainly not less clear, that improvement must lead to liberation, than that degradation is necessary to slavery. No man for a moment believes that if the slaves at the South were as well educated as the people of New York or Massachusetts, slavery could continue a month. Unless therefore men are prepared to adopt the monstrous doctrine that they have a right to keep millions of their fellow creatures in ignorance and debasement, they must admit that emancipation is a moral duty. Conscience is the only principle capable of competing with self-interest. It is therefore of great importance that slave-holders should be brought to see what God demands of them in this matter; that they cannot without violating his laws and forfeiting his favour, refuse to their slaves the benefits of education and the enjoyment of those rights as parents and husbands which are guaranteed to them by God himself. In other words, they should be brought to see that slavery cannot be perpetuated without doing violence to the most obvious imperative moral

principles. Still more important is it that non-slaveholders should be brought to see that they are committing a sin against God, as well as inflicting a grievous injury on their fellow men, in contending for the increase or indefinite continuance of slavery. We have great faith in the self-evidencing light of moral truth, and in its power over the conscience, we therefore believe that the advocates of emancipation, will yet succeed, if they can but keep up before the minds of the people, the great principle of DUTY. This will do more than all arguments drawn from political economy, however just those arguments may be, or however powerfully they may be presented.

In the second place, emancipation is not only a duty, but it is unavoidable. The question which our slave-holding States have to decide is not, whether they will now adopt a system of emancipation, or remain indefinitely as they now are; but, whether they will prepare for emancipation while the evil is manageable, or have it forced upon them when every condition of the problem is a hundred fold more complicated. We believe it to be the intimate conviction of ninety-nine hundredths of the intelligent people in the United States that slavery in this country must come to an end. This conviction is as common at the South as it is at the North. The great effort is to procrastinate the crisis; to throw the decision and the trial on the coming generation. By this selfish policy the evils to be encountered are fearfully increased. Fifty years ago, with a slave population of seven or eight hundred thousand, emancipation and colonization would have been an easy work compared to what it now is, with three millions of slaves. It is an easy work now compared to what it will be fifty years hence. "Kentucky," says Dr. Breckinridge, "with six hundred thousand white persons, and two hundred thousand slaves, and the whole south wanting slave labour, presents a problem widely different from Kentucky with seven hundred thousand white persons, and five hundred thousand slaves, and the whole south fully supplied with slave labour. The one is a question easily solved, compared with the other; and all the increased difficulty must lie at the door of the non-slaveholder, if his vote produces it." p. 10. One reason, then, why slavery cannot be perpetual is that the slaves increase in a more rapid ratio than the whites, and by the mere force of numbers must occupy the land. The non-slaveholding

whites will rapidly withdraw from a community overstocked with slaves. This is a process which has already been going on for years. Thousands of the best portion of the population of Kentucky have sought homes in the free states of the west. Their places have been occupied by the blacks. Congregations once large and flourishing have, from this cause, dwindled down to insignificance. The natural tendency of this state of things is to render the disproportion between the whites and blacks constantly greater. And the unavoidable result must be that the negro race will come to possess the land. They will be too numerous to be profitable, and the time predicted by John Randolph (as we believe), must come, when the masters will run away from the slaves. This period may be more or less remote, but it is not the less certain, and the responsibility of bringing about this result will rest on those who vainly attempt to fight against God, in fighting against the laws which he has ordained.

But there is another reason why slavery cannot be perpetuated. It is from its nature a transition state. It supposes a low form of civilization, and must disappear as society advances and the slaves rise in intelligence and power. Under eastern despotism and the debasing systems of Paganism, the people may be kept in such degradation as to be perpetual bondmen; but in such a country, and in such an age as this, and under the all-penetrating light of the gospel, this is impossible. The state of our slave population is now immeasurably above that of the negroes under the dominion of the Portuguese in Brazil. Their condition must continue to improve under the controlling influence of a Christian public sentiment. It will be out of the power of slaveholders to make laws to keep out the light and warmth of Christian truth; and they themselves will not have the heart to persevere in the attempt. In this way, if in no other, slavery must cease. The slaves will cease to be minors; they will outgrow their state of pupillage, and their bonds will either drop from their limbs or be shaken off. We consider nothing more certain, under those laws which God has established, than that all attempts to perpetuate slavery in these United States must fail. The attempt, however, to render it permanent will, for this very reason, be all the more disastrous. It is an attempt to counteract the laws of nature and ordinances

of God, and must of necessity overwhelm in hopeless ruin those who engage in so insane an enterprise. The only safe course, as it is the only one consistent with Christian duty, is to improve the slaves, and to emancipate and remove them as rapidly as they are prepared for freedom. And as this can now be done without loss to the masters, or with full compensation for such loss, and with the prospect of removing the liberated blacks from the country, it is infatuation to resist the proposed plan. Hereafter emancipation must be granted, without compensation, and without the possibility of removal.

There is another consideration involved in what we have said, but which deserves separate mention. If slavery is founded on ignorance and degradation, if it is contrary to the will of God that such ignorance and degradation should be rendered permanent, then every attempt to perpetuate such a state is a direct violation of his will. It is a national sin, as it must be committed by the people in their capacity as a commonwealth, and therefore will inevitably lead to national calamity. The history of the world is one continued proof that God visits the iniquities of the fathers on the children of the third and fourth generation of those who hate him. Nations never sin with impunity. If they are guilty of habitual injustice towards their own dependent members, or against others, they are but laying up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath. So sure therefore as a righteous God rules among the nations, so certainly must the attempt to perpetuate slavery by keeping the slaves ignorant and degraded, work out a fearful retribution for the descendants of those by whom such attempt is made.

When to the considerations that emancipation is a duty, and that it is ultimately unavoidable, is added the obvious and weighty benefits which it must confer on all concerned, it is wonderful that a plan so fraught with blessings should not command universal favour. It will raise the black race from the degradation of uneducated bondmen, into enlightened freemen, the founders of a new empire for a continent. It will substitute white free men for negro slaves, as inhabitants of the fairest portions of our own country. It will give thousands of hands to guard our hearths, in place of thousands to be guarded against. It will give us the materials for flourishing schools and churches, instead of moral desolation. It will multiply

many fold the resources of the state, and secure its progress in all the arts and comforts of life. It will benefit all classes of the people, the slaveowners as well as others. They must reap the advantage of increasing prosperity. If emancipation be attended, as in the West Indies, by circumstances which depress all the resources of the country, then the slaveowners become the chief sufferers. But if for the slave population removed from the land, is substituted an enterprising race of free white men, then the slaveowners are the greatest gainers. No class of men in England has gained so much by the abolition of vassalage, and by the prosperity of the country, as the nobility. Instead of serfs and hovels their estates are covered with free men and cities. And if to-morrow the blacks of Kentucky could be transmuted into such men as make cities and villages spring up like cornfields, through the state of New York, the former slaveowners would find themselves princes. They are striving against their own best interests as well as the interests of the whole commonwealth, in clinging to an institution which must die, and which must poison the air where its disjected members lie.

We hope the friends of emancipation in Kentucky will not give up all for lost. Let such addresses as that of Dr. Breckinridge be spread over the state, and kept permanently in contact with the minds of the people. Though this is the only argument in favour of emancipation, we have had the good fortune to meet with, we are sure from the character of Dr. Breckinridge's associates, that there are many other addresses of a like kind, which ought to be preserved, and kept constantly in circulation. With the blessing of God on what is right and true, the people must ultimately be convinced that emancipation is a duty and a necessity.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Saxons in England. A History of the English Commonwealth till the Period of the Norman Conquest. By John M. Kemble, M. A., F. C. P. S., London: Printed for Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. 18 9. 2 vols. 8vo.

We are happy to know that the attention of students in our colleges, is turning with increasing interest, to the history and literature of our Saxon ancestors. The value of this class of studies, in illustrating the origin and the peculiar genius of our language, our literature, our habits, our institutions, and indeed of everything which is characteristic of us, as a race of people, is so obvious that we cannot doubt that this attention will continue to grow, until we shall produce at no distant period, not only students, but scholars, in this interesting department of research. For a long time it was the reproach of English literature that those whose inclination or studies led them in this direction, were compelled to resort to the continent of Europe, for books and other facilities, for the prosecution of their researches. Beyond the very imperfect and incorrect lexicographical and grammatical labours of Somner, Hickes, Lye, Henley, and a few others of less note, scarcely anything was done till a very late period by the scholars of England, to throw light upon the historical and literary antiquities of the Saxons. The first work which attempted to free the true principles and structure of the language, from the awkward and cumbersome forms of the Latin Grammars of the age, was the Anglo-Saxon Grammar, (Angelsaksisk Sproglære) of Prof. Rask, of Copenhagen. This was translated by Mr. Thorpe, and printed in English, we are surprised to say, *at Copenhagen*, in 1830. About the same time the study of the subject may be considered as having taken root in England. Among the first and most promising fruits of its culture, were the Grammar, and especially the complete, and admirable Dictionary, of Dr. Bosworth. Since that time the number of publications has increased in a very rapid ratio. Every necessary facility is now within the reach of the student of Anglo Saxon antiquities.

Among the results of the study thus opened to so many minds of a high literary order in England, we have to hail a series of historical and critical works of great value; chiefly produced within the last ten years. We may mention for the benefit of such as may be curious about the matter, the following recent works of this description:—"Ancient Laws and Institutes of England;" comprising laws enacted under the Anglo Saxon Kings from Ethelbert to Cnut, with an English translation of the Saxon: the laws called Edward the Confessor's; the laws of William the Conqueror, and those ascribed to Henry the First; also Monumenta Ecclesiastica Anglicana, from the seventh to the tenth century: and the ancient latin version of the Anglo Saxon laws,—with a copious Glossary, &c., by B. Thorpe, Esq.; printed under the direction of the Commissioners on the Public Records of the

Kingdom, and bearing date of 1840. "Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici;" in six volumes, by Mr. Kemble; the first vol. published in 1839, and the last in 1848. This work has been printed under the auspices of the Historical Society of England, and contains upwards of fourteen hundred documents, many of which are of very high historical value. "The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth," by Sir Francis Palgrave.

Besides these separate works, Mr. Bohn, the great London Book seller—whose stock is said to comprise twice as many vols. as the Library of the British Museum,—has commenced the re-publication of a very valuable series of ancient works, in a convenient and cheap form, under the title of the Antiquarian Library. This series already comprises, Mallet's Northern Antiquities, The Six old English Chronicles, viz.: Ethelwerd,—Asser's Life of Alfred,—Geoffrey of Monmouth,—Gildas,—Nennius,—and Richard of Cirencester,—The Chronicles of William of Malmesbury and Roger of Wendover. In the department of Literature, we have as the fruits of the Royal Society of Literature, two goodly octavo volumes of the Biographia Brittanica Literaria, covering respectively the Anglo Saxon and Anglo Norman periods, and some eight volumes of Transactions, containing many papers of exceeding interest and value, on the subject before us. We have also within a few years the re-publication of curious and important works, both to the student of literature and history, now numbering over forty different volumes, published under the supervision of the Camden Society, and edited by those veteran literary antiquaries, Thorpe, Halliwell, Wright, Ellis, and others.

We have confined ourselves, in this enumeration, to works accessible to the mere English student: passing by the able and profound discussions, on these and kindred topics, by continental scholars. Of course no one who wishes to study the subject thoroughly, will fail to consult the researches and reasonings of Grimm,* Zeuss,† Müller,‡ and others.

We return from this brief bibliographical excursus, (into which we have been tempted for the benefit of the few, we fear to the annoyance and weariness of the many), to say that Mr. Kemble, the author of the work before us, and the latest on its subject, is well known as one of the most thorough English scholars devoted to this department of learning. He has drawn the materials for his work, not only from the labours of his predecessors in the same line, but from the fresh virgin mines of antiquarian learning, which he has been himself the first to discover and to work. He

* "Deutsche Grammatik," 3 vols., 8 vo., Gottingen. 1831. This is a Grammar of all the Germanic languages, including the Anglo Saxon. Every one of course knows its value in philology.

† Die Deutschen, und die Nachbarstämme: by Zeuss. Munich 1837. This is a remarkable book, in which the author sifts, after the style so peculiarly German, the details of the Early Teutonic tribes, and shows with masterly analysis and skill, how fragmentary and uncertain they are, and how unworthy of confidence as settled history.

‡ Der Lex Salica, und der Lex Angliorum et Werinorum, &c., by Herman Müller. A perfect thesaurus of instructive information, in regard to these people after they came into relations with the Romans.

has therefore produced a book of standard value. There is scarcely a question touching the individual, the domestic, the social and political life and the institutions of the founders of the great Anglo Saxon race, into which he has not entered, and we think we may add, in the general settled, by his researches and his reasonings. His great merit, as a philosophical historian, is that which is so acceptable to English readers, the certainty and trustworthiness of the conclusions which he reaches. We get few speculations, but much knowledge, from his work. His object was to uncover the history of the origin, rise, and characteristics of our Anglo American laws, institutions and customs. This he has done in so learned and satisfactory a way, that we earnestly hope, both for the credit and the benefit, of American scholarship, some of our enterprising publishers will give us the work in a more accessible and less costly form. We would urge this the rather, because we would fain hope at least, that our provincial press has not kept pace with the growing demand for more ample and accurate knowledge on this important and interesting subject. The only works we can recall at the moment, as fairly naturalized among us, are the large, learned, but somewhat confused, often unsatisfactory, and seldom readable, History of the Anglo Saxons, by Mr. Sharon Turner; and the small, but compact and useful little work, Vernon's "Guide to the Anglo Saxon Tongue:"—which is made up of an Abstract of Prof. Rask's Grammar, (slightly modified, chiefly by changing the points of comparison from the Scandinavian to the English language) together with some extracts from the Anglo Saxon, both in prose and verse, and a few additional notes, intended to facilitate the translation of the extracts, and to give the student an insight into the idiosyncrasies of the original tongue. We should be glad also to try our powers of persuasion on some enterprising publisher, in the hope of inducing him to give us a cheap and convenient edition of Bosworth's Dictionary, not omitting, as the late English edition does, the admirable introduction. It is high time that distinct attention should be given to the subject in our colleges, at least to such as may desire to study it, for the sake of the light which it throws upon the origin, idioms and apparent anomalies of our tongue. We happen to know that the experiment, necessarily very imperfect for the want of facilities, made in the college nearest to us, has shown that there is a disposition among enterprising students, to undertake the matter; which might probably lead to distinguished scholarship in some cases, were the necessary books within the reach of their limited means.

An Address on Scholastic Education, delivered before the Presbyterial High School of Lafayette, Ala., on the occasion of its Anniversary. By Rev. William M. Cunningham, of Lagrange, Ga. Montgomery, Ala. 1849.

Among the blessed fruits growing out of the recently adopted scheme of Presbyterian parochial and academic education, we reckon the general and thorough discussion into which it has precipitated our church, in regard to the

nature, objects and means, of common school and collegiate training. The usages which had silently grown up in this country, had led our intelligent men, not excepting most of our ministers, to accept the wretched educational empiricism, which undertakes to sever the so called secular part of education from the religious. All truth, in every department, has a religious element, because all truth, not excepting the purest and highest mathematical generalizations, has a relation to the great first truth. Who does not see that if you take religion out of history, the residue is no longer true history at all. History without God, is just as incomplete, and unmeaning, and unintelligible, as the universe without God. And are our children to be taught atheism under the garb of history, as they may be, six days in the week; because an opposite belief may be inculcated by professional religious teachers, on the seventh? And what sort of citizens and members of the social circle are to be produced by the process, which practically dissociates religion from all the public and attractive relations and events of life, and shuts it up in the narrow, and to young minds often repulsive, circle of theological doctrines, and humbling religious experiences? The Augsburgh Gazette, the able organ of the anti-religious party in Germany, in discussing the subject of education, significantly says, "religion must be forcibly expelled from society, and art and poetry realizing the ideals of the true, the beautiful and the good take its place," and then subsequently adds, "in government, revolution everywhere, reform nowhere." Here we have the ripe fruit of that system which excludes God from history and society and education, and shuts him up in the church.

Now what security can we have that teachers making no profession of any religious belief, sometimes fortified by an express prohibition to inculcate any religious views whatever, or to use even the Bible in the school, may not silently and even unintentionally inoculate the minds of our children with a spirit like this? No man can avoid communicating his own inner life and character, to the susceptible minds and hearts of those who are about him in the capacity of pupils, provided he teaches anything at all. Every man has a religious belief of some sort, and every man propagates that belief, whether he will or not. It will tincture and underlie all his teaching on every subject. Children will imbibe it without knowing it. Now if it is not a matter of indifference what the religious belief of our children is to be, it cannot be a matter of indifference what the belief of their teachers is.

But we beg pardon: we were not to discuss the subject, but simply to register another clear, manly and able discussion of this great and vital question, drawn out by another successful experiment in the case of the East Alabama Presbyterial High School; and to thank Mr. Cunningham for his contribution to the cause of truth and order, in this timely address. Such discussions all over the church, will soon set public sentiment right, and set it in motion also, towards the attainment of the true safety and glory of our church—a complete religious education.

A Discourse upon the Power of Voluntary Attention; delivered

before the Rochester Atheneum and Mechanics' Association, by J. H. McIlvaine, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Rochester. 1849.

Very wholesome advice, very agreeably administered. Mr. McIlvaine has fairly put into the hands of his hearers, the clew which, if faithfully followed up, will conduct them to intellectual culture and literary distinction. And what is better still, he has clearly and manfully opened to them the truth, that the only perfect resting place for the soul, and the highest form of intellectual and aesthetic gratification, as well as the only satisfactory form of moral goodness, are to be found in life-union with God in Christ.

Lectures on the Shorter Catechism of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, addressed to Youth. By Ashbel Green, D.D. Philadelphia. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Two volumes 12mo. pp. 447 and 472.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that these lectures were originally delivered by Dr. Green, to his own congregation in Philadelphia; and were listened to by a highly intelligent audience with very great interest. They were afterwards published in the Christian Advocate: and a portion of them were reprinted in a separate volume. The present is, we believe, the only complete reprint of these truly rich and instructive lectures, forming, as they do, a short and simple, but complete and admirable body of divinity.

The Internal Evidence of the Holy Bible; or the Bible proved from its own pages to be a Divine Revelation. By J. J. Janeway, D.D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Dr. Janeway is, of course, too well known, as a sound and able theologian of the old school, to require anything beyond a mere announcement of this work. Its nature and object are fully explained in the title page; and it is sufficient to say that the execution is such as those who know the venerable author would expect.

The Claims of our Country on Literary Men. An Oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, July 19, 1849. By George W. Bethune. Cambridge. John Bartlett. 1849.

Dr. Bethune has so mingled just praise of talent and virtue with delicate chastenings of New England foibles, that the necessary result must be profit without offence. In a passage which doubtless called forth some applause, he reminds our excellent brother of the east, that "he rather wearies us with his inexhaustible eulogy on the Pilgrim Fathers, who, he seems to think, have begotten the whole United States." Dr. Bethune

has gently indicated some of these specks on a most respectable fabric. Nor does he allow the class of Mock-Puseyites, and mediaeval dreamers to escape a fillip; that "sombre affectation, which looks back admiringly and regretfully upon the middle centuries, as Lot's wife would have looked upon the Dead Sea, had she survived till next morning." In quite another vein there is a passage concerning Lamartine, which is eloquently beautiful. On the whole, we regard this as the most effervescent and witty of all the author's productions, with more of the faults belonging to this sort of writing. We enter a claim likewise on behalf of the descendants of Scottish Presbyterians for a more prominent place among American Protestants, than Dr. Bethune has given them, in one of his striking passages, beside the Huguenots and Reformed Dutch.

The Pestilence, a Divine Visitation. A Sermon, preached August 3, 1849, the day of the National Fast. By Symmes C. Henry, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, of Cranbury, N. J. Princeton. J. T. Robinson. pp. 18.

We have been struck with the fact that the number of printed Fast Day sermons, on this great subject, is small; it is with pleasure therefore that we notice the only one which has hitherto reached us. In a plain, sensible, scriptural and practical manner, Mr. Henry inculcates the lessons, that this pestilence is from God; that it is a visitation for our sins; that it becomes us to consider our duty in regard to it. In reviewing God's marvelous loving-kindness and signal answering of our prayers, we feel bound to add, that it will be a sign that we have failed of national repentance, unless we afford the tribute of national thanksgiving. Why should not our several state thanksgiving-days be merged in a festival of holy joy over the whole United States!

Inaugural Address, delivered before the Board of Trustees of Hampden Sidney College, January 10, 1849. By L. W. Green, D.D., President. Pittsburgh. pp. 29.

The opening of this address is happily derived from the fact that it was pronounced just two centuries after the day on which Charles the First was arraigned in Westminster Hall. The two distinguished men, who gave their names to this college, are thus introduced; and a historical picture of the following periods prepares the way for Patrick Henry, Samuel Davies, and the good and great Virginians who founded the institution. The Discourse is learned and glowing, and has much of the animation and fancy which belong to Southern minds. In the plea which the author makes for the union of accuracy and comprehensiveness in education, as qualities by no means incompatible, and equally indispensable, he touches a chord which cannot vibrate too often or too strongly: in our apprehension, he has indicated just here the true source of all individual and all academical improvement. We rejoice in the eminent success of President Green in his early labours, and do most heartily bid him God speed!

An Address on the occasion of the Author's resigning the office of President of Miami University, Commencement day, August 9, 1849. Cincinnati. 1849. pp. 36.

A few lines is all that we can give to this address, from the pen of a learned and able man: and we cannot therefore discuss the important questions which it suggests. Such are the topics of church and state education, sectarian colleges, and the like. Several of the principles laid down and argued appear to us equally true and valuable. Of their application to some latent controversies, which betray themselves in these pages, we know nothing and can utter no judgment. The production evinces the hand of a scholar and an independent thinker; yet there are strokes of sarcasm in the composition which perhaps fall sharply in places unsuspected by us.

Speeches, Poems and Miscellaneous Writings on the subjects connected with Temperance and the Liquor Traffic. By C. Jewett, M. D.

Christianity against Infidelity, or the truth of the Gospel History. By T. B. Thayer. New edition. Cincinnati.

Loyola, or Jesuitism in its rudiments. By Isaac Taylor, author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm. 12mo. Carters.

Bibel-Atlas nach den neuesten und besten Hülfsquellen, von Kiepert. Garrigue.

This admirable Bible-atlas costs one dollar, and is from the latest and best authorities.

Homilies of St. Augustine; translated, with notes and indexes. Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo.

This is the twentieth volume of the Library of the Fathers.

Sermons, by the Rev. W. A. Butler, with a Memoir by the Rev. T. Woodward, M. A. London.

A Collection of Anthems, by eminent English composers. London. 4to. pp. 112.

The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation. By C. Maitland. 8vo. pp. 474. London. 1849.

Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, by J. Stephen. London. 2 vols. 8vo. 1849.

Plenary Inspiration, by the Rev. D. Dyer. London. 1849.

The Works of Bishop Cosin. Volume Third. London. 1849.

A Sketch of the History of the Jews from the end of the Cap-

tivity to the Coming of Christ. By the Rev. G. B. Johns. London. 1849.

Foxe's Acts and Monuments of the Church. New edition. 8 vols. 8vo. London.

Jahn's Biblical Archaeology. By Prof. Upham. Fifth edition. New York. 1849.

Pastoral Reminiscences: by Shepard K. Kollock: with an Introduction by A. Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton. New York. M. W. Dodd. 1849. 12mo. pp. 286.

We have long known and esteemed the Rev. Mr. Kollock, not only as the brother of the late eloquent Doctor Henry Kollock, but as a sound, laborious and useful minister of our church. We now welcome him as an agreeable and edifying narrator of events in his varied clerical life; adding our voice of recommendation to that of the Reverend Doctor Alexander, in the Introduction.

Sacred Scenes and Characters, By J. T. Headley, New York: Baker & Scribner, 1849.

Erasmus's Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham, and St. Thomas of Canterbury. Newly translated and illustrated with notes, By John Gough Nichols. 8vo. pp. 272. London.

Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt. By W. C. Taylor, plates, 12mo. London: 1849.

Scripture Lands, being a visit to the Scenes of the Bible. By W. S. Woodcock. Plates, 12mo. London: 1849.

The Prayer-Book, considered in reference to the Romish system, Nineteen Sermons. By J. D. Maurice. London. 1849. 12mo.

A Pastor's Tribute to one of his flock, or the Memoirs of the late Hannah L. Murray. By the Rev. Gardiner Spring, D.D. Carter & Brothers, New York. 8vo. Fine Portrait.

Annals of the English Bible, by the Rev. Christopher Anderson. Revised, abridged, and continued to the present time. By the Rev. Samuel J. Prime, Secretary of the American Bible Society. Carter & Brothers, New York. 1849. 8vo.

Liberty's Triumph; a Poem. By Robert W. Landis, New

York. John Wiley, 12mo. pp. 544. "Mediocribus esse poetis, etc."

The Puritans in England, and the Pilgrim Fathers. By Prof. Stowell and D. Wilson, F. S. R. New York. Carters, 12mo. 1849.

St. Vincent's Manual, containing a selection of prayers, &c. Murphy. Baltimore. 1849. Recommended by the archbishop of Baltimore, &c. 1849.

On the Religious Idea. By W. J. Fox. London. 1849. 8vo.

Christian Memorials. By William Ormond. 23 plates, London. 1849. 4to.

Sermons preached in the Parish Church of St. Mary's, Exeter. By the Rev. W. Maskell. London. 1849. 8vo.

Institutes of Theology. By the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D., in Ten Volumes. Vol. I. Seventh volume of Posthumous works. Harpers. New York. 1849.

The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly represented. By Edward Stillingfleet, D.D., Bishop of Worcester. With Preface and Notes, (forming more than half the volume,) By William Cunningham, D. D. Principal and Professor of Divinity, and Church History, New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Johnstone. 8vo. 1849.

Foot-prints of the Creator, or the Asterolepsis of Stromness. By Hugh Miller, Author of the Old Red Sandstone. Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter. 8vo. 1849.

An Essay on Christian Baptism. By the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M. A. London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo. 1849.

A memoir of Lady Colquhon. By the Rev. James Hamilton F. L. S. Author of Life in Earnest, &c. London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo.

A History of the Hebrew Monarchy from the Administration of Samuel to the Babylonish Captivity. By Francis Newman. D.D., Oxon. London: John Chapman. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1849. 8vo. pp. 370.

An English book, published anonymously in 1847, and now provided with an American title-page and a fresh date, together with the author's name, but exhibiting even the same table of errata as at first. Dr. Newman.

we believe, is a brother of the famous apostate from the Church of England, but seems himself to have left it in an opposite direction. The present is a fair specimen of Anglican scholarship and general cultivation modified by German ingenuity and skepticism. With much that is interesting and instructive, it exhibits doubts on points which even Germany now owns to be established, and an amusing deference for theories and arguments, some of which have been abandoned by their own inventors, and none of which are really defensible or tenable in opposition to the old belief. On these accounts we cannot recommend the book as really adding to our valuable store of sacred learning.

The life of the Rev. John Macdonald, A. M., late Missionary Minister from the Free Church of Scotland at Calcutta; including selections from his Diary and Letters. By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie, minister of the Free Tolbooth Church Edinburgh. Edinburgh: John Johnstone. 1849. 12mo. pp. 464.

A delightful specimen of religious, ministerial, and missionary biography, belonging to the same general class with the lives of Brainerd and Martyn, but with quite as much originality and distinctive character as either of those favourite works, with which it agrees perfectly in tendency and spirit. The book has moreover a peculiar interest of its own from its connexion with what may be called the Scottish School of Foreign Missions, of which Dr. Duff is the apostle, and, if we err not, Macdonald's biographer one of the most useful and active managers at home. With the usual qualifications requisite in cases where a free display is made of personal and secret experience, the book may be safely recommended to our own religious public, which is never likely to be injured by an impression of real evangelical and experimental piety from abroad.

A Pastor's Memorial to his former flock, consisting of Sermons and Addresses, the Relics of a bygone ministry. By the late Rev. John Macdonald, Missionary Minister, &c. Edinburgh: John Johnstone. 12mo. 1849.

The Suffering Saviour, a Tract for Sinners, originally addressed to a Sabbath School. By the late Rev. John Macdonald, Edinburgh: John Johnstone. 18mo. 1849.

Memoirs and Manuscript of Isabel Hood. By the late Rev. John Macdonald, with an Introductory Notice, By Hugh Miller. 3d edition. Edinburgh: John Johnstone. 18mo. 1849.

Calvin and Servetus. The Reformer's share in the Trial of Michael Servetus historically ascertained. From the French. With Notes and Additions. By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie. Edinburgh: Johnstone. 8vo. 1849.

The Atonement of Christ the Hope of His People. By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie. 3rd edition. Edinburgh: Johnstone. 18mo. 1849.

The Sacrament of Baptism: its Nature, Design, and Obligations. By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie. 2d edition. Edinburgh: Johnstone. 1849.

The Cross of Christ, the Call of God, Saving Faith. An Inquiry into the Completeness and Extent of the Atonement, with especial reference to the Universal Offer of the Gospel and the Universal Obligation to believe. By the Rev. R. S. Candlish, D.D. 2d edition. Edinburgh; 8vo. 1849.

The Legal Profession: its moral nature and practical connection with civil Society. An Address, delivered before the Philomathesian Society of Kenyon College. By John T. Brooke, D.D., Rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati. 1849.

This is a discourse of a high moral tone. While the author attributes to the legal profession its due importance, and assigns it a high place in the class of learned avocations, he exposes with the justice of a Christian moralist, the evils which too often are not only tolerated but sanctioned by its members

The Bible, a Book for the world. An address delivered before the Cadet's Bible Society of the Virginia Military Institute, May 1st, 1849. By B. M. Smith, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Staunton, Va. New York: John Wiley, 161 Broadway.

The occasion on which this address was delivered determined its topic, which the author has treated in a manner adapted to make the best impression on the minds of his hearers and readers.

A discourse, delivered in the Second Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, on the Third of August, 1849; the day of fasting recommended by the President, General Taylor. By Andrew Bowen, Pastor.

The text of this discourse is Amos iv. 12, "Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel." This solemn call the preacher addresses to his country, and says Prepare to meet thy God, O America. It is an impressive exhibition of some of the more prominent of the national sins, for which we ought to repent. The writer dwells specially on the sins connected with slavery, and blames the General Assembly which sat at Pittsburgh, in May last, for its action on that subject, in a way he probably would avoid were he better informed of the circumstances.