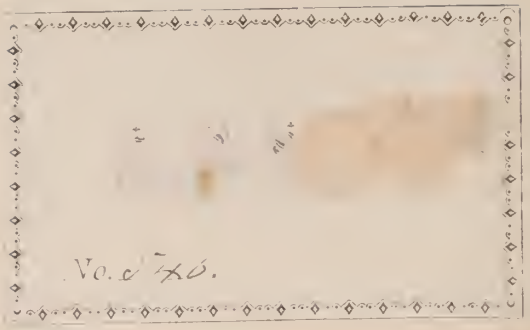
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Art. I.—*The Structure of the Old Testament.*

We propose in this article to inquire into the structure of the Old Testament. This inquiry is of course a purely elementary one, and belongs at the very threshold of Old Testament studies. It is not, however, on that account without its importance; and it is hoped that even the present imperfect attempt at its presentation may not be altogether devoid of interest.

Two extreme and opposite errors must be avoided at the outset, either of which tends to the denial of the existence of any such structure as our inquiry presupposes, and so to make all investigation in this direction unmeaning and superfluous.

The first springs from too exclusive a view of the divinity and inspiration of the sacred writings, hastily concluding thence that all must possess a uniform character, and present an even and unvaried surface; that since the Bible is everywhere the revelation of God, there must be an equal amount of disclosure everywhere. The Scriptures thus viewed become simply a capacious reservoir of heavenly truth, into which successive communications from above were poured, with no other effect than that of raising the general level; the separate value of each new revelation consisting merely in the absolute addition thereby made to the sum of the whole. Anything like a nice articulation or careful arrangement and adjustment of its

several parts is not to be thought of. All separate particulars are fused together and lost in the general mass. A certain amount of saving doctrine and instruction in religious duty has been communicated to men by God in his word. When and how it was communicated is esteemed of little account. It had to be done at some time and in some way. The method selected was as good probably as any other; but the sole question that concerns us, after all, is not when or how it became known, but what it is that is made known. And hence the question, why God spake unto the fathers at precisely those sundry times, and just in those divers manners, in which he revealed his will, is barred as irrelevant; as though he could do anything in vain, or anything without a worthy reason which it would be our wisdom to endeavour if possible to discover.

Such a mode of viewing the Scriptures overlooks the fact, that while their divine authorship warrants us in expecting unity and harmony, it cannot lead us to anticipate a tame uniformity. This nowhere characterizes the works of God, and why should it be found in his word? The diversified aspect of nature not only adds to its charm and attractiveness, but by the divine method which reigns throughout, is essential to the perfection and life of the whole, and to the accomplishment of some of its highest and most important ends. The untutored eye sees, for example, in the continents and oceans of the globe on which we live, mere masses of land and water; the aggregate amount of each, with their respective capacities for production and the support of life, is the only thing regarded. And yet what vast consequences to nature and to man, to the life of the globe and to human history, follow from the simple arrangement and distribution of these materials, their nice articulation and their relative proportions and positions. And to understand in any satisfactory measure the functions of this globe, the arrangements of its parts must be studied, as well as the mass of the whole.

Now, how if something analogous to this be found to exist in the word of God? If, besides containing a given aggregate of revealed truth, this should be so disposed, articulated, and arranged, as to illustrate the wisdom and knowledge of God,

and to accomplish beneficent and important ends? It is surely worthy of inquiry; and the divine origin of the Bible certainly affords no presumption against it.

The opposite extreme, which has already been referred to as conducting to the same erroneous conclusion of the absence of any structure in the word of God, pays too exclusive heed to the human instruments concerned in its production. The Bible contains a series of books or separate treatises, prepared at intervals during a long course of ages, adapted more or less to the particular emergencies or occasions upon which they were composed, differing greatly in style and character; written without concert, by men from every grade in society, and varying in natural talents, in education, disposition, and habits of life. Now it is confessed by all believers in the divinity of the Scriptures, and it is perpetually produced as a striking evidence of their divinity, that with all this diversity in form and occasion, there is no disharmony in their teachings; there is no contradiction and no disagreement, but the same system of truth and duty is inculcated everywhere. Nevertheless they seem to be regarded by many as, after all, an aggregate of detached productions, without order or method; the idea of regular and consistent structure being precluded by their casual and contingent origin.

But such a conclusion is unwarranted, even upon that one-sided and partial view of the matter which ignores the divine element in the Scriptures altogether. Art, philosophy, and literature have each their development and history. They are wrought out by the successive labours of individuals, operating without plan or concert, through a course of ages, and in various lands. And yet, when they are viewed in their entireness, what to a superficial observer appears a mere congeries of unrelated facts, comes to assume shape and order and system; and it becomes apparent that all has been controlled by fixed and general laws. And however dependent everything may have seemed to be upon individual caprice or accidental causes, there are great principles lying back of all this, and deeply imbedded in the nature of man, in his mental and physical constitution, which determine in the main the direction and flow of the current.

Accordingly, if the Scriptures were nothing more than the body of extant Hebrew literature, if they were just an expression of the activity of the Hebrew mind in relation to the matters therein presented, we would have reason to expect in the whole a measure of symmetry corresponding to that of the intellectual and moral forces employed in their production. And, in spite of all that might be contingent or casual about them, they would unfold by their own peculiar laws, just as surely as any other form of life would do. There would, in other words, be a regular structure in them, which careful study might discover.

But if the partial conceptions of the Scriptures, which have now been referred to, taken singly, both that which dwells exclusively upon their divine origin and that which emphasizes unduly the contingencies connected with their human origin, so far from compelling the conclusion that no well ordered plan or consistent structure exists, awaken the opposite expectation, how much more will this be the case if we combine these partial ideas, and thus obtain a juster notion of the constitution and character of the word of God? This is a product of the Spirit of God, and yet wrought out through the instrumentality of many human agents, who were all inspired by him, directed by him, and adapted by him to the accomplishment of his own fixed end.

Here we have that unity in multiplicity, that singleness of aim with diversity of operations, that binding together of separate activities under one superior and controlling influence, guiding all to the accomplishment of its predetermined purpose, and allotting to each its particular function in reference to it, which is the very conception we have of a well arranged organism. The combination of the divine and the human, as these are linked in the Scriptures, naturally leads us to look for a well ordered, well contrived scheme, directed by divine wisdom to an aim foreordained of God, and in which each part has its own proper place and function, each particular having its definite purpose bearing on the common end of all, and fulfilling its own special task, for which in fact it exists and is what it is. We may be sure that the oracles of God will not possess the unconnected and random character of the

heathen oracles. He who has arranged all things else by number, weight, and measure, will not neglect to do so in his holy word. We are authorized to believe that there is a divine reason why each separate portion of divine revelation is what it is, and stands where it does; that nothing is superfluous and nothing lacking, and that all is concatenated together by a masterly arrangement. It is at least worth our while reverently to approach the sacred volume to discover whether these anticipations are not realized in actual fact.

In looking for the evidences of an organic structure in the Scriptures, according to which all its parts are disposed in harmonious unity, and each part stands in a definite and intelligible relation to every other as well as to the grand design of the whole, we shall be obliged to group and classify the particulars before us, or we shall lose ourselves in the multiplicity of details, and never rise to any clear conception of the whole. Every fact, every institution, every person, every doctrine, every statement of the Bible, has its place and its function in the general plan. And the evidence of the correctness of any scheme proposed as the plan of the Scriptures will lie mainly in its harmonizing throughout with all these details, giving a rational and satisfactory account of the purpose and design of each, and assigning to all their just place and relations. But if we occupy ourselves with these details in the first instance, we shall be distracted and confused by their multitude, without the possibility of arriving thus at any clear or satisfactory result.

The first important aid in the process of grouping a classification is afforded by the separate books of which the Scriptures are composed. These are not arbitrary or fortuitous divisions of the sacred text; but their form, dimensions, and contents have been divinely determined. Each represents the special task allotted to one particular organ of the Holy Spirit, either the entire function assigned to him in the general plan, or in the case where the same inspired penman wrote more than one book of different characters and belonging to different classes, his function in one given sphere or direction. Each book may have its own internal structure and subdivisions, and require to be studied in its several parts

and their mutual relations, in order to arrive at a thorough understanding of its particular plan and purpose. But it forms a unit in the structure of the Scriptures considered as a whole. The books of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Malachi, exhibit to us what part in the plan of divine revelation each of those distinguished servants of God was commissioned to perform. Each is the record of a distinct ministry, and must form a separate portion of the whole, possessing its own distinctive character and worth. The book of Psalms exhibits that portion of divine revelation which the sacred singers were employed to communicate. The three books of Solomon show us what the wisest of men was the instrument of doing in each of the three different directions which they severally represent. The books of Scripture thus having each an individual character, and this stamped with divine authority as an element of fitness for their particular place and function in the scheme of God's revelation, must be regarded as organic parts of the whole.

The next step in our inquiry is to classify and arrange the books themselves. Every distribution is not a true classification, as a mechanical division of an animal body is not a dissection. It is not enough to arrange the particulars we seek to classify under certain heads or formulæ, which may embrace them as a mere mnemonical device. If the student obtrudes upon his subject a principle foreign to its real nature, instead of simply uncovering the principle which actually underlies it; if he attempt to reduce it under formulæ arbitrarily imposed instead of such as spontaneously offer themselves as inherent in it, he is forcing a plan of his own upon it, instead of discovering one actually there.

The books of the Bible may be variously divided in respect of matters merely extraneous and contingent, and which stand in no relation to its real internal structure. Its externals and the accidents of its outward form cannot be the proper basis of its classification, inasmuch as whatever may be their importance and value in the scheme of the whole, they are no certain indexes of its organic structure. Thus it is obvious to divide them according to the accidents of language, the place or

time of their composition, their style, or the personality of their writers.

The New Testament, which is written in Greek, is distinguished in point of language from the Old. And this sole ground of the diversity of language has led some critics to sunder them unduly, as though the Hebrew and the Hellenistic Scriptures were as distinct as Greek and Roman literature. It is true that this superficial diversity is in this instance the criterion of a real and important distinction, grounded deeply in the nature of each portion respectively. The broad and clear division recognized in all ages between the Scriptures prior to the coming of Christ and those subsequent to the advent; between the Old Testament, which was a preparatory dispensation, and the New Testament, which was the dispensation of the fulness of times, was outwardly indicated by the one being recorded in the language of Palestine, inasmuch as it was to be restricted to a single people, and the other being recorded in the language of the civilized and educated world, inasmuch as it was to be carried everywhere and preached to every creature.

But that the accident of language affords no certain test of scriptural divisions is plain from the result of applying it to the Old Testament. This is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Chaldee; but the few chapters and verses, which are written in the latter language, have no such peculiarity of character as to entitle them to rank as a separate class, nor would a division made on this basis be of any service to us in studying the Old Testament. And so, if those traditional statements of the fathers had been true, which assigned to the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle to the Hebrews a Hebrew original, the true character or proper classification of the books of the New Testament would not have been in the slightest degree affected.

So again, if regard be had to locality, we might divide the books of the Old Testament, to which our attention shall henceforth be confined, into those whose scene lay outside of Palestine, as the Pentateuch, Ezekiel, Daniel, Jonah, Job, and Esther, and the rest which belonged within the limits of Palestine. And these latter might again be subdivided into those

which belonged to the entire country, and the whole people, as Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, and the writings of David and Solomon; and those which belonged exclusively to one or other of the rival divisions of Israel, viz., Hosea, and Amos, to the kingdom of the ten tribes; Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and all the prophets not previously named, to Judah.

Or a division might be made in respect to time. The books of the Old Testament might be arranged chronologically, and then a distribution made into as many classes as there were centuries, or as any one might choose to find periods.

Or a division might be based upon the differences of style, and the several books of the Old Testament might be classified as legal, historical, poetical, and prophetical. There is, we apprehend, a real ground for a distinction here, as will be stated more fully hereafter; and there are elements of value likewise in the territorial and chronological divisions, which are entitled to their just weight, and which must find their place in any correct exhibition of the plan of the Old Testament. The sense of this has shown itself in the current arrangement of the canon, which in its essential features is at least as old as the LXX translation, and was thence adopted with slight modifications in all subsequent versions, and is universal in the Christian church. But in order to justify this arrangement of the books, and to discover its true ground and meaning, the idea which underlies it, and the light which it sheds upon the plan and structure of the Old Testament, we must penetrate deeper than those superficial and external criteria already considered, into the heart of the matter, and lay bare the governing, controlling principle by which the accidents of outward form have been determined, or at least to which they have been made subservient.

Before attempting to do this, however, it is incumbent upon us to inquire whether there is any authoritative arrangement of the books, which may obviate the necessity of seeking for any other, and which, from the sanction it has received, has a superior claim to be regarded as the true one; which, therefore, will most perfectly reveal the real structure of the Old Testament, and which cannot be set aside without the danger of obscuring or perverting that which we now seek to ascertain.

The canon is in the Hebrew Bible divided into three parts: the Law, the Prophets, and the K'thubhim or Hagiographa. This distribution appears to rest upon the personality of the sacred writers. The writings of Moses, who occupied a unique position as the mediator of the old economy, the great lawgiver with whom God spake face to face, stand first as the foundation of the whole. Then follow the writings of the prophets, *i. e.*, of those invested with the prophetical office. Some of these writings are historical in their character, and others prophetical; but their position in this second division of the canon is due not to the nature of the books, but to the official standing of their writers. They were prophets in the strict and official sense. Last of all those books occupy the third place, which were written by inspired men who were not in the technical or official sense prophets. They wrote as truly under the guidance of the Spirit of God as the preceding; and their writings are of course as authoritative both in respect to doctrine and duty. The distinction concerns merely their theocratic position. David, for example, had the gift of prophecy; and clear and undoubted predictions of the Messiah are repeatedly found in his writings. But officially he was a king and not a prophet. So Daniel possessed the gift of prophecy in as remarkable a degree as any of the holy seers under the Old Testament. But he did not fulfil the office of a prophet among the people in the same way as his contemporary Ezekiel, or as Isaiah or Jeremiah. Officially he was not a prophet, but prime minister at the court of Babylon. And hence his writings, like those of David, are placed in the third portion of the canon among the Hagiographa.

The threefold partition current among the Jews, therefore, represents respectively the function assigned in communicating the revelation of God to the great lawgiver, to the prophets, and to inspired men who were not prophets. This is a clear and intelligible division of the sacred penmen, based upon the varieties of their public official standing in the theocracy. And it is certainly quite conceivable that to each of these classes severally might be committed a distinct and definite task in making known the Divine will and purposes; that in this work each might be appointed to discharge their

own peculiar function; and that this distribution might, therefore, lie at the basis of the structure of the Old Testament.

This apparently not improbable conjecture would be entitled to additional consideration, if this triple arrangement of the canon could be traced to one who was under the guidance of inspiration. Now the unanimous voice of antiquity imputes the collection of the Old Testament canon to Ezra, and this is confirmed by such considerations of intrinsic probability as to have commanded general assent to its truth. If then he collected the canon and fixed it definitely in its present extent and compass, it seems but a small step in addition, to assume that he is likewise the author of the existing arrangement, especially as the triple distribution of the canon is referred to in the prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus or Sirach, B. C. 130, which speaks of "the law, the prophets, and the rest of the books," and also in the New Testament, where our Lord (Luke xxiv. 44) refers to "the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms." Hence able scholars have judged that the Hebrew arrangement and division of the canon should be laid at the foundation of the study of the Old Testament, and valuable critical introductions have been prepared upon this plan.

Now we confess, if there were evidence that Ezra arranged the Old Testament as we now find it in our Hebrew Bibles, and distributed its books into three classes as they are there, we would feel constrained to believe that some important reason lay at the basis of this arrangement, and should be disposed to claim for it the authoritative sanction of his inspiration. But the facts appear to us to be inconsistent with such a hypothesis.

It is certain from testimonies already adduced, as well as from others, that a triple division of some kind existed in the Old Testament canon from a very early period, and that this triplicity was persistently held fast by the Jews. But it is also certain that there was no fixed order of the books belonging to the second and third classes, nor was it even fixed which books should be referred to one or to the other of those classes. Thus Josephus reckons five books of Moses, thirteen of the prophets, and four containing hymns to God and precepts of human life. Evidently his third division embraced only the

Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes. And it has with some plausibility been suggested that the title given by our Lord to the third division of the canon, viz., the Psalms, might more naturally be applied to these four strictly poetical books, than to the heterogeneous collection of poetical, prophetical, and historical books, which now passes under the name of the Hagiographa. A further evidence of vacillation and the absence of any authoritative settlement and fixed dimensions of these classes is afforded by Jerome, who remarks that Ruth and Lamentations were sometimes included among the prophets and sometimes classed with the Hagiographa. The Talmud in the tract Baba Bathra arranges the books of the Hagiographa in chronological order, like the rest of the canon; our ordinary Hebrew Bibles have the same books, but in a different order, and rabbins and manuscripts and editions vary indefinitely in their arrangement, particularly of this portion of the canon. To these facts must be added the circumstance that the LXX ventured to adopt an entirely different order, based upon a quadruple instead of a triple division, and in this they were followed by the entire body of the Christian church, with unimportant modifications, which were however freely made. Archdeacon Hody, who has devoted a particular chapter* to this subject, and who has treated it in fuller detail than we have seen elsewhere, employs no less than one hundred and thirty-five columns in exhibiting the various order of the books of Scripture, as furnished by different Hebrew, Greek, and Latin authorities. All this appears to us to be utterly at variance with the idea of an authoritative and divinely ordained arrangement. We are disposed, therefore, to accord to the Masoretic order and distribution of the books only such weight as may seem to be due to its intrinsic merit. If it shall aid us in finding out the true structure of the Old Testament, we shall thankfully accept it; otherwise we shall discard it.

There are two methods, and as it seems to us but two, by which we can proceed in investigating the organic structure of the Old Testament. We must take our departure either from

* De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, lib. iv. cap. iv.

the beginning or the end. These are the two points, in which all the lines of progress must meet in every development or growth. Every thing which strictly belongs to it throughout its entire course is unfolded from the one and is gathered up in the other. We may accordingly take the seed in which the whole plant is already involved in its undeveloped state, and we may trace its growth from this its initial point, observing how roots, and stem, and leaves, and flowers, and fruit, proceed from it by regular progression. Or we may reverse the process, and survey the whole from its consummation. The plant is for the sake of the fruit: every part has its special function to perform toward its production. And the organic structure is understood when the office of each particular portion in relation to the end of the whole becomes known.

In making trial of the first of the methods just suggested, we shall contemplate the Old Testament under its most obvious aspect of a course of training to which Israel was subjected for a series of ages. So regarding it, we shall have little difficulty in fixing upon the law of Moses as the starting point of this grand development. God chose Israel from among the nations of the earth to be his own peculiar people, to train them up for himself by immediate communications of his will, and by manifestations of his presence and power in the midst of them. And as the first step in this process, first not only in the order of time, but of rational arrangement, and the foundation of the whole, he entered into special and formal covenant with them at Sinai, and gave them a divine constitution and laws containing the undeveloped seeds and germs of all that he designed to accomplish in them and for them.

That the Mosaic law, taken together as one united and indivisible whole, is the true beginning of the Old Testament, and that there is nothing prior to the time of Moses which is entitled to be recognized as a separate member of the Old Testament organism appears to be obvious, because we find nothing antecedent to this period to which we can attribute organic completeness. It is true that the transactions at Sinai were not the first of God's immediate revelations, nor of his supernatural dealings with our race. These reach back in a continuous series to the very origin of mankind, to the creation

and the fall. Revelations were made to man in his estate of innocence; a promise of mercy was given to our first parents immediately following their original transgression; and stated religious institutions and observances were established. But the scanty record, which we possess, of this primeval period supplies only the most inadequate and fragmentary notions respecting it. There is no attempt on the part of the sacred writers to furnish us with any full or complete information on the subject. No distinct and connected exhibition is made of the primeval theology or the primeval religion; none in fact of a primeval or antediluvian dispensation, which could be laid at the basis of the Divine scheme of training recorded in the Old Testament.

The same thing may be said of the postdiluvian period from Noah onward, and the patriarchal period embracing the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Here, again, we find revelations and promises, new covenants, new institutions, fresh manifestations of God's power and grace. But the same incompleteness still remains. It is evident that what is told us of these periods is not with the view of making them known in their proper character, of setting forth *ex professo* the circle of truth which had up to that time been revealed, the institutions established among them, or the dealings of God with respect to them.

It would argue a very defective notion of the primeval postdiluvian and patriarchal periods indeed, besides being contrary to the express teachings of later Scriptures, particularly of the New Testament, to insist that they must be estimated solely by the record given of them in the book of Genesis; and that all religious knowledge must be denied to them which is not expressly assigned to them there. The fact is that they are treated as purely preliminary to the Mosaic period. Just that is stated of them which may serve to explain the condition of things when the covenant of God with Israel came to be formed. Neither the whole of the book of Genesis, nor any particular part of it, can be regarded as so far complete in itself as to form a distinct division of the Old Testament. It is purely preparatory to the rest of the Pentateuch. It is devoted simply to the preparation of the soil into which the seed of the Mosaic

laws and institutions was to be cast, to the creation, in other words, of the people of Israel. This is traced first in the way of elimination, and secondly, in that of expansion. In the family of Adam, Cain and his ungodly descendants are banished from the presence of the Lord, while Seth and his pious seed are known as the sons of God, in distinction from the rest of mankind, the sons and daughters of men. When wickedness overspread the earth, Noah was singled out as the head of a new race; and from amongst his sons Shem was selected as the one whose God the Lord would especially be. From the descendants of Shem, Abraham was called to be the one in whose seed all families of the earth should be blessed. From his family the sons of Hagar and Keturah were excluded, and in Isaac alone his seed was called. In the family of Isaac, Esau sold his birthright and lost his blessing, which was bestowed upon Jacob. The elimination has now reached its last term, and the expansion begins. Jacob's family was taken down into Egypt and there became a great nation. The requisite soil has thus been prepared, and at the proper time the seed of the Mosaic institutions was cast into it.

To the considerations already suggested it may be added, that if the Old Testament has been correctly represented as a divine scheme of training for Israel, no integral organic part of this training can precede the covenant at Sinai; for until then the nation, as such, did not exist. Moreover, as it is the volume of the Old Testament into whose constitution we are inquiring, no organic part can precede the time when the first portion of it was committed to writing; and this we must continue to believe, in accordance with the unanimous testimony of tradition, and an abundance of internal grounds of the most convincing character, was by the hand of Moses.

The first step then in the process of training Israel was the giving of the law through Moses; and the first division of the Old Testament, consequently, is the Pentateuch, which contains this law with its historical introduction. The next step was to engage the people in the observance of the law thus given to them. The constitution which they had received was set in operation, and allowed to work out its legitimate fruits amongst them and upon them. The law of God thus shaped

the history of Israel; while the history added confirmation and enlargement to the law by the experience which it afforded of its workings, and of the providential sanctions which attended it, and by the modifications which were from time to time introduced as occasion demanded, and thus may be said to afford a providential expansion of the law. This history was conducted through three great periods, each of which conveyed its own particular lessons, important in the training of the people which God was thus conducting. To each of these, three historical books are devoted, if we reckon the double books one, which they properly are, and which they are always regarded in the early catalogues of the canon. Joshua, Judges, and Ruth record the period of the commonwealth; Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, the period of the kingdom; Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, the period of foreign domination.

A third step in this divine training was to have the law as originally given, and as providentially expanded, wrought not only into the outward practice of the people, or their national life, but into their inward individual life, and their intellectual convictions. This is the function of the six poetical books. One-half belong to the domain of feeling, and the other half to that of reflection. To this the form of the poetry corresponds, being in the one class lyrical, and in the other gnomic or aphoristic.

The three lyrical books are the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations. The aim of these is devout meditation upon the law of God, his works and his providence, and the reproduction of the law in the heart and life. The quintuple division of the Psalms in the Hebrew text creates a correspondence even of outward form, which perhaps is not casual, with the five books of the law. The two small books included in the same category with the Psalms, partake of the same general character. The Song of Solomon, like the forty-fifth Psalm, dwells upon the divine institution of marriage as a symbol of the relation between God and his people. The book of Lamentations makes practical application of the lessons of God's providence in the fall of Jerusalem.

The remaining three poetical works are Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. They belong to the domain of reflection, or if the

term be properly qualified, of religious philosophy, in which they form a complete cycle. Their standpoint is suggested by a term, which is characteristic of them all, viz., wisdom. Their common theme is the identity of wisdom and the fear of the Lord, or the observance of his law. Proverbs, by means of current aphorisms embodying the practical results of observation, exhibits it as a general truth, that it is man's highest wisdom to obey the law of God, and it is folly to transgress. General rules, however, have their exceptions. To the general and obvious fact, that human happiness and welfare are promoted by obedience to the law of God, there are two apparent exceptions, forming opposite extremes, which occur too frequently in real life to be overlooked. One of these is the occurrence of piety without prosperity, and the other prosperity possessed without piety. The book of Job is devoted to the former of these seeming exceptions, and Ecclesiastes to the latter. In the former, a man without his equal for piety in the world, is suddenly stripped of his possessions, bereaved of his family, smitten by a torturing disease, forsaken by his friends, made the victim of cruel suspicions and censures, and yet the gracious design of God in all is shown, and piety is not without its reward. In the latter, the wisest of kings, having within his reach every source of gratification which wealth or power can command, sets himself deliberately to enjoy them. But the result proved that the world without God was vanity and vexation of spirit; and the conclusion to which he came after the baffling experiments of a lifetime was, that to fear God and keep his commandments was the only and the universal secret of true happiness and real welfare.

The law has thus been set to work upon the national life of Israel in the course of its history, and is, in addition, coming to be wrought more and more into their individual life and experience by devout meditation and careful reflection. But that this outward and inward development, though conducted in the one case under immediate Divine superintendence, and in the other, under the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, might not fail of its appointed end, there was need that this end should be held up to view, and that the minds of the people should be constantly directed forward to it. With this view

the prophets were raised up, an order of men like unto Moses, the immediate representatives and ambassadors of God, appointed to make known his will and purposes, officially authorized to expound his law and make application of it to all cases, charged with reiterating its commands and enforcing its denunciations, and especially commissioned to direct the eye of faith and hope to Him whose blissful coming would adequately realize all that the law enjoined and promised—its end and consummation, fulfilling its precepts, bearing its penalty, ushering in of all its blessings. The prophets thus reiterate, unfold, and apply the law, and expand in glowing language to the full dimensions of the glorious future the germs and seeds of a better era which it contains. They furnish thus what may be called an objective expansion of the law, and their writings form the fourth and last division of the Old Testament.

If then we have read the structure of the Old Testament rightly as estimated from the point of its beginning and its gradual development from that onward, it consists of four parts, viz.

1. The Pentateuch or law of Moses, the basis of the whole.
2. Its providential application and expansion in the historical books.
3. Its subjective appropriation and expansion in the poetical books.
4. Its objective enforcement and expansion in the prophetical books.

The other mode above suggested of investigating the structure of the Old Testament requires us to survey it from its end, which is Christ. This brings everything into review under a somewhat different aspect. It will yield us substantially the same division that has already been arrived at by the contrary process, and thus lends it additional confirmation, since it serves to show that this is not a fanciful or arbitrary partition, but one grounded in the nature of the sacred volume. It is, however, attended with three striking and important advantages. In the first place, the historical, poetical, and prophetical books, which have hitherto been considered as separate lines of development, springing it is true from a common

source, yet pursuing each its own independent course, are by this second method exhibited in that close relationship and interdependence which really subsists between them, and in their convergence to one common centre and end. In the second place, and this is the principal consideration, which to our mind recommends this method, it makes Christ the prominent figure, and adjusts every part of the Old Testament in its true relation to him. He thus becomes in our classification and structural arrangement what he is in actual fact, the end of the whole, the controlling, forming principle of all, so that the meaning of every part is to be estimated from its relation to him, and is only then apprehended as it should be when that relation becomes known. It is, as it appears to us, an important matter that even our primary analysis of the Scriptures, our preliminary divisions of this great field of study, made before we actually begin to occupy ourselves with its details, and adopted as our guides and landmarks in our investigation of its contents, should present Christ distinctly to the eye as the goal to which all tends, the centre through which every line is drawn, and the sum in which every particular is gathered up. Thirdly, this will give unity to our study of the entire Scriptures. Everything in the Old Testament tends to Christ and is to be estimated from him. Everything in the New Testament unfolds from Christ, and is likewise to be estimated from him. In fact this method pursued in other fields will give unity and consistency to all our knowledge by making Christ the sum and centre of the whole, of whom and through whom and to whom are all things.

We have in our first method regarded the Old Testament simply as a divine scheme of training. We shall now regard it as a scheme of training directed to one definite end, the coming of Christ. The Old Testament, from first to last, and in all its parts, is designed to be preparatory unto Christ; and the amount of preparation made by each part, and the manner in which it is effected, determines its position in the general scheme.

This preparatory training is conducted by means of types and prophecies, or as they may also be called, implicit and explicit predictions. The former are predictions embedded or involved

in persons, facts, and institutions; the latter are predictions uttered in words. Every embodiment or exemplification in material and outward forms of a principle or method of the divine administration, which is afterwards, and particularly in the times of the New Testament, to be realized in a higher and spiritual form is a type. These types need not be known to be such at the time of their introduction. How far their typical character was recognized, it may not be possible for us to determine. It is not improbable that the amount of knowledge possessed upon this subject was intrinsically indeterminate and variable. Later ages in all likelihood had more insight into the nature and meaning of the types than those which preceded them; and the spiritually enlightened doubtless had more insight than the majority of their contemporaries. But an important end was answered when the types taught the principle involved in them or the religious truth which they embodied, even though their ultimate application and embodiment was not perceived. The directing of the mind consciously and specifically to New Testament objects was the function of prophecies rather than types. The sacrifices of the law taught the Israelite the doctrine of vicarious atonement, and led him to holiness and salvation, centuries before Isaiah taught that Messiah was the true sin-offering.

If the Old Testament is preparatory for Christ in every part, and this preparation is conducted by means of types and prophecies, it is merely to repeat the same idea in other language, to say that types and prophecies of Christ together complete the entire sum of the Old Testament. Every bestowment of material good and every deliverance from temporal evil is a type of the ultimate good and the ultimate salvation. Every prophecy of inferior good things is likewise indirectly a prophecy of Christ and of the benefits to be wrought by him. Everything has its lesson, and that lesson is Christ.

Types and prophecies are intermingled throughout the entire extent of the Old Testament, in varying proportions, the former as more obscure, predominating at the beginning; the latter as more explicit and plain, predominating toward the close. These may be regarded as forming two parallel and intimately related courses of instruction, the lessons conveyed

by each being closely allied at each successive period. It would be going too far to affirm that the prophecies of every individual period teach just so much and no more than is to be found in the types of that period, and *vice versâ*. This has been maintained and the attempt made to exhibit it in detail; but such a view could only arise from a preconceived theory, and it requires to be bolstered up by a forced exegesis. The freedom of the Divine communications was hampered by no such mechanical rigour or pedantic exactness. It is sufficient that the prophetic lessons of each period were precisely adapted to the circumstances of the time; and in these same circumstances lay also the types of the future. Types not infrequently suggest the theme as well as the form of prophecy; and prophecy often unfolds what is latent in types. The point of consequence to be observed at present, however, is simply that an intimate relation subsists between contemporaneous types and prophecies; and that the sum of the types and prophecies of any given period constitute the preparatory work of that period, or in other words, its proper function as a part of the Old Testament.

It is further to be noted that the Old Testament, though preparatory to Christ and predictive of him everywhere, is not predictive in equal measure throughout. Just as it is with the miraculous element in Divine revelation, which though never entirely disappearing, retreats at certain periods into the back ground, while at others it advances into prominence and bursts forth in a grand display of miraculous energy. So the predictive element ebbs and flows, now swelling up into manifest and conspicuous typical forms and prophetic utterances, then sinking away again until these are scarcely discernible. Types and prophecies are accumulated at particular epochs in great numbers and of a striking character. And then, as if in order that these lessons might be fully learned before the attention was diverted by the impartation of others, an interval is allowed to elapse, in which predictions, whether implicit or explicit, are comparatively few and unimportant. Then another brilliant epoch follows, succeeded by a fresh decline; periods of nutrition we might almost call them, and of digestion; periods

of instruction on the part of God, succeeded by periods of study on the part of the people.

These periods of marked predictive character are never mere repetitions of those which preceded them. Each has its own distinctive character and quality. The reason why types and prophecies are so multiplied, is that no one is adequate to set forth the coming Redeemer and his great salvation. One is employed to represent one feature, and another another. And even when all that belong to an entire period are combined together, the aggregate result still affords but a partial representation. It emphasizes particular aspects and gives prominence to certain characteristics; but others are necessarily neglected altogether or left in comparative obscurity. And if these are to be brought distinctly to view, a new period is necessary to represent them. Thus one period serves as the complement of another, and all must be combined in order to gain a complete notion of the preparation for Christ effected by the Old Testament, or of that exhibition of Messiah and his work which it was deemed requisite to make prior to his appearing. A thorough acquaintance with the structure of the Old Testament implies a knowledge of the plan and method according to which this preparation was made; how much and what was accomplished in each particular period; and passing further into detail how much and what precise portion of the work of each period was assigned to each individual type and prophecy. Such a sifting of the whole subject, if it shall ever be effected, will reveal how all parts of this wonderful organism down to the most minute particular conspire together to work out one grand, harmonious, ever developing scheme.

Christ is predicted negatively as well as positively. As every good conferred stands in the relation of similitude to him and to the ultimate salvation, so every evil endured and every imperfection or alloy discovered in existing forms of good stand in the relation of contrast to the same, and are negatively predictive of it. These awaken a sense of wants, deficiencies and needs, which is designed to point forward to him as their supply. Their particular office in the work of preparation is to create a hunger, which shall crave the heavenly bread. In like manner every prophecy of evil is negatively prophetic of

Christ. Now, since each predictive period expresses just the resultant of the particular types and prophecies embraced within it, its character is determined by the predominant character of these types and prophecies. If these are predominantly of a negative description, the period viewed as a whole is negatively predictive. If they are prevailingly positive, they constitute a positively predictive period.

If now we consider the sacred history from the call of Abraham to the close of the Old Testament, we cannot fail to perceive that it spontaneously divides itself into a series of periods alternately negative and positive. There is first a period in which a want is developed in the experience of those whom God is thus training, and brought distinctly to their consciousness. Then follows a period devoted to its supply. Then comes a new want and a fresh supply, and so on.

In the patriarchal, for example, we find a negative period. Its characteristic is its wants, its patient, longing expectation of that, the actual bestowment of which was reserved for a future time. The burden of its promises and its hopes was a numerous seed, and the possession of the land of Canaan as a first step toward the blessing which God was to bring through them upon all nations. The positive period corresponding to this is that of Moses and Joshua, in which we see these wants supplied, a great nation organized in covenant with God, and the land of Canaan bestowed as his immediate gift.

The period of the judges again possesses a negative character. Though they were swollen to a numerous people, had received their constitution and laws from God himself, possessed the land flowing with milk and honey as his gift, were attended by his miraculous interpositions, and made victorious over their foes, the imperfections which were soon developed showed them that they had not yet reached the ultimate good. Israel was not yet ripe for a pure theocracy with no visible head, a condition only to be realized in the final consummation. In their imperfect state the bonds which knit the nation together were too feeble and too easily dissolved. Hence their weakness; their civil dissensions tending to anarchy, and their repeated subjugation by surrounding enemies, convincing them of the need of a stronger union under a visible head, a king to

go before them. Although the untimeliness and the improprieties of the popular request upon this subject were rebuked and punished by giving to the people Saul as their first monarch, the necessity was a real one, and was supplied in David and Solomon, who accordingly mark the corresponding positive period.

Then follows another negative period, embracing the schism, the decline of the kingdom, and the captivity, with its corresponding positive, the restoration.

Guided by the marked and prominent features of the history now recited, and combining each negative with the positive which forms its appropriate complement, we can scarcely be mistaken in distinguishing three great preparatory periods, viz.

1. From the call of Abraham to the death of Joshua.
2. To the death of Solomon.
3. To the close of the Old Testament.

All that precedes the call of Abraham is purely preliminary to it, and is to be classed with the first period as its introduction or explanatory antecedent.

Transferring these divisions to the Old Testament Scriptures, into whose structure we are inquiring, we shall have to distinguish the following portions, viz.

1st. The Pentateuch and Joshua.

2d. The history as far as the death of Solomon, and in addition the poetical books, with the exception of Lamentations. The book of Job, it is here assumed, belongs to this period, where the most recent and able biblical scholars are now disposed to place it. The grounds of their opinion, and the reasons which incline us to acquiesce in it, cannot here be stated.

3d. The remainder of the Old Testament history, together with the prophetical books, including the book of Lamentations, which upon this classification must be reckoned an appendix to the prophecies of Jeremiah, which it follows in our ordinary Bibles.

It will be perceived that this triple division, though based on an entirely distinct principle, and reached by a totally different route, is yet closely allied to the quadruple division previously made. The groups of books before discovered in the Old

Testament here reappear, with only divergence enough to show that the partition is not mechanical but organic, and hence no absolute severance is possible. In every true organism there is more or less overlapping of parts, and all are firmly bound together by ligaments which cannot be sundered without injury and laceration. Parts which in one respect perform distinct functions, may in another stand in intimate mutual relation. And the point of junction between separate organs is covered or cemented by what is really attached to both, and under different points of view is capable of being considered the continuation of one or the starting-point of the other.

Here as before the Old Testament resolves itself into its legal, historical, poetical, and prophetical books, only the historical, though not blended with the other classes, are partitioned relatively to them, and severally set in juxtaposition with that class with which they are most closely connected.* This shows that they not only have a separate function of their own, which it is their peculiar province to fulfil, but they serve likewise in a measure to determine or define the function of the others, or furnish at least the occasion or the theatre for its performance. Hence arises a symmetrical division of three periods of divinely guided history, and at the close of each an immediate divine revelation, for which the history furnishes the preliminary training, and in a measure the theme. The history recorded by Moses and consummated by Joshua has as its complement the law given at Sinai and in the wilderness. The further history to the death of Solomon formed a preparation for the poetical books, which crown the brilliant termination of this period. The subsequent history prepares the way for the prophets, who are in like manner gathered about its concluding stages.

And while the several groups of books are set in close mutual relation in the manner just stated, they are also knit together by overlapping edges. Joshua, according to one method of division and one mode of conceiving it, continues and completes the history of the Pentateuch; the other method sees in it the

* In the Masoretic arrangement of the canon, the historical books are partly classed with the prophetical and partly with the poetical, but upon a different principle, as before explained.

opening of a new development. The book of Lamentations is allied in style and general character to the rest of the poetical books; but it records a providential lesson which was not unfolded until the succeeding period was far advanced, and prophecies had accumulated about the dire event. The reign of Solomon is the sequel to that of David, carrying the kingdom in Israel to a still higher pitch of prosperity and renown; and yet in Kings it is put at the opening of a new book, since it may be likewise viewed under another aspect, as containing the seeds of the dissolution that followed.

It will not be possible at the close of this discussion, already sufficiently protracted, to characterize at any length these three divisions of the Old Testament, and exhibit the particular part performed by each in the general work of preparation for the coming of Christ. A few observations only may be made of a preliminary character touching their form rather than their substance.

1. A correspondence may be noted between the first and the following divisions. The Pentateuch and Joshua fulfil their course successively in two distinct though related spheres. They contain first a record of individual experience and individual training in the lives of the patriarchs; and secondly, the national experience and training of Israel under Moses and Joshua. These spheres repeat themselves, the former in the second grand division of the Old Testament, the latter in the third. The histories of the second division are predominantly the record of individual experience, and its poetry is individual in its character. Judges and Samuel are simply a series of historical biographies; Judges, of the distinguished men raised up from time to time to deliver the people out of the hands of their oppressors; Samuel, of the three leading characters by whom the affairs of the people were shaped in that important period of transition, Samuel, Saul, and David. Ruth, the only other historical book of this division, is a biographical sketch from private life. The poetical books are not only subjective in their character, unfolding the divinely guided reflections of individual minds, or the inward struggles of individual souls, but their lessons, whether devo-

tional or Messianic, are chiefly based on the personal experience of David and Solomon.

The third division of the Old Testament on the other hand resembles the closing portion of the first in being national. Its histories, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, concern the nation at large, and the same may be said to a certain extent even of Esther. The communications of the prophets are God's messages to the people, and their form and character are conditioned by the state and prospects of the nation.

2. The number of organs employed in their communication increases with each successive division. In the first there are but two inspired writers. Moses was the sole lawgiver; he too was the principal historian, one book covering a brief but important period being added by Joshua. In the second, the historians were distinct from the poets, the latter consisting of David, Solomon, and other sacred singers, together with the author of the book of Job. But in the third we find the greatest number of inspired writers together with the most elaborate articulation, and hence an advance in organic structure. Not only are the writers of history distinct from the writers of prophecy, but each of these admit of subdivision and classification. Of the historians, the author of Kings belonged to the prophetical order, the rest did not; and this difference in official character involved a difference in the style and purpose of their respective productions. There are sixteen prophetical books, and these vary in character as they relate to the kingdom of Israel or to that of Judah, and as they precede or were contemporaneous with the Assyrian captivity, precede the Babylonish exile, were written in exile, or after the restoration.

3. There is a progress in the style of instruction adopted in each successive division. The first is purely typical. The few brief and isolated though not unimportant prophecies which are scattered through it, are lost in the general mass. There is no book nor anything approaching it devoted to prophecy. Types either historical or legal occupy the whole. The second division is of a mixed character, but types predominate. We meet here not a simple record of typical facts and institutions without remark or explanation, as in the Pen-

tateuch and Joshua; but in the poetical books types are singled out and dwelt upon, expanded in their ideal character and made the basis of predictions which delineate with marvellous minuteness and exactness the person and work of Christ. The third and last division is also of a mixed character, but prophecies predominate. These are now no longer bound to types, but take a broader scope and a bolder flight, bringing to light such rich stores of instruction respecting the coming Messiah that the types are almost lost sight of in the comparison.

4. These divisions severally render prominent the three offices of the Redeemer. The first, by its law, the central institution of which is sacrifice, and which impresses a sacerdotal organization upon the people, points to Jesus as priest. The second, which revolves about the kingdom, regards Jesus as king, though the erection of Solomon's temple and the new stability and splendour given to the ritual show that his priesthood is not forgotten. In the third, the prophets rise to prominence, and the people themselves, dispersed among the nations to be the teachers of the world, take on a prophetic character, typifying Jesus as a prophet. Whilst nevertheless the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel, and the prophetic description of its ideal reconstruction by Ezekiel, point still to his priesthood, and the favour of the Persian monarch aspiring to universal empire dimly foreshadows his kingdom.

The poetical and prophetical books, when estimated from a Messianic standpoint, form a beautiful and self-contained system, but no space remains for its exhibition at present.

ART. II.—*An Account of Extreme Unction.*

THERE is probably no passage in the New Testament which has been more violently distorted and more daringly perverted than James v. 14, 15. It will be convenient for our present purpose to examine the passage exegetically. It reads thus in the original: "Ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες αὐτὸν ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου· καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα, καὶ ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος· κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ." "Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and though he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him." It is conceded by most commentators that *ἀσθενεῖ* refers to bodily sickness and disease; cf. Matt. x. 8, xxv. 36, 39; Mark vi. 56; Luke iv. 40, vii. 10, ix. 2; John iv. 46, v. 3, 7, vi. 2, xi. 1, 2, 3, 6; Acts ix. 37, xix. 12; Phil. ii. 26, 27; 2 Tim. iv. 20; Sept. for חָלָה Judg. xvi. 7, 11. So Dem. 13, 2; Xen. Anab. 1. 1. 1. *Lange* (on James) spiritualizes, and supposes the reference to be to those who have been hurt or become sick in their Christianity. But as he stands pretty much alone, not only in the interpretation of this passage, but also in that of the entire Epistle, we need not stop to argue the point. It is however to be borne in mind that the Epistle of St. James is addressed to the twelve tribes of the Dispersion, and this leads us to suppose that his direction was one likely to fall in with the habits of thought and usages of the children of the Dispersion. This supposition is countenanced by the facts of the case. Oil was much used among the Jews in cases of sickness. Isaiah alludes to it (Isa. i. 6); the action of the good Samaritan shows that travellers used to carry oil with them (Luke x. 34). When our Lord sent out the disciples, charging them to heal the sick in virtue of the miraculous power with which he had clothed them, they were so accustomed to the application of oil in cases of sickness, that, although they were

simply directed to heal the sick, "*they anointed with oil* many that were sick, and healed them." Mark vi. 13. In *Midrash Koheleth*, f. 73. 1. it is said: "Chanina, son of the brother of the Rabbi Joshua, went to visit his uncle at Capernaum. He was taken ill; and Rabbi Joshua went to him, and *anointed him with oil, and he was restored.*" These passages show that the medicinal use of oil was common among the Jews. *Josephus* (Ant. 17, 6. 5; Bell. Jud. 1, 33. 5) informs us that Herod was put into an oil-bath. *Celsus* (de Med. ii. 14, 17; iii. 6, 9, 19, 22; iv. 2;) repeatedly speaks of the use of oil, especially old oil, applied externally with friction in fevers, and many other cases. *Pliny* (xv. 4, 7; xxiii. 3, 4) says that olive-oil is good to warm the body and fortify it against cold, and also to cool heat in the head, and for various other purposes. *Tertullian* (ad Scap. c. 4) informs us that Proculus, a Christian, cured the Emperor Severus with oil. (Cf. also *Sheviith*, 8: "Qui capite dolet, aut quem invasit scabies, ungat se oleo." *Otho*, Lex. Rabb. pp. 11, 526; *Lightfoot*, H. H. ii. 304, 344). *Niebuhr* assures us that at Sana, the Jews as well as many of the Moslems have their bodies anointed whenever they feel themselves indisposed. These references are sufficient to establish the *medicinal* use of oil.

The plural *πρεσβύτεροι* is remarkable. They were not elders in years but in office, ministers of Christ, *πρεσβύτεροι* or *ἐπίσκοποι*, for the comparison of Acts xx. 17 with ver. 28, shows that at that time the two were identical. For the present we simply call attention to the plural, without discussing the important questions connected with it. *Τῆς ἐκκλησίας* denotes the particular church or congregation to which the sick belonged. *Προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν* must not be rendered "pray *for* him," but "pray *over* him," either *literally* "folding or spreading their hands over him (cf. Acts xix. 13), or bending down towards him or standing over him" (see *Winer*, p. 426); or *figuratively* "with reference to him, as if their intent, in prayer, went out towards him." (*Alford*). *Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου* must be restricted to *ἀλείψαντες*, and cannot be joined with *προσευξάσθωσαν*, or to both. This shows, 1st, That the application of oil was resorted to as a well-known remedy. 2d, That in the prescribed case it was applied in the name of

the Lord, and had therefore a symbolical character, analogous *e. g.* to our Lord's anointing the eyes of the blind-born with clay made of saliva (John ix. 6, 11). Saliva, like olive-oil, had recognized medicinal properties; and the application, in both instances, was symbolical of the miraculous cure about to be effected. It is to be borne in mind, that the sick was healed neither by the oil, nor by the official character of those who applied the oil and prayed over him, but by the *prayer of faith.* It was the prayer offered by those who had the *χάρισμα τῆς πίστεως*, and perhaps also the *χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων* (1 Cor. xii. 9, 28, 30). The promise seems to have been, "that where the prayer of the elders was attended with such a faith, it should still be successful for the healing of the sick, or the raising him up again from the bed of sickness" (*Whitby*). *Σώσει* refers plainly to *corporeal* healing, for the healing of the soul is particularly specified in the latter clause of the verse. (So *de Wette*, *Wiesinger*, *Alford*, and others.) The case of soul-sickness is taken up in the words, "and though he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him." *Κἄν* is not simply copulative, but introduces a climax (*Alford*). The sins may be supposed to have been the cause of his sickness, and even in that case forgiveness shall be accorded to him. "Dominus non modò curabit morbum corporis, sed etiam morbum animi. Itaque priori loco agitur de sanatione corporis, deinde de sanatione animæ: unde et illa locutio toties in Evangelio usurpata. '*Fides tua te servabit. Confide, fili, peccata tua tibi sunt remissa.*' Tum et illa verba hic sunt observanda, '*Si fecit peccata,*' etc., h. e. si peccando contraxit morbum illum. Nam afflictiones non sunt semper castigationes, sed interdum probationes. Unde Dominus de cæco nato, '*Neque hic peccavit, neque pater ejus,*' h. e. non est illi inflicta hæc cæcitas ob ejus peccatum, neque propter patris peccatum, '*sed ut opera Dei in eo manifesta fierent.*'" (*Cameron.*) This is also the view of *Whitby*, *Huther*, and others.

The foregoing exegesis will enable us to appreciate the extraordinary and audacious perversion of the truth, of which the Latin church is guilty, in making the above passage and the passage (Mark vi. 13) the groundwork of their so-called Sacrament of Extreme Unction. We propose to give an account of

that Sacrament in the language of the Romish standards, subject its positions to a critical examination, trace the history of its development, contrast it with the practice of the Eastern church, exhibit the course of the Reformed churches, and state the lamentable consequences to which this melancholy perversion of the truth has led.

The Council of Trent, Session xiv. under date November 25, 1551, considered the subjects of the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, and made concerning the latter the following official declarations and canons.

Chapter I.

*Of the Institution of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.**

Now this holy unction of the sick was instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ as a proper and true sacrament of the New Testament, the usage of which is insinuated in St. Mark, and manifestly declared and commended to the faithful by St. James, the apostle and brother of our Lord (James v). "*Infirmatur quis in vobis? inducat presbyteros ecclesiæ, et orent super eum, ungentes eum oleo in nomino Domini; et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et alleviabit eum Dominus; et si in peccatis sit, remittentur ei.*" From these words, as the church has learned from apostolic tradition handed down, she teaches us which is the matter, the form, the proper minister, and the effect of this wholesome sacrament. For, as to the matter, the church has understood that it was oil blessed by the bishop, and in effect unction most aptly represents the grace of the Holy Spirit wherewith the soul of the sick is invisibly anointed: and as to its form, that it consisted of the following words: "By this holy unction, etc."

Chapter II.

Of the effect of this Sacrament.

With regard to the real effect of this Sacrament, it is declared in the following words (James v). "*Et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et alleviabit eum Dominus; et si in peccatis sit, remittentur ei.*" For truly this real effect is the grace of

* We use *Pallavicini's* History of the Council of Trent, translated into French by the Propaganda in 1833, Migne's edition, Montrouge 1844, and for the convenience of our readers furnish an *English* translation.

the Holy Spirit, the anointing whereof cancels the remainder of sin and the sins themselves, if any remain to be expiated; supports and strengthens the soul of the sick, exciting in him great confidence in the mercy of God, by means of which he is upheld; and he bears more readily the inconveniences and pains of his sickness, he resists more easily the temptations of the devil, who sets him traps in this extremity, and sometimes he even obtains bodily health, if it is expedient to the salvation of his soul.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Minister of this Sacrament and of the time when it should be administered.

Concerning what is to be determined as to those who ought to receive and as to those who ought to administer this Sacrament, the afore-cited words have given us sufficiently clear intimations, for they show us that the priests of the church are the proper ministers of this Sacrament; by which name are not to be understood in this place, either persons most advanced in years or the first in dignity among the people, but either bishops or priests duly ordained by them with the imposition of sacerdotal hands. The same words moreover indicate that this unction is to be administered to the sick, especially to those who are so dangerously ill that they appear to be near to depart life: on which account it is also called the Sacrament of the Dying. But if the sick, after having received this unction, recover their health, they may again receive the aid and support of this Sacrament, if they fall into some other like danger of life.

After the fashion of the world they are accordingly not to be heard, who contrary to the clear and manifest sentiment of St. James are minded to proclaim that this unction is only a human invention or a usage received from the Fathers, not founded on any Divine precept and containing no promise of grace; nor those who maintain that the usage of this unction has ceased, as if it only regarded the grace of healing which existed in the primitive church; nor those who say that the custom and manner observed by the Holy Roman Church in administering this sacrament are contrary and repugnant to

the meaning of the apostle St. James and that therefore they ought to be changed into some other; nor those, lastly, who maintain that this last unction may be despised by the faithful without sin; for all this is very manifestly opposed to the clear and precise words of that great apostle. And certainly the Church of Rome, which is the mother and mistress of all the others, does not observe anything else in the administering of this unction, as to what concerns and constitutes the substance of this sacrament, than that which St. James has prescribed concerning it; so that so great a sacrament could not be despised without a great crime and even without injury to the Holy Spirit.

This is what the holy œcumenical council professes to believe concerning the sacraments of penance and extreme unction, and what it teaches and proposes to all faithful Christians to believe and to hold. And here follow the canons on the same subject, which it presents to them to keep and to observe without violation, pronouncing perpetual condemnation and anathema against all who shall maintain the contrary.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF EXTREME UNCTION.*

Canon I. If any man shall say, that extreme unction is not truly or properly a sacrament instituted by our Lord Christ, and declared by the blessed apostle James, but only a rite received from the fathers, or a human invention; let him be accursed.

Canon II. If any shall say, that the holy anointing of the sick does not confer grace, nor remit sins, nor relieve the sick, but that it has ceased as if it were formerly only the grace of healing; let him be accursed.

Canon III. If any shall say, that the rite and usage of extreme unction, which the holy Roman Church observes, is contrary to the sentence of the blessed apostle James, and, therefore, should be changed, and may be despised by Christians without sin; let him be accursed.

Canon IV. If any shall say that the presbyters of the church, whom St. James directs to be called for the anointing of the sick, are not priests ordained by the bishops, but elders

* The translation of the Canons is taken from *Hook's* Church Dictionary.

in age, in any community: and that, therefore, the priest is not the only proper minister of extreme unction: let him be accursed.

Such is the extraordinary fiction which at this hour is universally accepted in the Church of Rome as the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. Nothing daunted by the thunders of ecclesiastical artillery we will now quietly subject the different sections of this sacrament to a critical examination, and for convenience sake follow the order of the canons, with reference to the corresponding sections in the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, published by command of Pope Pius the Fifth, the recognized standard of the Church of Rome and which, with characteristic modesty, is claimed to be "second only to the books of the Canonical Scripture." This order involves of course the history of the development of this so-called sacrament and sends us to the beginning of the question, viz., its institution. The Council of Trent says in the declaration preceding the canons that "the usage of this Sacrament is *insinuated* in St. Mark, and manifestly established and commended to the faithful by St. James, etc.;" but maintains in Canon I. that extreme unction is truly and properly a sacrament *instituted* by our Lord Christ." The declaration and the canons relating to it were framed at one session, and we might therefore reasonably expect harmony of expression. The holy fathers, it seems, were divided on the subject, and their first opinion was, that extreme unction was instituted by Christ and simply *recorded* by St. Mark. But a divine who was present ventured to suggest that the sacrament could hardly have been observed at that time, because the apostles, even according to the unerring Council of Trent, were not then priests, and, therefore, incapable of administering it (The Council of Trent declares, session 22, ch. 1, that the Christian priesthood was not instituted until our Lord's Last Supper). This induced the holy fathers to declare that extreme unction was *insinuated* by St. Mark and declared by St. James. Afterwards, however, when the canons came up, the infallible council thought it proper to return to the first position, viz., to pronounce extreme unction a sacrament *instituted* by Christ and *declared* by St. James and to fortify the declaration by an anathema

thundered against all who should gainsay.* In the catechism (made at the instance of the Council of Trent, sess. xxiv. c. 7, but published by authority of Pius the Fifth in September, 1556,) the institution of extreme unction is described as follows: "Verum quum demonstratum sit, extremam unctionem vere et proprie in sacramentorum numero habendam esse: illud etiam sequitur, *eius institutionem à Christo Domino profectam esse;* quæ postea a sancto Jacobo Apostolo fidelibus proposita et promulgata est. Quanquam idem Salvator hujus unctionis specimen quoddam dedisse visus est, quum discipulos suos binos et binos ante faciem suam misit; de illis enim apud Evangelistam ita scriptum est:† 'Exeuntes prædicabant, ut pœnitentiam agerent; et dæmonia multa ejiciebant, et ungebant oleo multos ægros; et sanabant.' Quam quidem unctionem non ab Apostolis inventam, sed a Domino præceptam, non naturali aliqua virtute præditam, sed mysticam, potius ad sanandos animos, quam ad corpora curanda institutam fuisse, credendum est. Quam rem sancti Dionysius, Ambrosius, Chrysostomus et Gregorius Magnus asserunt, ut nullo modo dubitandum sit, quin hoc unum ex septem catholicæ ecclesiæ sacramentis summa cum religione accipere oporteat." (Cat. p. 2, cap. 6, quæst. 8). Now as we are here referred first to the sending forth of the disciples, secondly to the language of St. James, and thirdly to the Fathers of the church, let us consult these references and see how they support the Romish doctrine.

The first passage, Mark vi. 12, 13, makes indeed a hopeless case for extreme unction. The disciples, we read, "went out and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and *healed* them." We have already shown that they made use of oil as a simple remedy in common use, which in virtue of the miraculous powers with which Christ had clothed them became infallibly efficacious in their hands. Efficacious in what sense? They *recovered* from their sickness. But extreme unction is applied *only* to those who in all human appearance are past recovery as a mittimus to eternity. (Hoc sacramentum nisi

* Paolo 1, 570. Faber 2, 253. Cal. Trid. 167. Labb. 20. 98. 102. Estius, 2. 1443. Rivers, c. 7, quoted in *Edgar's* Variations of Popery.

† Mark vi. 12, 13.

infirmo, de cujus morte timetur dari non debet. *Labb.* 18, 550. Exeuntibus à corpore detur. *Aquin.* 3. 146 *Cat. Trid.* p. 2, c. 6, q. 9. *Rit. Rom.* 91. *Labb.* 29, 98. *Erasmus*, 6, 174.) This passage, therefore, proves that the apostles anointed the sick with oil and *healed* them; nothing more nor less. It does not even prove that they anointed the sick with oil in obedience to the command of Christ: indeed the context seems to imply the contrary. They were so accustomed to the use of oil as a remedy in case of sickness that they applied it of their own accord, and the miraculous power, which they had received from our Lord, rendered its application efficacious. But the Church of Rome, for all that, declares that it *was* instituted by Christ. The manner in which that declaration, accompanied by anathemas against all those who deny its truth, is proved, may be useful as an illustration of Romish logic. Says *Dens*, ch. 41, "*Was this sacrament instituted immediately by Christ?*" "Yes; it is inferred from the Council of Trent, sess. 14, etc. in which it teaches, that it was promulgated by St. James; it judged therefore, that it was instituted not by him, but immediately by Christ. *When did Christ institute it?* The time is uncertain, probably, however, he instituted it after his resurrection, in the period of forty days, in which he spoke to his disciples concerning the kingdom of God, or concerning the affairs of the church, and in which, as S. Leo says, the great sacraments were confirmed. Probably also, he instituted it after the sacrament of penance, of which it is the perfection and consummation, had been instituted." This may be conclusive reasoning with members of the Latin communion; it certainly is not conclusive to us. Neither the declarations, inferences and anathemas of the holy fathers of Trent, nor even the declaration of the infallible S. Leo carry conviction to our minds, simply because they are *repugnant* to Holy Writ. We have already noticed the sore perplexity of the holy synod about the priesthood and how their infallible judgment transubstantiated the *insinuation* of St. Mark into the institution of Christ, and beg leave to add that, as we understand St. Mark, there is not even an *insinuation* of extreme unction in his language, that he adverts simply and solely to the miraculous cure of the sick, without the faintest allusion to the sacrament

of the dying. We shall show by and by that for many centuries similar views obtained in the Latin church and our hope for the peace of their soul is founded on the belief that the *ex post facto* power of the Tridentine anathemas is not greater than their effects have been since the Reformation.

The passage in St. James has already been exegetically examined and we have here only to add that it contains no reference whatsoever to the institution of the sacrament of the *dying*. St. James directs the sick to call in the elders, that they may pray over him, "anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, that the prayer of faith should save (heal) the sick, that the *Lord* would *raise him up*, and though he should have committed sins, they should be forgiven him." The context clearly shows that St. James adverts to sickness connected with sins, to miraculous effects attending the prayer of *faith*, namely, the healing of diseases connected with the forgiveness of sins; this connection characterizes the miracles of our Lord and the whole passage seems to be a fulfilment of his promise: "These signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them: *they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.*" In confirmation of the views already advanced we quote the following from *Wheatley* (on the Common Prayer xi. 7, 3): "Anointing of the sick therefore being customary among the Jews, and such anointing, when performed by those that were endued with the gift of healing, being attended with extraordinary and miraculous cures; it was very natural for St. James, when he was writing to the twelve tribes which were scattered abroad, and giving them instructions for the behaviour of the sick, to advise them to send for the elders of the church, and to commit the application of the oil to them. Not that he promised, that the ordinary use of it should always produce such a miraculous effect; but only that since the elders of the church were the persons on whom the gift of healing was generally bestowed, the happiest event from the anointing with oil might reasonably be expected, when it was done by them. And indeed that the apostle gave this advice, upon supposition that their following it, would often be attended

with miraculous cures, is plain from the words in the following verse, where he says, *that the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.* Now *faith*, we know, is often used in Scripture for an inward persuasion that one should be enabled by God to do a miracle (see Matt. xvii. 20, xxi. 21; Mark xi. 23; Luke xvii. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 9; xiii. 2): and therefore *the prayer of faith* must be prayer accompanied with such a persuasion. Consequently the meaning of St. James when he says, *the prayer of faith shall save the sick*, must be, that when *the anointing with oil*, which he directs the elders to perform, should be attended or accompanied with *the prayer of faith*, it should save or recover the sick from his disease, and prevail with the Lord to raise him up. For it is not to be supposed that they, who were endued with this gift, could exercise or exert it upon whom they pleased; but only that when they knew by the impulse of the Spirit, that the Lord designed to save any person whom they were called upon to anoint, they prayed to Him with full assurance of success and the sick was accordingly restored to health. And this being done generally to those on whom sickness had been inflicted as a chastisement for some sins which they had committed (which was a very common case in the beginning of the church, see 1 Cor. xi. 30—32; John v. 14), therefore it is added, that *if he have committed sins, they should be forgiven him; i. e.*, not only his affliction or disease should be removed, but his sins, which were the cause of it, should be taken away."

Not a word, not a hint, not even the faintest allusion can be detected here, that points to the institution of a *sacrament.* We can see nothing more than an illustration of the efficacy of the prayer of faith in the miraculous *recovery* of the sick. On no sound principle of exegesis can any other deduction be made from the language of St. James; grammar, etymology and common sense conspire to forbid any other construction, but these are not necessary in the case of commentators of the *infallible* church, we are therefore not surprised at the comment of *Corn-a-Lapide:* "*oratio fidei*, id est, sacramentum et forma sacramentalis extremæ unctionis, *salvabit infirmum*, hoc est, conferet ei gratiam qua salvetur anima." But of this more below.

Turn we now to the testimony of the church during the first six centuries. After the emphatic and positive declaration of the Council of Trent, fortified with the thunder of their anathemas, we expect of course that although the Evangelist and St. James fail them, the Fathers of the church will certainly bear them out. But here we have at once to encounter the stubborn fact, that although during the continuance of the gift of healing in the church anointing was used as the sign of a miraculous cure, the Christian writers who discuss other sacraments, rites and observances of the church, are absolutely *silent* about the *sacrament* of extreme unction.

The first reference to extreme unction is found among the Marcosian Gnostics, the adherents of *Marcus*, who lived in the latter half of the second century. They anointed the *dead* with a costly balsam of far-spreading fragrance mingled with water, and pronounced over them a form of prayer to the end that the souls of the departed, freed from the Demiurge and all his powers, might be able to rise to their mother, the Sophia. (Iren. lib. 1, c. 21, quoted by Neander, Ch. H. 2, p. 155).

In the Greek Church of the first centuries, the passage James v. 14, 15, is very rarely applied to other than purely exegetical purposes. *Origen* (2 Hom. on Lev. 4,) enumerating the various means granted to Christians for the atonement of their sins, specifies as the seventh penance which he regards as the fulfilment of the apostolic counsel: "Si quis autem infirmatur, vocet presbyteros ecclesiæ et *imponant ei manus* ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, et si in peccatis fuerit, remittentur ei." It is evident from the context that he took *infirmitas* in a moral, not in a physical sense, and that the imposition of hands, which he freely inserts among the words of James was in his day connected with unction, as a local usage in the restoration of the lapsed. It is almost superfluous to add that the Romish authors, who detect here a connection of the sacrament of penance with that of extreme unction, draw on their imagination and deliver arbitrary dicta. The same may be said of a passage in Chrysostom on the priesthood, iii. 196, where the words of James are cited in proof of the priest's power to dispense absolution. The Greek commentators on Mark vi.

13, dwell indeed on the physical and spiritual import of oil, but this does not prove that extreme unction was observed in their time, because anointing with oil was a rite used at the admission of catechumens, at the confirmation of the baptized, and at the reception of converted heretics. Special attention should be given to the significant observation of *Theophylact* on Mark vi. 13, that this evangelist is the sole witness for the practice of the apostles to anoint the sick with oil, confirmed only by the passage in James. *Joannes Damascenus*, treating of the mysteries of the church, specifies only Baptism and the Lord's Supper. *Theodulph* of Orleans, of the *Western* Church, about A. D., 798, gave the *first* authentic information that the *Greek* Church observed the rite of anointing the sick. (Herzog's R. E. article *Letzte Oelung*).

Tertullian and *Cyprian*, whose writings abound in the fullest particulars of ecclesiastical usages observed in the East, are absolutely silent on the subject of *extreme unction*. But the former and other ecclesiastical writers state that oil, in virtue of a special charisma, was used for the purpose of effecting miraculous cures. We have already mentioned the cure of Severus by the Christian Proculus, mentioned by *Tertullian* (ad Scap. c. 4) other examples are given by *Chemnitz* and *Binterim* (vi. 3, 289). Superstition soon took hold of such facts and prompted the credulous, as early as the 4th century, to take from the lighted church-lamps the oil in order to use it as a preservative from future sickness, or as a miraculous remedy for actual disease (Chrys. hom. 32, in Matt. c. 6). Similar superstitions obtained with respect to baptismal water. *Marheineke* (Symb. 1. 3. p. 258) sees in this superstition, countenanced by the church with reference to the passages in Mark and James, the origin of the institution of the so-called sacrament of extreme unction. This superstition prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons, who viewed water, oil and other things, hallowed by the church, as remedies against bodily disease. In illustration of this statement read the following extract from a Homil. in Nat. S. Cuthb. in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodley, 340, f. 65. "With holy water he healed a woman, the alderman's wife, from a miserable disease, and she soon waited upon himself. Afterward at the same time, he with oil smeared a

maiden lying in long affliction, through a grievous headache, and she was soon better of it. A certain pious man was also very ill, and lay at the point of death, given over by his friends. One of these had some holy bread which the pious man formerly blessed, and he dipped it immediately in water, and moistened his kinsman's mouth with it and immediately assuaged the disease."

The first *reliable* mention of unction of the sick as practised in the Church of Rome is found in the Epistle of *Innocent*, bishop of Rome (A. D. 416) to *Decentius*, bishop of Eugubium, Ep. 25, c. 11 in *Constant-Schönemann's* Cath. K. L). He says on Jas. v. 14: "Quod non est dubium de *fidelibus ægrotantibus* accipi vel intelligi delete, qui sancto oleo chrismatis perungi *possunt*, quod ab episcopo confectum, *non solum sacerdotibus*, *sed omnibus uti Christianis* licet in sua aut in suorum necessitate ungendum. Cæterum illud superfluum videmus adjectum (scil. in epist. Decentii), ut de Episcopo ambigatur, quod Presbyteris licere non dubium est. Nam idcirco Presbyteris dictum est, quia Episcopi occupationibus aliis impediti ad omnes languidos ire non possunt. Cæterum si Episcopus aut potest, aut dignum ducit aliquem ave visitandum, et benedicere et tangere chrismate sine cunctatione potest, cujus est ipsum chrisma conficere: nam pœnitentibus istud infundi non potest qui *genus* est *sacramenti*. Nam quibus reliqua sacramenta negantur, quomodo unum genus putatur posse concedi? His igitur, frater carissime, omnibus quæ tua dilectio voluit a nobis exponi, prout potuimus respondere curavimus ut ecclesia tua Romanam consuetudinem, a qua originem ducit, servare valeat atque custodire." This passage marks the period at which the medicinal use of unction with oil began to pass into the sacramental, and establishes the interesting facts that the sacrament of extreme unction was unknown in the fifth century, that the Bishop of Rome and Decentius knew nothing of it, that it could not therefore have been a sacrament instituted by Christ and practised from the beginning, for no bishop, and especially no bishop of Rome, could have been ignorant of the number of the sacraments; that Innocent, eulogized for learning by Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom and Bellarmine, could only designate it as a *kind* of sacrament, which *might* be ad-

ministered not only by the presbyter but by every Christian, both for himself and for his friends; that they were *entitled* but not *bound* to use it; that the matter of this so-called sacrament was not pure oil, but simply *the oil of chrism* made and kept for other occasions, and that its use by all Christians indiscriminately (for none but the penitents are denied the use by *Innocent*) seems simply to amount to an ecclesiastical sanction of the superstitious use of Chrism with a view to miraculous recovery from sickness; that even the vague term "*genus sacramenti*" does not establish the *quasi* sacramental character of unction with oil, for Innocent in the same epistle gives directions concerning the carrying about of the *bread*, which they blessed and sent round as an emblem of their communion with other churches, restricting the sending round of that bread to the churches within the city, because he conceived the *sacraments* were not to be carried a great way off; so that these loaves are called by him, not only a *kind of sacrament*, but simply reckoned to be *sacraments* (*Burnet* on article 25); that finally *Innocent* describes the custom as belonging only to the Roman Church, *i. e.*, to the church in the city of Rome, and requests *Decentius* to conform to that custom.

From that time to the end of the seventh century nothing more is heard of anointing the sick with Chrism. The councils of the fourth century are silent on the subject. Their penitentiary canons contain not the remotest allusion to it. "The Constitutions and the pretended *Dionysius*,"* say not a word of it, though they were full upon all the rituals of that time in which those works were forged, in the 4th or 5th century. In none of the lives of the Saints before the ninth century, is there any mention made of their having extreme unction; though their deaths are sometimes very particularly related, and their receiving the eucharist is oft mentioned." (*Burnet.*)

But from the end of the 8th century the anointing of the sick is frequently mentioned. The first council of Mayence (A. D. 847) specifies it in connection with penance and the eucharist, (*viaticum*,) but as preceding them. The second council of

* *Dionysius* non facit aliquam mentionem de extrema unctione. *Aquinas*, iii. 29, 1, p. 462.

Aix-la-Chapelle (A. D. 836) ch. 2, 8, adverts to it in language which imports that the curative virtue of the oil is a pious belief (unctio s. olei, in quo salvatio infirmorum CREDITUR, *Mansi*, 14, 678,) but the Synod of Chalons (A. D. 813) mentions it as a remedy for the infirmities of the *soul* and of the body (medicina, quæ animæ corporisque medetur languoribus, *Mansi*, 14, 104;) the Synod of Regiaticinium (A. D. 850) calls it already "magne sane ac valde appetendum mysterium," adding "per quod, si fideliter poscitur, et remittuntur (peccata), et CONSEQUENTER *corporalis salus restituitur* (*Mansi* 14, 932.) *Bede's* testimony is similar to that of *Innocent*, as given above. He says: "The sick is, according to ecclesiastical usage, to be anointed with consecrated oil and healed. This is lawful, not only for the pastors, but also, as *Innocent* hath declared, for all Christians, both for themselves and their friends." *Beda*, 5. 693. The *recovery* of the sick appears to be throughout the principal object in the use of unction, yet with an unmistakable reference to penance, and it would seem that the necessity of its application was confined to sinners, if we may judge the matter by the case of the monks of Corbie who asked *Adelhard*, their abbot, whether he *desired* to be anointed with the holy oil, because they were fully convinced that he was not burdened with sins. (See *Herzog's* R. E.)*

But the effect contemplated in the use of unction, viz., recovery of health, failed so often that the fear of the practice falling into discredit, induced the Latin Church to say in the tenth century that it did good to the *soul*, even when the body was not healed by it, and to apply unction to various parts of the body. The addition of the spiritual element gave rise in

* "As a substitute for the amulets and forms of incantation, resorted to by the sick, was introduced the anointing of the sick with consecrated oil according to the direction in James v. 14, 15, and Mark vi. . . . . This unction was applied, then, in the first place, in all cases of sickness, and not merely in the last extremity; even the laity performed in on themselves, and on the members of their household." *Neander*, Ch. H. vi. 145. The original application of this pretended sacrament to the healing of the body is also manifest from the prayers which accompanied it. "Cura quæ sumus, Redemptor noster, gratia Spiritûs Sancti *languores istius infirmi*," and so the directions, "*in loco ubi plus dolor imminet, amplius perungatur.*" Sacr. Gregor, by Menard, Paris 1542, p. 252.

the beginning of the 12th century to the question, whether unction might be repeated in cases where the sick, after anointing had taken place, recovered their health. *Geoffrey*, abbot of Vendome (A. D. 1110) addressed *Ivo*, bishop of Chartres, on the subject, who opposed the repetition on the ground that according to the decision of the apostolical see the act was a *genus sacramenti* and identical with public penance, which in the opinion of *Augustine* and *Ambrose* could not be repeated any more than baptism. This opinion fully coincided with the popular belief that those who recovered their health after unction had been administered were not suffered to walk barefooted and obliged to abstain from meat and matrimony. On this account the people exhibited sometimes great reluctance in submitting to unction in ordinary sickness, and the application was postponed to their dying hour. The terms *sacramentum exeuntium* or *extrema unctio* were not current before the 12th century.

Hugo St. Victor was the first who spoke of extreme unction as a sacrament, and *Peter Lombard* the first who assigned to it the fifth place in his enumeration of the seven sacraments (the former in de Sacram. ii. p. xv. and Summa Sentent. tract. vi. c. 15; the latter in Sentent. 1. 4. Dist. 23); both *favoured* the repetition of it. *Peter Lombard* says: "Sacramentum unctionis spritualis est quædam medicina, corporis et animæ languores mitigans et sanans: nam oleum membra dolentia sanat. Itaque oleum ad utrumque curandum prodest. Si morbus non revertitur, medicina non iteretur; si autem morbus non protest cohiberi, quare deberet medicina prohiberi? . . . Quare ergo negatur quod unctionis sacramentum super infirmum *iterari possit* ad reparandam sæpius sanitatem, et ad impetrandam sæpius peccatorum remissionem?). In the hands of the schoolmen, and especially in those of *Thomas Aquinas*, the doctrine took the shape in which it was at first decreed as a sacrament by *Eugenius IV.* at the Council of Florence (A. D. 1439*), and

* *Decretum Eugenii IV.* in Con. Florent. (*Mansi* T. 31. Col. 1058): Quintum Sacramentum est extrema unctio. Cujus materia est oleum olivæ per episcopum benedictum. Hoc sacramentum nisi infirmo, de cujus morte timetur, dari non debet. Qui in his locis ungendum est: in oculis propter visum, in auribus propter auditum, in naribus propter oderatum, in ore propter gustum vel locutionem, in manibus propter tactum, in pedibus propter gressum,

finally established by the Council of Trent (A. D. 1551), as given above.

The Romish authorities were divided as to the origin of Extreme Unction. *Peter Lombard* (l. c. Lit. b) says; it was instituted by the apostles, *Alexander of Hales* (Summa p. iv. q. 8. membr. 2. art. 1): by Christ through the apostles, *Bonaventura* (in libr. iv. Dist. 23, art. 1. qu. 2), by the Holy Ghost through the apostles, while *Thomas Aquinas* (Summ, suppl. p. iii. qu. 29, art. 3) deems it more probable that according to Mark vi. 13, Christ himself instituted extreme unction, but left the publication of it to the apostles, because it presents little difficulty to faith and is neither absolutely necessary to salvation nor immediately connected with the establishment of the church. It was left to the infallible Council of Trent to put an end to this conflict of opinions, of which the above are only a few specimens, by its unerring declaration and thunder-fraught canons.

Having thus traced the history of the origin of extreme unction, we leave the reader to his own reflections and proceed to consider the remaining features of this extraordinary compound of hierarchical ingenuity. The next, in the order of the Canons, is the *effect* of extreme unction. The Council of Trent prefaces the decree relating to this subject (see above p. 191) as follows: "The holy council has deemed it expedient to add to its exposition of penance, the following concerning the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, which in the judgment of the holy fathers is the consummation not only of penance, but of the whole Christian life, which ought to be a continual penance. First then as touching its institution, it judges and teaches, that as our most merciful Redeemer, who at all times would have his servants furnished with salutary remedies against all the darts of all their enemies, has in the other sacraments supplied Christians with potent helps for their defence during the course of their earthly warfare, from the greatest spiritual evils,

in renibus propter delectationem ibidem vigentem. Forma hujus sacramenti est hæc: per istam unctionem et piissimam misericordiam, quicquid peccasti per visum etc. . . . . et similiter in aliis membris. Minister hujus sacramenti est sacerdos. Effectus vero est mentis sanatio, et in quantum autem expedit, ipsius etiam corporis." Then follows James v. 14, 15.

so likewise he would arm and fortify the end of their course with the sacrament of extreme unction, as with a powerful and unfailing defence. For although the adversary seeks and embraces every opportunity of devouring our souls throughout the whole course of our life, there is no period at which he employs all his cunning and craftiness with greater power and earnestness to ruin us wholly, and to make us, if he could, falter in our trust in the mercy of God, than when he sees us near our life's end." Connecting this pompous declaration with the language of Ch. ii. of the decree (see above p. 191) and that of Canon ii. (see p. 193), we turn for further information to the great Romish authorities and to the Catechism of the Council of Trent. We should expect to find in this most important part of the sacrament greater unanimity than on the subject of its institution, but encounter a perfect Babel of confusion and contradiction. *Peter Lombard* describes the effect of extreme unction as "peccatorum remissio et corporalis infirmitatis alleviatio l. c. dit. B. *Albert the Great* argues, that since baptism cleanses men from original sin, penance from actual sin, the remission of sins effected by extreme unction can only apply to the remainder (*reliquiæ*) of sin which bars the entrance of the soul into eternal rest (lib. iv. Dist. 23, art. 14). *Thomas Aquinas* defines these *reliquiæ* of sin as spiritual infirmity, a kind of languor and incapacity for doing good and performing the acts of grace, remaining as the consequence of original and actual sin. That as confirmation and the eucharist cancel all sins, both venial and mortal, (the latter of course only if unconsciously committed) *quoad culpam* existing at the time of the administration of those sacraments, so also extreme unction cancels all sin, still remaining at the time of its application, but that this is rather an accidental than a primary and specific effect; that the language of James is on that account hypothetical "if he is in a state of sin", for extreme unction does not always cancel sins, because it does not always meet with the same sins, seeing they have already been cancelled by penance and absolution (l. c. qu. 30, art. 1); corporeal healing is only a secondary object, it does not always succeed but only where it does not hinder but further the primary object, and even in that case it is not the effect of the natural matter but

that of sacramental grace (art. 2). *Bonaventura* vehemently opposes the theory of *Thomas Aquinas* concerning the primary view of the sacrament, contending that the specific effect of extreme unction consists not in the cancelling of said *reliquiæ* of sins, but in the cancelling of *venial* sins, which are inevitable in common life and necessarily are ever recurring; extreme unction, instituted for the close of life, cancels them effectually and prevents their recurrence, imparts to the liberated soul new strength for devout and loving contemplation, which strength necessarily reacts beneficially on the body, although the latter effect is merely *per accidens* (Lib. iv. Dist. 23. art. 1. qu. 1. see *Herzog*, R. E. l. c.) Thus stood the question at the time of the Council of Trent. The holy fathers were perplexed by these fine-spun distinctions of the schoolmen, and finally adopted the *summary* expedient of incorporating them *one and all* in their decree. (Ch. ii. p. 191). But notwithstanding the reiterated declaration of the holy council that it was assembled and deliberating under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, notwithstanding the anathemas of its canons, many Roman Catholic writers, neither deterred by the infallible utterances of the holy fathers, nor terrified by their anathemas, have taken the liberty of dissenting from them in many important particulars; we shall advert to these variations after we have heard the teaching of the catechism of Trent. It enumerates five particulars as constituting the effects of extreme unction.

1. Docebunt igitur pastores, hoc sacramento gratiam tribui, quæ peccata, et in primis quidem leviora, et, ut communi nomine appellantur, venialia, remittit; exitiales enim culpæ pœnitentiæ sacramento tolluntur.

2. Altera est sacræ unctionis utilitas, quod animam a languore et infirmitate, quam ex peccatis contraxit, et a ceteris omnibus peccati reliquiis liberat.

3. In anticipation of the state after death, it disarms death of its terrors. "Ut igitur hac sollicitudine fidelium mentes liberentur, animusque pio et sancto gaudio repleatur, extremæ unctionis sacramentum efficit.

4. Extreme unction fortifies us against the violent assaults of Satan.

5. Accedit postremo, si quidem profutura sit, etiam corporis sanitas.

It is instructive to mark the ingenious finesse with which the author of this section (Parts ii. cap. vi. qu. 14) of the Roman Catechism manages to differ from the holy fathers of Trent and to cover his departure from their infallible declarations. After stating that the grace of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction remits venial sins, he adds "neque enim hoc sacramentum *primario loco* ad graviorum criminum remissionem institutum est, sed baptismus *tantum* et pœnitentia *vi sua hoc efficiunt.*" The use of the phrase "*primario loco,*" seems to imply a "*secundario loco,*" but this is evidently not the case, for the very next clause informs us that *baptism* and *penance* effect the remission of those *graviora crimina.* The Irish translator of the Catechism (Professor *Donovan* of Maynooth College) sought to improve the ambiguity of the Latin original by rendering: "Its primary object is not to remit mortal sins. For this the sacrament of penance was instituted, as was that of baptism for the remission of original sin." But his version only serves to give greater prominence to the inconsistency of the original; for if baptism remits original sins, and penance mortal sins, what sins besides venial remain to be remitted by extreme unction? The holy fathers of Trent said that extreme unction cancels the remainder of sin and the sins themselves (i. e. actual sins) if any remain to be expiated. The Roman Catechism, professedly the exposition of their doctrine, strips the sacrament of the dying of all virtue to cancel mortal sins.

After this surprising variation of the Trentine doctrine in the Roman Catechism we may classify the different opinions entertained on this point in the Church of Rome. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition we connect those differences with the names of the schoolmen who may be regarded as their leaders and exponents.

1. *Bonaventura*, *Fleury*, *Challenor* and the Roman Catechism limit the effect of extreme unction to the remission of *venial* sins.

2. *Estius*, *Dens*, the Council of Mayence and al. extend it to the remission of *mortal* sins.

(*Estius*, 2. 1145, *Labb.* 19. 1412. Effectus non uno modo

ab omnibus explicatur. Quidam de remissione *venialium* intelligunt. Alii de peccatis mortalium Apostolum exponunt. Ad omnia cujuscumque generis peccata extendendum videtur. Peccata reliquias abstergit.)

3. Some apply the effect of extreme unction to *venial and mortal* sins; this according to the interpretation of *Estius* and *Calmet* was the doctrine of the Council of Trent.

4. *Aquinas*, *Soto*, *Valentia*, *Durandus* and many others, apply the effect neither to mortal nor to venial sins, but to *weakness*, *infirmity* and *the remains of sin;* they are however at variance on the meaning of "remains of sin."

Bellarmine understands the *reliquiæ peccati* to describe on the one hand *venial* or *mortal* offences committed by men after confession and the reception of the eucharist, or which, confession and the eucharist notwithstanding, remain uncancelled because they received them, without being aware of it, not in the right way and consequently without the right effect; on the other hand he makes the *reliquiæ peccati* to consist in the anxiety and sorrow, which, as the consequence of sin, embitter and aggravate the hour of death. (C. 8.)

This simple enumeration of conflicting opinions on the *effect* of the sacrament of extreme unction (which according to *Dens* might be arranged under ten leading heads of differences, to say nothing of minor variations) affords the strongest evidence of the unscripturalness, weakness, and uselessness of the whole sacrament. We measure our terms and guard our words, but when the avowed supporters and advocates of the sacrament are virtually unable to produce a tangible, solid argument for its observance, when they are compelled to distort and pervert the language of Scripture, to cite authorities which cannot be verified, to invent subtle metaphysical distinctions without differences, and to fortify their teaching by appeals to a council whose opinions they contradict, and when we have gathered all this information from their own writings, the broad principle *fas est ab hoste doceri* will exonerate us from the charge of want of charity, if we pronounce the whole thing an impious attempt of investing a clumsy human invention with virtues which the sense of Bible Christianity in every age of the Christian era has solely lodged in the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The progress of science, the influence of an enlightened press, the march of improvement, have told everywhere but in the Latin church, and it is melancholy indeed that Romish theologians have been driven to a thoughtless reiteration of the definitions of Trent and the Roman Catechism of the effects of this *extreme absurdity* of a sacrament. They have indeed enlarged upon those definitions in numerous citations, of course, with a correspondingly increased ratio of confusion and contradiction, and lately attempted "to furnish the Romish dogma with the appearance of a profoundly scientific basis in sundry reflections on the connection of the life of the soul with the natural organism of the body and the connection of sin with evil," (see e. g. the Article in the Katholisch. Kirchenlexikon). In the words of *Steitz* (in *Herzog's* R. E. l. c.) "the history of the development of this doctrine clearly demonstrates the inability of the Roman Church to authenticate the independent character of this sacrament by the proof of a specific effect. For if it is sought in the victory over the anguish and fear of death, or in the strengthening of moral weakness left by sin, it is difficult to see why this should not be effected by the eucharist, which is the substantial bread that gives life to the soul and perpetual health to the spirit, the power of which gives the believer strength to accomplish his pilgrimage through this life of misery to his heavenly fatherland (Decret. Trident. de eucharistia, cap. viii). If on the other hand the primary object of this sacrament is sought in the remission of sins, it is equally incomprehensible that unction with oil should be necessary for that purpose, because, according to Roman usage, unction is always immediately preceded by absolution and the eucharist, by the former of which imperfect contrition is not only perfected, but all sins, even those unintentionally omitted in the confession, are also remitted thereby. But who can hold with *Bellarmine* that those who have been absolved and incorporated into Christ should *immediately* after penance and the reception of the eucharist burden their conscience with fresh guilt, and that the cancelling of that guilt requires a special sacrament? does not the mere assumption of such a possibility degrade and question the grace which operates in the sacrament? Even Roman Catholic theologians consider the recovery of health as a merely secondary and

purely accidental effect of extreme unction and are consequently precluded from using it in justification of its sacramental character." The Roman Catholic account of the effect of extreme unction is the flattest contradiction of the scriptural anointing with oil as recommended by James. *He* makes the recovery of health absolute and the remission of sins conditional, *they* make the recovery of health conditional and the remission of sins absolute.

The third canon of the Council of Trent relates to the *matter* and *form* of extreme unction. The catechism (P. ii. c. vi. qu. 5) gives the following account of the former: "Ejus igitur elementum sive materia, quemadmodum concilia, ac præcipue Tridentinum* decrevit, est oleum *ab episcopo consecratum;* liquor scilicet non ex quavis pingui et crassa natura, sed ex olearum baccis tantummodo expressus. Aptissime autem hæc materia illud significat, quod vi sacramenti interius in anima efficitur: nam ut oleum ad mitigandos corporis doloris magnopere proficit: ita sacramenti virtus animæ tristitiam ac dolorem minuit. Oleum præterea sanitatem restituit, hilaritatem affert, et lumini tanquam pabulum præbet; tum vero ad recreandas defatigati corporis vires maxime accomodatum est. Quæ omnia, quid in ægroto divina virtute per hujus sacramenti administrationem efficiatur, declarant. Hæc de materia satis sint." On the point of *matter* the doctors for once agree, but they are one and all arrayed against Scripture, for even the Council of Trent admits that the disciples anointed the sick with oil before the Christian Priesthood had been instituted. But then they only anointed the sick with a view to recovery of health, and this is the last thing contemplated by the Romish unction; the real and incalculable benefits of the sacrament were therefore not enjoyed by those who were anointed by the disciples; the wonder is that notwithstanding the absence of episcopal consecration they were *healed*, as the Evangelist informs us.—The circumstances under which the holy oil is consecrated are quite interesting; we give an account of them in the language of *Dens*. "The oil of the sick, which is the matter of this sacrament, together with the chrism and the oil of catechumens, is

* Sess. xiv. de Extr. Unct. cap. 1. see above p. 191.

solemnly blessed by the bishop, every year on the day of the Lord's Supper,* who distributes them to the archpresbyters, and they to the pastors." *Thomas Aquinas* thinks that the oil must be consecrated by the bishop, in order to testify that the priestly authority proceeds from the episcopal, and that the grace operating in the sacrament emanates from Christ and passes through the bishops to the priests and through them to the people, (l. c. qu. 29, art. 6.) *Dens* continues: "For this purpose each pastor brings three silver or pewter vessels, marked with letters for the sake of distinction, in which silk or some other spongy matter is usually deposited, in order to avoid the danger of spilling. When fresh oils are brought, the old ones are burned, and the ashes are sent into the sacristy, or if the quantity is considerable, it may be consumed in a lamp, before the adorable sacrament," etc. In case the oil blessed by the bishop should fail before the annual period for preparing new has arrived, oil that has not been blessed may be mixed with it, but the quantity must be less than the holy oil which remains.—Before we dismiss this part of the subject, it is only proper to add that the section of the foregoing extract from the catechism, which symbolizes the properties of oil, is a free translation of *Theophylact's* comment on the passage in Mark.

Closely connected with the *matter* of extreme unction is the *manner* of its administration. "The sacred unction is to be applied not to the entire body, but to the organs of sense only—to the eyes the organs of sight, to the ears of hearing, to the nostrils of smelling, to the mouth of taste and speech, to the hands of touch. The sense of touch, it is true, is diffused throughout the entire body, yet the hands are its peculiar seat.

* That is *Holy Thursday*, the day on which our Lord instituted the Holy Communion. The Catechism of Trent (P. ii. c. iii. qu. 6) informs us "that its solemn consecration is in accordance with the instructions of our Lord, when at His last supper He committed to His apostles the *manner of making chrism*, we learn from Pope Fabian, a man eminently distinguished by his sanctity and by the glory of martyrdom." The Gospels contain no account of this important matter, but the authority of Fabian is "too great to be questioned" (*sic!*), for although only a layman and a stranger, the *fact* that a dove settled on his head at the time of the election of a pope, was regarded as a miraculous sign, and he was thereupon raised to the pontificate! Who can question such authority?

This manner of administering extreme unction is observed throughout the universal church, and accords with the medicinal nature of this sacrament (*atque etiam hujus sacramenti naturæ optime convenit*). As in bodily disease, although it affects the entire body, yet the cure is applied to that part only which is the seat of the disease, so in *spiritual malady*, this sacrament is applied not to the entire body, but to those members which are properly the organs of sense, and also to the loins, which are, as it were, the seat of concupiscence, and to the feet, by which we move from one place to another." (Cat. p. ii. c. vi. qu. 10. Compare also the following variations. "Septima in organo principali generativæ." *Faber*, 2. 254. "Super inguines per ardorem libidinis." *Dachery*, 1. 700. "Quoad renes, non est decens, præsertim in fœminis et viris religiosis." *Arsdekin*, 2. 378. Rit. Rom. 93). The feet are anointed on the upper part, lest the holy oil might seem to be trodden under foot. The anointing of the eyes is not done on the pupil, but on the eyelid; the anointing for the sense of taste is performed on the lips, not on the tongue. When the sick man has neither hands nor feet, the unction must be made on that part of the body which is nearest to where they ought to be. The back of the hands must be anointed. Those who have been born blind must also be anointed, on account of vision; for though they have never seen anything and consequently could not sin by the organs of vision, yet they may have sinned by desiring to see improper things. The unction may be performed either with the thumb, or with a rod, at the option of the minister. If there is danger of *infecting* the oil, a fresh bit of wood may be used at the time of each anointing, and these must afterwards be burned. As for the wiping off of the anointed organs, the pastorate prescribes that the minister or priest, after each unction, must wipe the anointed parts with a fresh wad of silk or tow, and deposit them in a clean vessel, and burn them; but if there is no fire ready, the burning is entrusted to the servants. The five unctions of the five senses are alone essential. The anointing of the breast or feet is not essential; so that the Mechlin pastoral directory teaches, that when the five former have been applied, the mind of the priest may be easy, as the sick man has now received

the sacrament." *Dens* in Berg's Epitome. But his exposition differs from the prescriptions of the Roman Ritual, which insists upon all the parts enumerated in the Catechism being anointed. In pestilence or contagious diseases the rod is used, which is dipped in the holy oil and applied by the minister to the parts to be anointed. This method of administering extreme unction is as efficacious as the application of the holy oil with the thumb, and has the additional advantage of protecting the minister from infection. Each separate anointing is applied in the form of the cross, and not only is the cotton (silk or tow) after use burned, and the ashes, for fear of profanation, thrown into the sacrarium, but the very water with which the priest washes his hands, is, for the same reason, poured into a clean and retired place. (Intincto pollice in oleo sancto, in modum crucis ungit infirmum. Sacerdos tingat loca injuncta novo globulo bombacii, et comburat, cineresque projiciat in sacrarium. *Rit. Rom.* 96, 97. Lavat manus et lavatio non nisi in loco mundo et abdito solet effundi. *Ulderic* 3. 28. *Dachery*, 1. 700; *Dens*, 7, 6). Contrasting this complicated and, in some respects, revolting performance with the simple anointing referred to by Mark and James, we are not surprised that even *Latin* authorities declare explicitly that extreme unction is wholly diverse from the anointing of the apostles. Cardinal *Cajetan* is thus cited by *Catharinus* in his annotations, Paris, 1535, p. 191, de Sacramento Unctionis Extremæ. "Sed et quod scribit B. Jacobus. 'Infirmatur quis in vobis?' etc., pariter negat reverendissimus ad hoc sacramentum pertinere, ita scribens, *nec ex verbis, nec ex effectu*, verba hæc loquantur de sacramentali unctione extremæ unctionis, sed magis de unctione quam instituit Dominus Jesus exercendum in ægrotis. Textus enim non dicit, Infirmatur quis *ad mortem?* sed absolute, Infirmatur quis?" etc. So *Calmet*, Comm. 19, 50. "L'onction qu'employient les apôstres regardoit principalement les maladies du corps; au lieu que l'onction des malades, quis se fait dans l'église, a pour premier object les maladies de l'âme."

We come now to the *form* of this pretended sacrament. The Catechism of the Council of Trent gives us this information: "With regard to the form, it consists of the following words,

which contain a solemn prayer and are used at each anointing, according to the sense to which the unction is applied: "By this holy unction, and through His great mercy, may God indulge thee whatever sins thou hast committed by sight, smell, touch, etc., etc." ("Per istam sanctam unctionem indulgeat tibi Deus quicquid oculorum, sive narium, tactus vitio deliquisti.") That this is *the true form* of this sacrament, we learn from those words of St. James: "Let them pray over him, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick man;" words which intimate (ex quo licet cognoscere) that the form is to be applied by way of prayer, although the apostle does not say of what particular words that prayer is to consist. But this form has been handed down to us by *apostolic tradition*, and is *universally* retained, as observed by the Church of Rome, the mother and mistress of all churches. Some, it is true, alter a few words, as when for "God indulge thee," they say, "God remit," or "spare," and sometimes, "heal whatever thou hast committed;" but the sense is evidently the same, and, of course, the form observed by all is strictly the same. Nor should it excite our surprise that, whilst the form of each of the other sacraments either absolutely signifies what it expresses, such as, "I baptize thee," or "I sign thee with the sign of the cross," or is pronounced, as it were, by way of a command, as in administering holy orders, "Receive power," the form of extreme unction alone is expressed by way of prayer. The propriety of this difference will at once appear, if we reflect that this sacrament is administered not only for the health of the soul, but also for that of the body, and as it does not please Divine Providence at all times to restore health to the sick, the form consists of a prayer, by which we beg of the Divine bounty that which is not a constant and uniform effect of the sacrament." (Cat. p. ii. c. vi. qu. 6, 7.)

Such a perversion of truth would be altogether incredible, if the language just quoted were not the authorized language of the Church of Rome. Its ratiocination may be convincing to Roman Catholics, but it staggers common sense and excites horror, not unmingled with pity, in a Protestant mind. Here we are confidently assured that the words "By this holy unction, and through his great mercy, may God indulge thee

whatsoever sins thou hast committed by sight, etc., etc.," are contained in, implied in, or suggested by, those of James: "Let them pray over him, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick man." Do they contain any, even the remotest reference to such indulgence? If the words, "And if he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him," had been cited, there would have been at least a show of reason, rendered plausible by the sound of the words "sin" and "forgiven," but they are *not* quoted, doubtless for the purpose of making prayer the *opus operatum.* This is evident from the explicit declaration of the Catechism, that the words of James "intimate that the form is to be applied by prayer;" but because those words do not carry on their face any such intimation, the unerring framers of the Catechism, in order to put their interpretation beyond the reach of doubt and aspersion, appeal to *tradition*, the same infallible source from which they learn that the Lord Jesus at the time of the institution of the Holy Communion taught the Apostles how to make *chrism.* This, of course, settles the matter.—This form, moreover, the Catechism assures us, is *universally* retained. We have seen the extent of that universality anterior to the Council of Trent; said form is equally universal now, for out of three hundred and thirty-five millions of nominal Christians supposed to exist in the world, one hundred and sixty-five millions, comprising all Greek and Protestant Christians, have absolutely no knowledge of that form. The discrepancy in the form of this sacrament, as contrasted with the others, was felt by the framers of the Catechism to present a serious difficulty, but not too serious to prevent its being overcome. *Unction* is not the form, but *prayer*, because recovery of health is not a constant and uniform effect of the sacrament. But as "this sacrament is to be administered to those only whose malady is such as to excite apprehensions of approaching dissolution," *i. e.*, to persons *in articulo mortis*, or *in exitu vitæ*, it is manifest that the *many prayers* which constitute the *form* of this sacrament are merely used as a cover for the *opus operatum* of the episcopally blessed ointment; the application of the *ointment* is the chief *opus operatum*, of which the many prayers are the adjunct of a second *opus operatum;* it is immaterial that the prayers refer both to the diseases of the soul and to

those of the body, for if recovery of bodily health does not take place, as it is never expected to take place, the Sacrament of Extreme Unction *saves* the soul. The subjects of extreme unction never expect to be restored to health, it is to them an unmistakable sign that they are *expected to die*, and they regard its application as a final *mittimus* to eternity. In this connection it is proper to advert to those who are excluded from the privilege of receiving extreme unction. It is denied 1. to all who are not *gravi morbi affecti*, 2. to persons in health engaged in dangerous pursuits, such as a perilous voyage or the fatal dangers of battle, 3. to condemned criminals, 4. to the insane and to children. We are led, therefore, to infer, that as extreme unction remits venial and mortal sins, all the *reliquiæ* of sin, heals infirmity, imparts strength, fortifies the soul against temptation, the happy subject of extreme unction immediately after death is translated to the realms of bliss, and that the purgatorial torments are reserved for heretics, sailors, soldiers, sentenced malefactors, madmen, and children. It is indeed difficult to reconcile the saying of Masses for the souls of deceased Romanists who have received absolution, the eucharist and extreme unction, with the pretended saving effects of said sacraments. Cardinal *Wiseman* (Lectures on the Church, vol. 2, lect. xi., p. 45) indeed informs us that, "the idea that God besides condemning some to eternal punishment, and receiving others unto eternal glory, should have been pleased to appoint a middle and temporary state, in which those who are not sufficiently guilty for the severer condemnation, nor sufficiently pure to enjoy the vision of his face, are for a time punished and purged, so as to be qualified for this blessing, assuredly contains nothing but what is most accordant with all we can conceive of his justice. No one will venture to assert that all sins are equal before God—that there is no difference between those cold-blooded and deliberate acts of crime which the hardened villain perpetrates, and those smaller and daily transgressions into which we habitually, and almost inadvertently fall. At the same time, we know that God cannot bear to look on iniquity, however small; that He requires whatever comes into his presence to be perfectly pure and worthy of Him: and we might rationally conclude that there should be

some means whereby they who are *in the middle state of offence, between deep and deadly transgressions on the one hand, and a state of perfect purity and holiness on the other*, may be dealt with according to the just measure of His justice." . . . (P. 46). "Why does the Catholic pray for his departed friend, but that he fears, lest, not having died in so pure a state as to have been immediately admitted to the sight of God, he may be enduring *that punishment which God has awarded after the forgiveness of his sins;* and believes that, through the intercession of his brethren, he may be released from that distressing situation?"—The cardinal is noted for controversial skill and rhetorical accomplishment, and the above extract presents purgatory and praying for its inmates in the mildest and least offensive form; but he says enough, and more than enough, to justify our question as to the pretended efficacy of the sacrament of penance, of the eucharist as a *viaticum*, and of extreme unction as a *mittimus* to eternal felicity. If these *so-called* sacraments are efficacious, then surely there can not be any danger of their subject going to purgatory, and any necessity of saying masses for his soul; if they are not, and there is a chance of his going to purgatory, penance, viaticum and mittimus notwithstanding, then in what sense can they *save* his soul? And would it not be more logical, if the Roman Church *must* have a purgatory, to trust rather to the efficacy of the Mass and the accumulated works of supererogation on which she conceives herself entitled to draw? The cardinal can never cease to eulogize the *complete* harmony that reigns between the different dogmas of the Church of Rome; it is doubtless our incorrigible heresy that prevents our seeing that complete harmony in extreme unction, penance and purgatory, even on Roman Catholic grounds, but as it is impossible for heretics to find the precise location of those ever-changing, shifting foundations, we had better look at that pretended harmony from the pillar and bulwark of Protestantism, the word of God, and through that medium of vision we see neither beauty nor symmetry of parts, but chaotic confusion and endless contradictions.

The last canon treats of the *Ministers* of this sacrament, whom the holy fathers of Trent and the Catechism make

"priests duly ordained by bishops with imposition of hands. We have already noticed above (see p. 194) this extraordinary anachronism and need not therefore stop to expose the untenableness of the Romish position.

We are now fully prepared to contrast *Romish* Extreme Unction with the anointing of the sick, technically the *Euchelaion* (εὐχέλαιον, from εὐχή, prayer, and ἔλαιον, oil) of the Eastern, *i. e.*, the Greek Church. She enumerates the Euchelaion among the *seven sacraments.* A sacrament or *mystery*, according to the definition given in the Longer Catechism of the Russian Church (*Blackmore's* translation) "is a holy act, through which *grace*, or, in other words, the saving power of God, works *mysteriously* upon man." These seven sacraments are: 1. Baptism; 2. Unction with chrism; 3. Communion; 4. Penitence; 5. Orders; 6. Matrimony; 7. Unction with oil. *Platon* (Doctrine of the Russian Church *in loco*) explains: "The two chief and most eminent mysteries in the New Testament, are Baptism and the Eucharist, or the Communion. Of the rest, the Chrism and Repentance belong to every Christian; but Ordination, Marriage, and the Sanctified Oil are not binding upon all." The Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople, in reply to the Non-Jurors, April 12, 1718, say: "We hold, likewise, that the Holy Sacraments are seven in number; but TWO ONLY *exceed in necessity.*" On *unction with oil*, the Longer Russian Catechism contains the following:

Q. What is *unction* with oil?

A. Unction with oil is a sacrament, in which, while the body is anointed with oil, God's grace is invoked on the sick, to heal him of spiritual and bodily infirmities.

Q. Whence is the origin of this Sacrament?

A. From the apostles, who, having received power from Jesus Christ, *anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them.* Mark vi. 13.

The apostles left this Sacrament to the Priests of the church, as is evident from the following words of the apostle James: "*Is any sick among you*, etc.? James v. 14, 15.

Much to the same purpose is the Confessio Fidei of *Metrophanes Kritopulos*, c. xiii. and the Conf. Orth. of *Peter Mogilas* qu. 117—119. Reference to these authorities shows that the

doctrine and practice of the Greek Church differ essentially from the Roman. These differences relate, 1, to the name of the sacrament; 2, to the account they give of its origin; 3, to the recipients of the same; 4, to the consecration of the matter; 5, to the form; and 6, to the effects of the sacrament.

1. The Greek Church rejects the term *extreme unction* (ἐσχάτη χρίσις) on the ground that the Latin Sacrament of the dying is an innovation and a corruption, and uses the term *Euchelaion* (*Prayer-oil*).

2. She calls it an *Apostolical* institution.

3. She dispenses the Euchelaion not to the *dying*, but to the sick when there is hope of recovery, generally by the hands of *seven* priests, but it may be administered by a less number, even by *one;* only in case of *dangerous* sickness it is administered in private houses; those who are able to go out, are *anointed* at church after receiving absolution (which is merely *declaratory*, as is evident from the answer to the question, "What is *Penitence?* A. Penitence is a Sacrament, in which he who confesses his sins is, on the outward declaration of pardon by the priest, *inwardly loosed from his sins by Jesus Christ Himself.*" (Longer Catech. *in loco*). According to *Kritopulos*, the forehead, the chest, the hands and the feet are anointed for the purpose of representing a cross.

4. The matter according to *Mogilas* is pure olive oil, according to *Kritopulos* oil mixed with wine, consecrated not by the bishop, but by the priest, not in large quantities, but for every specific occasion.

5. The *form* is a prayer. That given by *Kritopulos* is as follows: "O holy Father, who didst send into the world Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, who healeth every disease and hath regard to every infirmity, heal Thou Thyself in the name of Thine Only-begotten Son through the grace and visitation of Thy Holy Spirit this Thy servant; remove from him this sickness, raise him up from his painful sick-bed, that restored, he may praise Thee the Father without beginning, and Thy Son also without beginning with Thy like eternal Spirit, One God in three Hypostases and One Being, to whom be glory, honour and power for ever, now and evermore." Amen. This agrees substantially with that given by

King (Greek Church), "O holy Father, the Physician of our souls and bodies, who didst send Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to heal all diseases, and to deliver us from death, heal this thy servant M. from the bodily infirmities under which he now labours, and raise him up by the grace of Christ."

6. The *effect* according to the tenor of these prayers is the recovery of health, but *Steitz* (l. c.) maintains that it is remission of sins or salvation of the soul and recovery of health; the first follows invariably in the case of the penitent, the latter not always; he also adds that according to the statement of *Kritopulos*, remission of sins or the healing of the soul and the healing of the body are more intimately connected in the view of the Greek Church than in the Latin, because the former uses the Euchelaion chiefly in diseases supposed to be directly caused by certain sins (cf. Matth. ix. 2, etc.), for the purpose of removing the cause with the effect, and that therefore the Euchelaion is more nearly related to repentance.

The *general* impression concerning the practice of the Greek Church, however, is that the *Euchelaion* is used solely for recovery from sickness, and the prayers we have given, sustain that impression. The *Euchelaion* is therefore *essentially* different from *Extreme Unction*, and the remark of *Wordsworth* (Greek Test. on James v. 14, 15) very pointed: "Thus on the one hand, the Greek Church is a witness by her present practice, that the anointing was designed with a view to *bodily recovery;* and the Roman Church, on the other hand, is a witness, that the *miraculous* effects on the *body*, which were wrought in primitive times by God through the instrumentality of those who anointed the sick, and which accompanied that unction, *have ceased.*"

At the period of the Reformation in England, it was thought expedient not to do away altogether with the *ceremony* of anointing the sick, and the following service formed part of the office of the *visitation of the sick* in the first Common Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. set forth in A. D. 1549.

Rubric. *If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the Priest anoint him upon the forehead, or breast only, making the sign of the cross, saying thus:*

"As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed: so our heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of His infinite goodness that thy soul inwardly be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of all strength, comfort, relief and gladness: and vouchsafe of His great mercy (if it be His blessed will) to restore unto thee thy bodily health and strength to serve Him; and send thee release of all thy pains, troubles, and diseases both in body and mind. And howsoever His goodness (by His divine and unsearchable providence) shall dispose of thee: we, His unworthy ministers and servants, humbly beseech the Eternal Majesty to do with thee according to the multitude of His innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins and offences, committed by all thy bodily senses, passions and carnal affections: who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength by His Holy Spirit to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in no wise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory and triumph against the devil, sin and death, through Christ our Lord; who by His death hath overcome the prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost evermore liveth and reigneth God, world without end. Amen."

After this followed the 13th Psalm, *How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord?* etc. This prayer and the ceremony itself differed in many particulars from the Romish *Extreme Unction.* The prayer indeed contained a petition for the *pardon of all the sins and offences committed by all the bodily senses, passions, and carnal affections* of the sick man, without any *necessary* reference to the oil, but the language was ambiguous and contained much that alluded to the popish superstition. *Bucer* denounced it in his censure (p. 489) and with such good effect that the prayer and the rubric were stricken out and omitted in the second book of King Edward VI.

Luther (Werke, *Erlangen* edition 30, 371) went so far as to permit the sick to be anointed with oil, provided they were prayed with and exhorted; he only denied that the anointing was a *sacrament*, because a sacrament could only be instituted by Christ and not by an apostle. His opposition to the Romish sacrament however was founded, on the one hand, on his rather dogmatical than critical doubts of the authenticity of the

Epistle of James, and on the other his demonstration, that the custom described in James v. 14, 15, differs essentially "as to form, use, virtue and object" from that of the Roman Church. (See *Steitz*, l. c.)

It is hardly necessary to add that the Reformed Churches have made clean work of the whole thing, as a gross perversion of the truth, as a mischievous superstition, repugnant at once to Holy Writ and common sense and diametrically opposed to evangelical doctrine. The great body of the Reformed hold that only two sacraments have been instituted by Christ, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and that the rest are of purely human origin. It does not follow that things, although practised by Christ himself and his apostles, are on that account sacraments; they are not sacraments, unless expressly *commanded* by Christ, and commanded as of *universal obligation.* Our Lord (e. g.) after washing the feet of his disciples, said unto them: "Ye call me Master and Lord: and ye say well: for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done unto you." John xiii. 13–15. Is *feet-washing* then a sacrament? Any one familiar with eastern customs and manners knows that the washing of the feet is among the most ancient, as well as the most obligatory, of the rites of eastern hospitality. The act of our Lord was typical of Christian humility and involved "the principle that love dignifies any service, that all high and proud thoughts are no less unchristian than selfish; and that the sole ground of honour in the church of Christ is meek, gentle and self-forgetting benevolence" (see Kitto's Cyclop. of Bibl. Lit. art. *Washing of feet*). *Bernard* of Clairvaux tried indeed to make *feet-washing* a sacrament, but was unsuccessful in the attempt. The universal sense of the church in every age saw in the act nothing more than an eastern custom, used by our Lord on that particular occasion to set the disciples an example of humility and love. It is astonishing that the Council of Trent did not raise feet-washing to the dignity of a sacrament, which would have been much easier than the sacramental elevation of extreme unction. The apostles prescribed "*the holy kiss*" (1 Thess. v. 26; Rom. xvi. 16; 1

Pet. v. 14); is the *holy kiss* therefore a sacrament? The discontinuance both of *feet washing* and the *holy kiss* shows that the example and injunction of Christ and his apostles, in matters of local or conventional usages, do not make such usages *sacraments*. Baptism and the Lord's Supper only were instituted by Christ as of *universal* and *perpetual* obligation, and these two only are really and truly sacraments.

The history of *extreme unction* shows to what length men will go if they have once erred and strayed from the landmarks of Holy Writ. A Jewish and oriental custom, founded on the acknowledged medicinal properties of oil, and in the hands of primitive Christians, miraculously blessed to the recovery of bodily health, is perverted into a sacrament for the salvation of the soul, and made the instrument of banishing from the mind of the dying the comforting promises of the gospel. The Roman Catholic cannot die in peace without the assistance of the priest, who at every stage of dying steps between his soul and his Saviour. He must confess, be absolved, receive the eucharist, and be anointed with episcopally consecrated oil. Without the priest not a ray of *so-called* religious hope pierces the gloom of his dying-bed. He trembles at the thought of death without the ministrations of the priest, who gives him an ecclesiastical passport for the world to come, which *may* take him to paradise, but is more likely to land him in purgatory. The priest stands to him *in loco Dei*. He absolves him, gives him the wafer, anoints him, provides him with viaticum and mittimus, and the poor man thinks that by the efficacious intercession of archangels, angels, patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, apostles, martyrs, saints, virgins, widows and infants, but chiefly by that of the Virgin Mary and his patron saint he will certainly get to paradise, and escape the torments of purgatory, or if, their intercession notwithstanding, he should get there, that indulgences, and masses to be said for his soul after death, will reduce his abode in that uncomfortable place to a very short period of time. This imparts peace to his soul, and in that belief he dies. Contrast with this the dying bed of a Protestant Christian, a true and enlightened follower of Jesus Christ. He can dispense with sacerdotal absolution and viaticum, and the sacrament of extreme unction, for he daily, hourly confesses his sins of omission and commission with heartfelt

repentance, and the undoubting assurance that he has an Advocate with God, Jesus Christ the Righteous, who died for his sins and rose again for his justification, and ever liveth to make intercession for him; he believes that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth him from all sins, that the unction of the Holy Ghost has sanctified him and enabled him to find in Jesus the Chief among ten thousand and the Altogether Lovely, that having lived in daily converse with him, he will die in his embrace; he rejoices in hope and says in the language of the prophet: "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness." (Isa. lxi. 10). Here is no need of an *opus operatum* in the shape of a sacrament of the dying. The Protestant minister of Christ visits the sick and the dying, to remove, not to interpose barriers between the soul of the patient and his Saviour. He would fain see that sick man in the arms of Christ, have him repent of his sins and believe in the cleansing, healing, saving virtue of the atonement of Jesus. He, the gospel minister, wants to see no other viaticum in the hands of the dying man, than the precious belief that Christ died for him, that repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus have made him accepted in him, that he is for ever united to Christ, that "neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. viii. 38, 39), that Christ has conquered death, and says to all: "I am the Resurrection and the Life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." (John xi. 25). Here is the confidence of a certain faith, and the comfort of a reasonable, religious, and holy hope; here is joy and peace, and the gospel Christian, as he shuts his eyes upon this earth, the scene of his failures and successes, the scene of his trial and conflict, the scene of his wandering, but, thank God, also the scene of the espousals of his soul to Christ, may exclaim with Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

Art. III.—1. *Progress of Statistics*, read before the American Geographical and Statistical Society, at the annual meeting in New York, December 1, 1859. By Jos. C. G. Kennedy, A. M., Superintendent of the United States Census; Corresponding member of the Society, and of the Royal Statistical Commission of Belgium, and London and Dublin Statistical Societies, etc., etc. New York: J. F. Trow, printer, 50 Green Street. 1861.

2. *Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census.* 1860. By Jos. C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1862.

3. *Population of the United States in* 1860; compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. By Jos. C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent of Census.

In the collection of the details embodied in the Eighth Census, there were employed sixty-four marshals, comprising those of all the United States judicial districts, together with special agents for unorganized territory; under whose directions were 4,417 assistants. There were employed in the office, at one time, under the accomplished Superintendent, one hundred and sixty-eight clerks, and sixteen messengers, labourers and watchmen. The cost of collecting the statistics, before the work of comparison and compilation in the Superintendent's office commenced, exceeded considerably one million of dollars. The marshals of the United States are required by law to subdivide their districts, taking care not to include a greater population (by estimate) than 20,000 in any one subdivision. The assistants are furnished with blanks and instructions, and required to visit every house, manufactory, and workshop; and, when they have completed their districts, to make two copies of their work. The original returns are filed with the clerks of the county courts; the copies are forwarded to the marshal, who deposits one with the Secretary of the State for his district, and transmits the other to the Census office in Washington.

The first national census was taken in 1790, in accordance with the second section of the first article of our Constitution, which requires the enumeration of the inhabitants within each subsequent decade; in pursuance of which, we have made eight enumerations of our people. "The United States," remarks a French statistical writer, "present in their history a phenomenon which has no other example. It is that of a people which begins the statistics of its country on the day on which it lays the foundation of its social condition, and which regulates, in the same act, the enumeration of its fellow-citizens, their civil and political rights, and the future destinies of the country." Referring to the penalties imposed for a refusal to answer the interrogatories of the Marshal, he says: "Statistics were treated seriously, eighty years ago, by a people that, however jealous it is of its liberty, does not hesitate to punish, as a culpable infraction, what is elsewhere regarded as an action of no consequence, or treated with futile opposition."

It is a most happy circumstance that the insurrection which broke out soon after the last decennial enumeration, did not occasion the destruction or loss of any of the returns. The present census, accordingly, presents a full statement of the condition of the population immediately preceding the civil war now raging.

The number of states has increased from thirty-one to thirty-four, and five new Territories have been organized; but there has been no accession of territory, except a narrow strip to the south of the Colorado River, along the Mexican line, not yet inhabited. The estimated area of the United States, as given in the Seventh Census, was 3,306,865 square miles; an extent greater than the Roman empire, or that of Alexander; neither of which is said to have exceeded three million square miles; and more than ten times as large as France and Great Britain combined. Texas has the greatest number of square miles, 237,321. The entire New England states have only 62,116, and the middle states, including Delaware, Maryland, and Ohio, 151,760. Texas in area is larger than the New England and middle states, by more than 2300 square miles.

Aggregate Population.

Total number of whites, 26,957,471; free coloured, 488,070; slaves, 3,953,760; Indians, 44,020; making an aggregate of 31,443,321. Adding Indians who have retained their tribal character, 295,400, we have the grand total of 31,738,721. Oregon has the smallest population of any state, 52,465, more than 18,000 less than the city of Newark. New York has the largest, 3,880,735, being in excess of the population of Scotland, more than 800,000, and of the population of New England, more than 700,000. The middle states have nearly seventy inhabitants to the square mile; New England more than fifty; Texas less than three,—in 1850, it had less than one.

The increase of the entire free and slave population, during the ten years, omitting the Indian tribes, has been 8,251,445; and the rate per cent. is set down at over 35. The increase has been greater, by more than a million, than the whole population numbered in 1810, and nearly as great as the whole population in 1820. Vermont is saved from a positive loss of inhabitants by only one third of one per cent. New Hampshire has gained only two and one-half per cent. Maine nearly eight. Massachusetts has a population of 1,231,066, or nearly 158 to the square mile. South Carolina has gained 35,201 inhabitants of all conditions. More than half were free coloured and slaves, the relative increase of the free coloured being more considerable than that of any other class. It has less than twenty-nine inhabitants to the square mile. The gain of Virginia upon her aggregate population is beyond twelve per cent. The white class gained seventeen, the slaves less than four. New York gained 783,341, being at the rate of more than twenty-five per cent. The free coloured population in New York has fallen off sixty-four. The gain of Pennsylvania, in round numbers, has been 595,000, and the free coloured has increased about 3000. The population in Texas has increased at the rate of 184 per cent. The population of Illinois has more than doubled, its rate of increase going beyond 101 per cent. Missouri has increased by the number of 500,000; which is within a fraction of seventy-four per cent. The population of the United States, for the ten years from 1850 to 1860, in-

creased at the rate of more than 800,000 annually; and, for the last seventy years, the mean rate for each decade has been more than thirty-three per cent. From 1830 to 1840 was the only decade in which it fell below that rate; in every other, it rose above.

President Monroe, as much as he had witnessed of the growth of our country, so inadequate was his conception of its rapidity, that near the close of his administration in 1824, he proposed to colonize the Indians of New York, and those north of the Ohio river, and east of the Mississippi, in territory now embraced in the state of Wisconsin; under the impression that it was a region so remote that they would not be disturbed by our increasing population for a long time to come. Wisconsin is now a great and flourishing state, having a population of nearly 800,000. And what is still more wonderful, two other states beyond the Mississippi, Iowa and Kansas, have sprung up, as if by magic, having together a population of another 800,000. Illinois is large enough to make seven states of the size of Massachusetts, and have territory to spare. So is Arkansas. Missouri is large enough to make more than eight. There is territory enough in Illinois, (55,409 square miles) with a population no more compact than that of England and Wales, (307 to the square mile,) to contain the entire population of the United States, as it was in 1840. It already has a population approaching two millions. In 1810, it formed part of the territory ceded to the United States by Virginia, and contained little over 12,000 inhabitants. Now, it has as many citizens as Venice, or the United Provinces, in their proudest days, with a profusion of agricultural products almost outrunning all available markets. Its natural resources are practically unlimited. Yet it forms only a small portion of that vast region sloping from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi, which is almost everywhere equally productive and equally accessible. The same "causes which transferred the sceptre of power and civilization from the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile to the shores of Western Europe," now in operation, are transplanting a prodigious population from Western Europe to the plains of the Mississippi, which already begins to press

through the gorges of the Rocky Mountains, and to roll down the Pacific slope.

If, since the year 1790, the average rate of increase of our population has never been less than 33 per cent., or one-third every ten years, then taking this as the rate of increase in the future, and leaving out of view the possible effects of the present civil war on our population, we have in round numbers the following results:

A. D. 1860,	the population was,	. . .	31,000,000
" 1870,	the population will be,	. . .	41,300,000
" 1880,	" "	. . .	55,060,000
" 1890,	" "	. . .	73,410,000
" 1900,	" "	. . .	97,880,000

If in 1820, forty years ago, any one then old enough to be acquainted with the simple rules of arithmetic, had applied the above rule to ascertain the probable population in 1860, the result reached would have been 30,461,116; almost a million less than the census shows. We may therefore safely set down 100,000,000 for A. D. 1900. Humboldt, as late as 1823, estimated the entire population of the whole American continent at 34,942,000; only about three millions more than the present population of the United States. The progress of our country has clearly unfolded the principles on which the multiplication of human beings depends, and has demonstrated that a prosperous community, possessing abundance of unoccupied land, will double its numbers in about twenty-three years. The agricultural facilities and salubrity of climate of these United States are equal to those of any portion of the globe of similar extent. Of the eastern continent we cannot find that the productive soil constitutes more than one-third, and of that third a part is poor. Should the density of population here ever equal that of Europe, (110 to each square mile,) the population would exceed 350,000,000. Should it only equal that of New England, it would exceed 165,000,000. It is an interesting fact that in the colony of Connecticut the governor was of opinion, in 1682, that all the land which was fit had been taken up already. Connecticut had then only 10,000 inhabi-

tants. A hundred years afterwards it contained 300,000, and now, 460,000; all subsisting on that soil which the governor had so early represented as fully peopled. The three states, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, are already more densely peopled than old England was six centuries after the Norman conquest.

The population of New Jersey is 672,035, including 18 slaves, or persons formerly in this condition, who are still dependent on their former masters, or their estates, for maintenance, and 25,318 free coloured. In the preceding census it contained 489,555, including 236 slaves or apprentices, and 23,810 free coloured. This shows a gain of 182,480, or nearly 20,000 over 33 per cent., which is considerably beyond that of any preceding ten years since 1790. It has among its inhabitants 122,790 who were foreign born. Of these, over 33,000 are in Essex county, and over 26,000 in Hudson county; over 33,000 are from Germany, and over 62,000 from Ireland. Princeton has a population of 3,105 whites, 1,631 being males, and 1,474 females; 621 coloured, 265 males, and 356 females; making a total of 3,726, and showing a gain, since the preceding census, of 705. Trenton, with a population of over 17,000, has only 54 more coloured than Princeton. Newark, with more than 70,000, has only 1,287 coloured. Jersey City, with nearly 30,000, has only 335. New Brunswick, with more than 11,000, has 495. Burlington, with over 5,000, has 518. This class constitutes exactly one-sixth of the population of Princeton, while it constitutes less than one-fifty-sixth of that of Newark, and but a little more than one-twenty-fifth of that of Trenton, and one-sixty-fourth of that of the United States. New Jersey has 856 clergymen, 859 physicians, 1,204 lawyers, 30,325 farmers, 2,086 teachers, 7,444 carpenters, and two dancing-masters. Massachusetts has more than 41,000 shoemakers; New York more than 17,000 blacksmiths, and 21,000 merchants; Pennsylvania more than 18,000 miners. There are in the United States 1,379 sisters of charity; 313 of them in Maryland, and 540 in Ohio, or nearly two-thirds of them in these two states; there are nearly 2,500,000 farmers, 54,500 physicians, 33,000 lawyers, 37,500 clergymen; of these Oregon having 125, and New York 5,235; there are

1,153 shepherds; 722 of them in California, and 412 in the territory of New Mexico.

During the decade from 1850 to 1860, more than fifty millions of acres of land were brought into cultivation; and the productions of agriculture multiplied in ratio greater than the population. The products of manufactures increased nine hundred millions of dollars, or at the rate of eighty-six per cent. The banking capital ran up from about $230,000,000 in 1850, to nearly $500,000,000 in 1860, while the circulating currency was augmented more than $52,000,000. The amount of insurances increased about $311,000,000. More than 22,000 miles of railroad were completed, and the capital involved increased from less than $300,000,000 in 1850, to more than $1,151,500,000 in 1860; "while to indicate on the map of our country the lines of telegraph, would be to represent the web of the spider over its entire surface. Our internal and foreign trade kept pace with our advance in production and increase of capital. Education, free to a great extent, has been made more accessible, and crime has rather diminished. We experienced no effects of wide-spread pestilence, and our country seemed the chosen abode of prosperity and peace."

Of the entire population of the United States, 87 per cent. are native born; 13 per cent. are foreign born, of whom more than 5 per cent. are Irish, and more than four German. New York has the largest number of foreigners; in round numbers nearly a million, which is a fourth part of all in the United States, and also a fourth part of the total population of that state. North Carolina and Florida have the smallest number, being about equal, or only about 3,000 each; but the total population of North Carolina is nearly one million. The greatest foreign increase has been in New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania; the least in Vermont, Florida, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The greatest number of Irish reside in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Illinois; the smallest number in Florida, North Carolina, Oregon, and Arkansas. The greatest number of Germans reside in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Illinois; the smallest number in Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, and Florida. Of the whole number of foreign born more than three millions and

a-half, or nearly 87 per cent., are inhabitants of the free states; and more than a half million, or less than 14 per cent., of the slave-holding states. The cities having the largest percentage of foreign born are St. Louis, Milwaukie, San Francisco, and Chicago. The total population of St. Louis is 160,773, of which 96,086 are natives of foreign countries, the per centage being more than 59. Of the more than 805,000 inhabitants of the city of New York, more than 383,000 are foreigners, more 203,000 being from Ireland, and nearly 120,000 from the German states.

From careful ethnological observations in other countries, it appears that the mass of the inhabitants of many districts continue in the spots where they originally settled; and that their marriages with the people of other parts of the country have not been sufficiently extensive to obliterate the traces of their origin. Distinct dialects will linger in different districts, and peculiarities of countenance, complexion, stature, and mental disposition, from generation to generation. Difference of language and religion will long stand in the way of a complete fusion of the peoples and races that make up our American population. Intermarriages, even between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Irish, are comparatively rare. Among the native white population the ratio of the number of males to that of females is very nearly as 104 to 100; among the foreign born, the numbers are very nearly in the ratio of 117 to 100. The Superintendent of the Census estimates that, since the close of the last war with England in 1814, about three and a quarter millions of the natives of Great Britain and Ireland—"a population for a kingdom"—have emigrated to this country; and that there are now living in the United States one Irish emigrant to every five remaining in their native land. Next in magnitude is the migration from Germany, amounting to nearly a million and a half; the next from France, exceeding 208,000.

The census shows that in the United States and Territories, in a population of more than 31,000,000, there is an excess of about 730,000 males over the number of the other sex; whilst in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in a population of little more than 29,000,000, the females out-

number the males some 877,000. The United States, according to the eighth census, had a larger male population than can be shown in any other country on the globe. This excess may be accounted for by the large and constant immigration; in which the females are less than the males, in the ratio of two to three, and between the ages of twenty-five and forty the males are double the number of females; by our small military and naval service prior to the war, and by the few losses heretofore sustained by the contingencies incident to a state of war. The influence of migration on the disparity of the sexes is strikingly illustrated in the excess of males in the newly-settled territories. In California the males outnumber the females nearly 67,000, or about one-fifth of the population. In Illinois the excess of males amounts to about 92,000, or one-twelfth of the entire population. In Massachusetts the females outnumber the males more than 37,000. Michigan shows nearly 40,000 excess of males; Texas 36,000; Wisconsin 43,000. In Colorado, the males to females are as twenty to one. In Utah the numbers are nearly equal. And while in New York there is a small preponderance of females, in Pennsylvania, the males are more numerous.

The census contains a very interesting and instructive table, showing the population at the military ages. The number of white males in the United States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, is 5,624,065. When a population has reached nearly its permanent condition, as in Europe and the older states of America, one-fifth of the total population is found to represent very nearly the number of males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. In the newly-settled states of the West, the proportion of fighting men is greater, with partial exceptions, than in the Atlantic states. During the year 1861, about 277,500 male whites reached and passed the age of eighteen, and 128,600 arrived at and passed the age of forty-five, leaving a difference of 148,900. This latter number, when diminished by the natural deaths (about one per cent.) of the whole military class, and increased by accessions from immigration, would express the annual increase of the military population in a time of peace; but, during a year of war, the further losses by war should be deducted. In accordance with

this statement, 123,400 is an approximation of the military increase, during the year 1861, the total foreign arrivals being 91,919. But from this number the losses by war in 1861, beyond the usual number in a state of peace, should be deducted, to make the estimate complete. The same principles will evidently apply from year to year. In a debate in the United States Senate on the 8th of June, 1864, Senator Wilson said, that since the 17th day of the preceding October, 700,000 men had been raised or re-enlisted, and put into the field. These were in addition, he was understood to say, to those whose term of service had not expired. It must of course be supposed that the losses, in such campaigns as are carried on by our immense armies in the East, the West, and the South, are considerably in excess of the gain of our population at the military ages. It is held by able writers, that, from a population of 23,000,000, not more than 500,000 can be diverted from the pursuits of productive industry to the profession of arms, without a perilous disregard of the laws of nature, and the injunctions of political economy. The overthrow of Napoleon, in the wars he waged against combined Europe, has been attributed to the violation of these laws of nature, which regulate the bounds of prudence, in this, as in all other matters of human conduct. He is said to have absorbed one in forty of the whole population in the profession of arms. It is a dictate of prudence, when the maximum number of men who can be spared from the pursuits of industry has been reached, that military efficiency should be sought in the careful husbanding of resources, in the concentration, rather than in the multiplication of forces, and in wise and valorous leadership.

A new element has been developed by the present census, viz., that of the statistics of negro slavery among the Indian tribes west of the Arkansas. The Choctaws held 2,297. One Choctaw held 227 slaves, and ten of the largest proprietors 638; while the slaves averaged only about six to each owner in that tribe. The Cherokees had 2,504, the largest proprietor owning 57. The Creeks had 1,651. The Chickasaws, 917. In these tribes, there are nearly eight Indians to each negro slave, and the slaves form about $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population, omitting the whites and free coloured scattered among them.

With regard to manumissions in the slave states, it appears from the returns, that, during the census year, the cases numbered a little more than 3,000, being more than double the number liberated in 1850, or at the rate of one each to 1,309; whereas, during 1850, the manumissions were as one to every 2,181 slaves. By the present census it appears that manumissions had greatly increased in number in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee; while they decreased in Delaware and Florida, and varied but little in Kentucky, Missouri, South Carolina, and Virginia.

The number of slaves who escaped from their masters in 1860, was not only much less in proportion than in 1850, but greatly reduced numerically. The greatest increase of escapes appears to have occurred in Mississippi, Missouri, and Virginia, while the decrease is most marked in Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, and Tennessee. The Superintendent remarks, with great point, "That the complaint of insecurity to slave property, by the escape of this class of persons in the free states, and their recovery impeded, whereby its value has been lessened, is the result of misapprehension, is evident, not only from the small number who have been lost to their owners, but from the fact that up to the present time the number of escapes has been gradually diminishing, to such an extent, that the whole annual loss to the southern states from this cause, bears less proportion to the amount of capital involved, than the daily variations, which, in ordinary times, occur in the fluctuations of state or government securities, in the city of New York alone." In 1850, there escaped from their masters 1,011 slaves, or one in each 3,165 held in bondage (being about one-thirtieth of one per cent.); during the census year, ending June 1, 1860, there escaped only 803, being one to about 5,000, or at the rate of one-fiftieth of one per cent. In the border states, not 500 escaped out of more than 1,000,000, in 1860, while near 600 escaped in 1850, out of 910,000; and, at the two periods, near 800 are reported to have escaped from the more southern slaveholding states. From these facts it is evident that the escape of this class of persons occurred independently of proximity to a free population, being in the nature of things incident to the relation of master and slave. The returns from

which these results are derived, were made by the persons most directly interested. But there are other means of proving their correctness, by noting the increase of the free coloured population, which, by the census, is proved to have been less than thirteen per cent. in the last ten years in the free states, whereas, the slaves have increased $23\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., an augmentation conclusive against much loss by escapes; the natural increase, irrespective of immigration, being equal to that of the most favoured people, and greater than that of any country in Europe for the same period, and this, in spite of the 20,000 manumissions which are believed to have occurred in the past ten years. It is evident that the complaints which were made against the free states, as having disregarded the guarantees of the Constitution for the security of slave property, are almost wholly, if not absolutely, without foundation.

We have the further fact that the free coloured population, which, from 1820 to 1830, increased at the rate of $36\frac{1}{5}$ per cent. in 1840 exhibited but $20\frac{4}{5}$ per cent. increase, gradually declining to 1860, when the increase throughout the United States was but little over one per cent. *per annum.* In the ten years, from 1850 to 1860, this class of our population increased from 434,449 to 487,970, or at the rate of $12\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. In the same period, the slave population increased more than $23\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., and the white population nearly 38 per cent., an excess of twofold, and threefold respectively, over that of the free coloured. These comparisons imply an excessive mortality among the free coloured, which is particularly evident in large cities. Thus in Boston, during the five years ending with 1859, the city register observes: "The number of coloured births was one less than the number of marriages, and the deaths exceeded the births in the proportion of nearly two to one." In Providence, where a very correct registry has been in operation under the superintendence of Dr. Snow, the deaths are one in twenty-four of the coloured; and for the last fifteen years, with the exception of a single year, (1862,) the deaths exceeded the births. In Philadelphia, during the last six months of the census year, the new city registration gives 148 births against 306 deaths among the free coloured. Taking town and country together, the results are somewhat more

favourable. In the state registers of Rhode Island and Connecticut, the yearly deaths of the blacks and mulattoes have generally, though not uniformly, exceeded the yearly births. They are victims chiefly of consumption and other diseases of the respiratory organs. This great excess of deaths over births, found to occur in northern cities, may be attributed in part to severity of climate, and a condition of poverty and ignorance. But to these causes must be added an unfavourable moral condition, as indicated by the fact of there being more than half as many mulattoes as blacks. "That corruption of morals progresses with greater admixture of races, and that the product of vice stimulates the propensity to immorality, is as evident to observation as it is natural to circumstances. These developments of the census, to a good degree, explain the slow progress of the free coloured population in the northern states, and indicate, with unerring certainty, the gradual extinction of that people the more rapidly as, whether free or slave, they become diffused among the dominant race." When the slavery question has been solved, the negro question will remain to exercise the highest wisdom and benevolence of Christian philanthropists.

The total return of deaths to the census office of all classes and ages, white and coloured, for 1860, amounts to 394,123. In 1850 the returns gave 323,272, which shows an increase, after ten years, of 70,851. But, from a combination of statistical data, it has been demonstrated that the rate of mortality in the United States, during the last half century, has continued between limits, whereof the higher is represented by the English life-table, and the lower by those of continental Europe. From this proposition the conclusion is derived that the annual deaths in the United States have been one in 45 or 46 of the population. The ratio in England and France is one in 44; in Norway, one in 56; in Prussia, one in 36. According to this determination of one annual death in 45.5, living at the middle of the year, the 323,272 deaths returned in 1850 become 501,000; and the 394,123, enumerated in 1860, should be similarly increased to 680,000. At this rate, nearly six millions of our population have deceased in the past ten years, and their places supplied by the advancing numbers

of a new generation. The number of deaths by *consumption* is the greatest of all; in 1860, 48,971. Next to this is the family of fevers, *scarlatina* alone, 26,393. Pneumonia, 27,076.

The number of the insane, according to the eighth census, was 23,999, of whom 360 were free coloured, and 406 slave. This enumeration cannot be supposed to be complete, but it is a much nearer approximation than has been furnished in any preceding census. Sensitiveness to public exposure is one of the chief obstacles to anything like perfect returns of the insane and idiotic. The Superintendent of the Census has accompanied his report with several profound and philosophical essays on various subjects, which greatly enhance its value, and which deserve to be seriously pondered, both by legislators, and the mass of the people. From the one touching the insane, we enrich our pages with the following passage:

"If we consider the subject of causation, in its broadest relations to the human race, we shall be forced to believe, however unwelcome soever may be the conviction, that civilization as it now exists, is the greatest of all the radical or remote influences productive of mental alienation. Although statistics upon the point are hitherto crude and imperfect, yet it is well known that among the aborigines of America, as well as among other savage races or people, insanity is very rare; that it appears to increase almost *pari passu* with advancing civilization, and, as a general rule, reaches its ultimatum of frequency in those nations where arts and sciences have attained the highest degree of improvement. The brain is the organ of thought, the machinery through which all operations of the mind are evolved. Like all other material things it cannot be used without being impaired, and, like the other organs of purely animal life, it requires rest for the purpose of renovation. If used in perfect obedience to physiological laws, its power is gradually augmented; if abused by their constant infringement, deterioration, debility and disease are the inevitable consequences. And how often, at the present day, is it abused?

"A thousand years ago, when the hill-tops of England were crowned with the castles of petty but warlike chieftains, and those chieftains as well as the people, their menials, were robust with the active, unintellectual, and mostly out-of-door exercise,

which characterized the habits and customs of the feudal system; when the fine arts were but little cultivated, and the useful arts were still in a state of comparative rudeness; when newspapers were unthought of, and even the art of printing unknown; when steam and electricity still slumbered among the unknown agents which may minister to the wants of man; when enervating luxuries were scarce and dear, and within the reach of but few;—then the muscles and the blood-vessels predominated in the physical development, and consequently disease was generally seated in them. But time, science, art and literature, have wrought a wondrous change. Steam, water-power and machinery, have taken from human muscles a very large proportion of the labour which they once performed. Railroads and telegraphs have imparted to us new ideas of time and space. Life, if measured by its true meter—the sum of action and experience—has been more than doubled, yet its whole extent must be crowded into the same number of years as formerly. Disease, following this change, has left its former stronghold, and now makes the brain and nerves its seat and citadel. What an amount of mental work in the learned professions! What a wear and tear of the brains of editors and others to meet the demands of the people for newspapers and other periodical publications! What a drain upon nervous power in the production of literary and scientific works! Why should we be surprised that insanity is far more frequent than in former ages?"

Mr. Kennedy has just added to his valuable publications his Report on the Agriculture of the United States, in 1860. It appears that there are in the states and territories, of farm lands, improved, 163,110,720 acres; unimproved, 244,101,818 acres; and the estimated cash value of these lands is $6,645,045,007. The value of the farming implements and machinery in use in the country was more than $246,000,000. From a table showing the quantity of wheat produced by several states, in 1860, we learn that Illinois yielded more than 23,000,000 bushels, Indiana more than 16,000,000; and the states next in order, in the amount of production, were Wisconsin, Ohio, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York. The production of Indian corn in some of the states, in 1860, is

also given, from which it appears that Illinois produced more than 115,000,000 bushels, Missouri more than 72,000.000; and the states next in order, in the production of this cereal, were Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. The total amount of wool raised in 1860 was over 60,300,000 pounds. New England produced less than in 1850, by 500,000 pounds.

Not the least curious and instructive passages in the Report on Agriculture are the historical sketches of agricultural implements, such as the plough and threshing instruments. We close this article with a brief extract from that which relates to these latter instruments. "Some kind of mechanical means," says Mr. Kennedy, "for separating grain from the ear appears to have been early contrived. A complete history of the successive changes in the means and instruments for effecting this would be a curious and interesting chapter in the record of the world's progress. Such a retrospect, could it be made, would show a remarkable uniformity in the methods adopted throughout the world in ancient and modern times. It would show that, until within a recent period, mankind has been altogether unsuccessful in originating or transmitting any essential improvement upon the most ancient plan of which we have any record.

"The primitive mode of 'treading out the corn' upon a smooth circular 'threshing-floor,' in the open air, beneath the feet of the unmuzzled ox, or other animals, has prevailed among eastern nations from remote antiquity. This triturating process, however, appears from very early times to have been facilitated by certain instruments. Thus 'threshing instruments of iron' are mentioned by the prophet Amos; and 'a new sharp threshing instrument having teeth,' at a later period, by Isaiah. Smaller grains, having a less adhesive envelope, appear to have been separated by implements analogous to the flail, as elsewhere mentioned by the same prophet: 'For the fitches are not threshed with a threshing instrument, neither is a cart-wheel turned about upon the cummin; but the fitches are beaten with a staff, and the cummin with a rod.' Cummin is threshed by the same mode in Malta at the present day, and in Syria may still be seen, in common use, the representative of the new

sharp threshing instrument with teeth. It is described as a thick plank or sledge drawn by oxen, and having inserted upon its under surface pieces of stone, flint, or iron, projecting from three-quarters to half an inch, by which the ears of corn are torn asunder. Its more ancient form among the Hebrews was frequently that of a square frame with rollers, encircled by three rings or wheels serrated in the manner of a saw. It sometimes resembled in form a cart, by which name it is called in the passage quoted. The threshing-floor of level, hard-rolled earth, was sometimes covered so as to afford shelter to the labourers during harvest; as that of the wealthy Boaz, which has furnished so interesting an illustration of the simplicity of ancient manners and customs. It was usually constructed upon an elevation, exposed to currents of wind, to carry off the chaff; as that of Ornan, the Jebusite, which occupied the rocky eminence of Mount Moriah, and was purchased by David to be for ever honoured as the site of the holy temple. Hesiod, who soon after wedded the muse to agriculture, directs the threshing-floor to be so placed:

> 'Smooth be the level floor on gusty ground,
> Where winnowing gales may sweep in eddies round.'

"That the threshing instruments employed had great mechanical effect upon the sheaves over which they were drawn may be inferred from their frequent use in the imagery of the prophets, as descriptive of violence and ruin. The *tribula*, as the same implement was called by the Romans, has furnished our language with a synonym for the worst forms of affliction."

We are not surprised to learn that high authorities in England have made the United States Census of 1860 the subject of hearty praise.

ART. IV.—*First Principles of a New System of Philosophy.* By HERBERT SPENCER. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1865.

Illustrations of Universal Progress: A Series of Discussions. By HERBERT SPENCER. With a Notice of Spencer's New System of Philosophy. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1865.

The Principles of Psychology. By HERBERT SPENCER. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. 1855.

Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Physical. By HERBERT SPENCER. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1861.

The Correlation and Conservation of Forces: A Series of Expositions by Prof. Grove, Prof. Helmholtz, Dr. Mayer, Dr. Faraday, Prof. Liebig and Dr. Carpenter. With an Introduction and brief Biographical Notices of the Chief Promoters of the New Views. By EDWARD L. YOUMANS, M. D. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1865.

THE rank which Mr. Herbert Spencer has obtained among English thinkers, his fertility and pretensions as a philosophical author, the skilful and persistent efforts to give his works currency and influence in this country, the evident existence among us of a coterie of his admirers, who are seeking to insinuate his principles into our literature and science, our philosophy and religion, our education and politics, furnish ample reasons for an immediate and careful examination of the distinctive peculiarities of his system. To this work we now address ourselves, and invite the candid attention of our readers.

Perhaps the urgent occasion for this service will be more obvious, if we state how it happened that we were led to undertake it, while it will explain why the foregoing list of works includes one of which he is not the author. We refer, of course, to that on the "Correlation and Conservation of Forces," consisting of treatises by several eminent *savants*, collected and edited by Prof. Youmans, who reveals his own animus in giving the compilation to the public, (whatever may have been the intent of the several authors,) in a somewhat brilliant introductory essay. Having had our attention turned to this work,

both by its pregnant title, and the unstinted commendations of it in secular and religious journals, we were led to examine it. It is, as we have since found, mainly a collection of the treatises referred to by Spencer in the ninth chapter of his *First Principles*, in which he treats of the "Correlation and Equivalence of Forces." It has the benefit of Prof. Youmans's gloss or exegetical comment, for the purpose of rendering it an auxiliary and propædeutic to Spencer's philosophy. The main principle elucidated in these treatises is one of the latest and most beautiful discoveries of modern science. It is twofold. 1. That, in the normal course of things, force and matter are not annihilated or diminished. When they cease to exist in one form, they pass into another, as fuel in combustion into the ash, gases, and heat evolved. This is what is meant by the "Conservation of Force." 2. The various physical forces are so correlated as to be mutually convertible, or transformable into each other. For example, there is much which goes to show, not only that electricity, galvanism, and magnetism, are mutually convertible into each other, but all are convertible into heat, which in its turn is resolvable into motion. So far, we simply share in the delight and instruction afforded by so grand and comprehensive an induction. But there are exaggerations of these doctrines which involve materialism and atheism. A numerous class assert not only that the physical forces in nature are conserved, according to the good pleasure of God, but that they are in their nature indestructible: others still, that they cannot be created nor destroyed, increased nor diminished, by any power whatsoever. This is clear atheism. It exalts blind force and unconscious fate to the throne of the universe. What Mr. Spencer's views of each of the points here presented are, we shall see in due time. Just now we have to do with the book edited by Prof. Youmans. And we must say, that some of the utterances of the physicists in this volume have a portentous look, whatever may have been the sense intended by the writers. Mayer styles this force "indestructible." Grove says: "In all phenomena, the more closely they are investigated, the more are we convinced that, humanly speaking, neither matter nor force *can* be created nor annihilated." P. 199. This would seem decisive enough. But as he immediately proceeds with

the following language, we are glad to think he must have had some meaning consistent with theism. "Causation is the will, creation the act of God." But aside from this saving clause, his language is, to say the least, ominous. Faraday presents it as a corollary from his doctrine of the conservation of force, that "none can vary in absolute amount; each must be definite at all times, whether for a particle or all the particles in the universe, and the sum also of the three forces (chemical, electrical, and of gravity) must be equally unchangeable." Pp. 379, 380. Liebig, in explaining Mayer's view, says, "that all these causes (forces), as far as relates to their quantity, possess the property of indestructibility, and as to that of their quality that of convertibility." P. 389. Dr. Carpenter, the celebrated physiologist, says: "Dr. Mayer first broadly announced in all its generality the great principle now known as that of 'conservation of force,' as a necessary deduction from two axioms or essential truths; *ex nihilo nil fit*, and *nil fit ad nihilum*, the validity of which no true philosopher would ever have theoretically questioned." P. 405. These writers may be theists. But such forms of statement and argument, put without qualifying adjuncts, are non-theistic, which is no better than atheistic. For what is the pertinency of these axioms, as accounting for and necessitating the conservation of force, in uninterrupted continuance, and unchanged amount, unless it be meant that nothing can be destroyed, and that neither force nor anything else can be created out of nothing? If all force, matter, being, are due to the creative fiat of God, and can be changed, increased, diminished, or destroyed at his pleasure, how can the above axioms be true, in any such sense as to prove the necessary, unbroken, and unchanged continuance of force? A force created and sustained by a personal Creator, during his good pleasure, is one thing—one which exists independently, and from the necessity of its own nature is incapable of creation, enlargement, diminution, or annihilation, is another. It is a virtual negation of theism. Whether the language we have objected to is merely unguarded, or whether its authors mean all it seems to imply, we are unable to say. But it will soon appear that the meaning of Mr. Spencer and others, who are utilizing their speculations and

discoveries in the interest of his philosophy, is beyond all doubt.

A like fatal exaggeration discloses itself in regard to the doctrine of the mutual convertibility or transformableness of the physical forces. Precisely how much Dr. Carpenter himself means, we will not undertake to say, without a fuller examination of his writings than we have yet been able to give. But as interpreted and applied by Prof. Youmans, in support of the latter's theory, he is exhibited as maintaining the mutual convertibility, equivalence, and virtual identity, not only of the physical forces with each other, but also of the vital forces with the physical, reducing them all alike to heat; also with the psychical and the spiritual: thus materializing spirit, or spiritualizing matter; in either alternative, especially when coupled with the preceding doctrine of the indestructibleness and immutability of matter and force, reducing all to a materialistic monism and fatalism. Dr. Carpenter reduces the vital forces, vegetable and animal, to heat; and through the nervous and cerebral organism he suggests the convertibility of the psychical and mental forces with the vital.

The editor of the work containing the essays from which we have quoted, says: "Will-power is therefore correlated with nerve-power in the same manner as the latter with muscular power." Dr. Carpenter well observes: "It is difficult to see that the dynamical agency which we term will is more removed from the nerve-force on the one hand, than nerve-force is removed from motor-force on the other. Each, in giving origin to the next, is itself expended or ceases to exist *as such*, and each bears, in its own intensity, a precise relation to its antecedent and consequent." Prof. Youmans begins his comment on this by saying: "We have here only space briefly to trace the principle in its application to sensations, motions, and intellectual operations." Pp. 32, 33. He then proceeds in beautiful and eloquent style to work up this principle into the service of his favourite philosophy, arguing that the moral and mental forces of society are indestructible and immutable in quantity, convertible in quality, making their interchanges according to certain immutable laws, without variation of amount; so that their operation can certainly be calculated and foreseen. Thus

he makes the speculations and discoveries of some physicists on the correlation and conservation of forces, a germ out of which he goes on to develope the materialistic sociology of the philosophy we are about to examine. This will sufficiently appear from the following quotations.

Prof. Youmans says: "Thus qualified, the proofs of the correlation of the nervous and mental forces with the physical, are as clear and decisive as those for the physical forces alone." P. 32.

"The physical agencies acting upon inanimate objects in the external world, change their form and state, and we regard these changes as transformed manifestations of the forces in action. . . . Now, the living system is acted upon by the same agencies and under the same law. Impressions made upon the organs of sense give rise to sensations, and we have the same warrant in this, as in the former case, for regarding the effects as transformations of the forces in action." P. 33.

"The intellectual operations are also directly correlated with physical activities. As in the inorganic world we know nothing of forces except as exhibited by matter, so in the higher intellectual realm we know nothing of mind-force except through its material manifestation. Mental operations are dependent upon material changes in the nervous system; and it may be regarded as a fundamental physiological principle, that 'no idea or feeling can arise, save as the result of some physical force expended in producing it.' The directness of this dependence is proved by the fact that any disturbance of the train of cerebral transformations disturbs mentality, while the arrest destroys it. . . . The degree of mentality is also dependent upon the phosphatic constituents of the nervous system." Pp. 34, 35.

"How this metamorphosis takes place—*how a force existing as motion, heat, or light, can become a mode of consciousness*—how it is possible for aerial vibrations to generate the sensation we call sound, or forces liberated by chemical changes in the brain, to give rise to emotion, these are mysteries which it is impossible to fathom. *But they are not profounder mysteries than the transformation of physical forces into each other.*" P. 36.

"The condition of humanity, and the progress of civilization, are direct resultants of the forces by which men are controlled. What we term the moral order of society, implies a strict regularity in the action of those forces. Modern statistics disclose a remarkable constancy in the moral activities manifested in communities of men. Crimes, and even the modes of crime, have been observed to occur with a uniformity which admits of their prediction. Each period, therefore, may be said to have its definite amount of morality and justice. . . . So with society: the measured action of its forces gives rise to a fixed amount of morality and liberty in each age; but that amount increases with social evolutions." P. 38.

This, if we understand it, involves the exclusion of all those causes of variation in the moral condition of society arising from the free-will of man, and the sovereign providence and free supernatural grace of God. It makes the moral state of men the fixed and changeless result of unalterable physical forces and laws. It is essentially materialism, and has the virus, however its authors and abettors may disclaim the form, of the Positive Philosophy of Compte. The startling principles thus propounded or foreshadowed in this volume, it may well be surmised awakened our profoundest concern and amazement. Desiring thoroughly to understand them, the following extract from Prof. Youmans's introduction will show how it became necessary to examine "Herbert Spencer's New System of Philosophy," in order to know thoroughly the system here advocated, and thus find the tree of which this is one of the earliest blossoms. This is but a specimen of the endorsements and laudations of his system which greet us from various quarters. They not only challenge, they render imperative, a rigid exposition of its character and pretensions. To this we shall now confine ourselves. His acuteness as a philosophical thinker; his encyclopediac knowledge of physical science; his cleverness and instructiveness as a writer on a great variety of collateral subjects, educational, economical, social, and political, we have before observed, and still fully appreciate. All this could be said of David Hume and Auguste Compte. And of all three it can be said with nearly equal truth, that although they cannot utterly ignore, yet they write very much

as able writers would, who were doing their best to ignore the moral and religious obligations of man, which take their rise in conscience and a personal God.

We will let Prof. Youmans introduce Mr. Spencer to our readers in the following extract:

"A further aspect of the subject remains still to be noticed. Mr. Herbert Spencer has the honour of crowning this sublime inquiry by showing that the law of the conservation, or as he prefers to term it, the 'Persistence of Force,' as it is the underlying principle of all being, is also the fundamental truth of all philosophy. With masterly analytic skill he has shown that this principle, of which the human mind has just become fully conscious, is itself the profoundest law of the human mind, the deepest foundation of consciousness. He has demonstrated that the law of the Persistence of Force, of which the most piercing intellects of past times had but partial and unsatisfying glimpses, and which the latest scientific research has disclosed as a great principle of nature, has a yet more transcendent character; is, in fact, an *a priori* truth of the highest order—a truth which is necessarily involved in our mental organization; which is broader than any possible induction, and of higher validity than any other truth whatever. This principle, which is at once the highest result of scientific investigation and metaphysical analysis, Mr. Spencer has made the basis of his new and comprehensive System of Philosophy; and in the first work of the series, entitled 'First Principles,' he has developed the doctrine in its broadest, philosophic aspects." P. 29.*

Our first and chief business then is with Mr. Spencer's book

* In the first, and as yet, only number of the *Social Science Review*, we notice an article on Herbert Spencer, consisting chiefly of blind and turgid laudation. The writer says: "We cannot commend Mr. Youmans too highly for introducing this philosopher and publicist to American readers;" and speaks of him as the author of the introduction to the published volume of Spencer's Essays. The reviewer says, that from one of "Spencer's works will date modern social science," and assigns as one reason for the slow acceptance of his principles, that "he attacked the fetichisms of theology, and churchmen felt insecure in their livings." These passages afford a sample of the tone of this new journal, which is another effort of the "New Philosophy" to establish and propagate itself among us.

of "First Principles," in which he in form announces and defends the primordial elements of his system. We may refer to his other volumes occasionally for fuller explanation.

Having taught us that, before the dispersion of our race, it had no "language sufficiently organized to express religious ideas," (p. 14,) and that the religious susceptibility in man "arose by a process of evolution," and not "from an act of special creation," (pp. 15, 17,) he tells us:

"Respecting the origin of the universe, three verbally intelligible suppositions may be made. We may assert that it is self-existent, or that it is self-created, or that it is created by external agency." P. 30. That is, the possible suppositions are Atheism, Pantheism, or Theism. In regard to the first he argues: 'Self-existence, therefore, necessarily means existence without a beginning; and to form a conception of self-existence is to form a conception of existence without a beginning. Now by no mental effort can we do this. To conceive existence through infinite past-time, implies the conception of infinite past-time which is an impossibility. To this let us add that, even were self-existence conceivable, it would not in any sense be an explanation of the Universe." P. 31. It scarcely needs to be stated that, if this argument is valid against Atheism, it is *a fortiori* conclusive against Theism. And this the author strenuously urges in the following terms: "As was proved at the outset of the argument, self-existence is rigorously inconceivable; and this holds true whatever the nature of the object of which it is predicated. Whoever agrees that the atheistic hypothesis is untenable because it involves the impossible idea of self-existence, must perforce admit that the theistic hypothesis is untenable, if it contains the same impossible idea." P. 35. Pantheism, of course, shares the same fate. It is "incapable of being represented in thought. . . . . We cannot form any idea of a potential existence of the universe as distinguished from its actual existence. If represented in thought at all, potential existence must be represented as *something*, that is an actual existence; to suppose that it can be represented as nothing involves two absurdities, that nothing is more than a negation and can be positively represented in thought, and that one nothing is distinguished from

all other nothings by its power to develope into something. Nor is this all. We have no state of consciousness answering to the words—an inherent necessity by which potential existence becomes actual existence." P. 32. In regard to Theism again, the author says: "Even supposing that the genesis of the universe could really be represented in thought as the result of an external agency, the mystery would be as great as ever; for there would still arise the question, how came the external agency? . . . It commits us to an infinite series of such agencies, and then leaves us where we were." P. 35.

Here is some show of impartiality, and even liberality, in the author's destructive processes. Doubtless he and his abettors will answer the complaint that he destroys Theism, with the reply that he makes equal havoc with Atheism and Pantheism. We do not, however, accept this placebo. It is cold comfort for the loss of our God, to be told that we ought not to grieve or murmur, for he has also made an end of Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, of heathen polytheism and savage fetichism. If a man denies our rationality and immortality, it is no compensation for this to be told that he also denies it to the brutes, and trees, and stones. The whole question is, are we rational and immortal? If that is denied all is lost. So here the question is: is there one Living Personal God, the Creator and Upholder of all things? If this is denied all is lost. It matters not what else may then be established or overthrown. Besides, the author here attempts an inherent impossibility, an outright contradiction. To say that Theism and Atheism are alike inconceivable and absurd is itself a direct contradiction and unmitigated absurdity. To overthrow Theism is to establish non-Theism, which is Atheism, neither more nor less. To say that both are alike absurd, is itself the climax of absurdity.

But, perhaps, Mr. Spencer has thus taken from us our God only more fully to restore Him. Perhaps he has destroyed the foundations of our faith only more solidly to rebuild them, as destructives are so apt to pretend and claim they do. Perhaps he adopts the famous solution of Hamilton and Mansel in regard to the Infinite, Absolute, and First Cause; that although they and the negation of them are alike inconceivable, yet,

since, of two contradictories, one must be true, and the other false, we may and must accept as true that which is demanded by our intuitive convictions and our moral nature. Does Mr. Spencer in like manner say that, although Theism and Atheism are alike inconceivable and absurd, yet, as contradictories, one or the other must be true, and that we can and must choose that alternative of a Personal God which our deepest instincts and our highest reason alike demand? Let us see; although at best, for reasons before given in this journal, this is a most unstable foundation for Theism and Faith.*

Mr. Spencer does indeed impress Hamilton and Mansel into his service, so far as he can make them auxiliary to his destructive processes. And we should think Mr. Mansel's eyes would be opened to the essentially destructive character of his and Hamilton's positions on these subjects, as experience shows how much more readily they can be wielded in the service of scepticism than of faith. Mr. Spencer eagerly seizes upon and transfers to his pages the gist of their arguments to prove that all knowledge is relative, and not of things themselves, and that the knowledge of God is impossible, because it involves all the inconceivabilities and contradictions alleged by this school to pertain to the conception of the Infinite, Absolute, and First Cause. These alleged inconceivabilities and contradictions are substantially Kant's celebrated Antinomies, distilled through the alembic of Hamilton's, and then clarified by Mansel's, thinking. But while he thus utilizes in the interest of his own scheme the destructive part of their speculations, it must be confessed that he is more logically consistent than they. He does not attempt to reclaim by faith the ideas which he had shown to be incogitable contradictions and absurdities, and therefore impossible to be believed, because impossible to be apprehended. But he endeavours to find a vague and indefinite residuum which the mind does have an indefinite consciousness of, and which is thus a matter of positive apprehension and belief. This indefinable something, to which we may not ascribe any distinct attributes, is the underlying prin-

* See articles, "Reason and Faith," October 1860, and "Can God be Known," January 1864.

ciple of all religion and all science, and the basis of their reconciliation.

"Every religion," says our author, "may be defined as an *a priori* theory of the Universe. . . . Be it in the rudest fetichism, which assumes a separate personality behind every phenomenon; be it in Polytheism, in which these personalities are partially generalized; be it in Monotheism, in which they are wholly generalized; or be it in Pantheism, in which the generalized personality becomes one with the phenomena, we equally find an hypothesis which is supposed to render the universe comprehensible. Nay, even that which is commonly regarded as the negation of all religion—even positive Atheism—comes within the definition; for it, too, in asserting the self-existence of space, matter and motion, which it regards as adequate causes of every appearance, propounds an *a priori* theory, from which it holds the facts to be deducible. . . . Here then is an element which all creeds have in common. Religions diametrically opposed in their overt dogmas are yet perfectly at one in the tacit conviction that the existence of the world, with all it contains and all that surrounds it, is a mystery ever pressing for interpretation. On this point, if on no other, there is entire unanimity. Thus we come in sight of that which we seek. . . . This is the vital element in all religions." Pp. 43–4.

What all this will come to, must be as plain to our readers as that "coming events cast their shadows before." The residuum left as "the vital element of all religions," is what is common to Fetichism, Polytheism, Monotheism, and Atheism. What remains after being passed through these successive filters must be an exceedingly thin, dead abstraction—a ghost of a shadow—naively styled by the author a "mystery ever pressing for interpretation." "The analysis," says he, "of every possible hypothesis, proves not simply that no hypothesis is sufficient, but that no hypothesis is even thinkable. . . . . If religion and science are to be reconciled, the basis of reconciliation must be this deepest, widest, and most certain of all facts—that the Power which the universe manifests is utterly inscrutable." P. 46.

"Inscrutable Power," as the ground or cause of all phe-

nomena, is the "ultimate religious idea," and the only religious idea reached and recognized as legitimate, or supported by due evidence, in this new philosophy. The author next proceeds to discuss "ultimate scientific ideas," and to detect this as the great underlying truth of all science, viz., that whatever science may discover or establish, it still postulates, and must ever postulate an unknown something beyond, to account for what it does know. Thus religion and science are reconciled, and meet on this common ground of an ultimate "Inscrutable Power." He analyzes what he deems the possible conceptions of space, time, matter, motion, force, mind, consciousness. He accumulates and parades all the puzzles which the ingenuity of metaphysicians and sophists has conjured up on these subjects, to prove not only that they are "wholly incomprehensible," but that "the immediate knowledge which we seem to have of them, proves, when examined, to be total ignorance." P. 50. "Frame what suppositions we may, we find, on tracing out their implications, that they leave us nothing but a choice between opposite absurdities." P. 54. "The exercise of force is altogether unintelligible," and necessitates a "conclusion positively unthinkable." P. 60. In regard to consciousness, "the perplexity is like that presented by the relations of motion and rest. As we found it impossible really to conceive rest becoming motion, or motion becoming rest, so here we find it impossible really to conceive either the beginning or ending of those changes which constitute consciousness." P. 63. So of self-consciousness. "If it is the true self which thinks, what other self can it be that is thought of? Clearly a true cognition of self implies a state in which the knowing and the known are one—in which subject and object are identified—and this Mr. Mansel rightly holds to be the annihilation of both." P. 65. "Objective and subjective things he thus finds to be alike inscrutable in their substance and genesis. In all directions his investigations bring him face to face with an insoluble enigma." Pp. 66–7. "If, respecting the origin and nature of things, we make some assumption, we find that, through an inexorable logic, it inevitably commits us to alternate impossibilities of thought; and this holds true of every assumption that can be imagined." P. 69. So science is

forced to the same ultimatum as religion, an undefinable, inconceivable somewhat, underlying all those phenomena which she seeks to explain, and which are but seemings of an unknowable reality that bristle into multitudinous contradictions and unthinkable nonsense, the moment we attempt to bring them within the mind's grasp. "Clearly as we seem to know it, our apparent knowledge proves, on examination, to be utterly irreconcilable with itself. *Ultimate religious ideas and ultimate scientific ideas, alike turn out to be merely symbols of the actual, not cognitions of it.*" P. 68.

This negative result reached *a posteriori*, the author undertakes to demonstrate *a priori;* and, for this purpose, employs the powerful lever provided by Hamilton's and Mansel's arguments to prove the necessary relativity of all knowledge. He quotes these authors at great length in this behalf. So far as, by the relative quality of our knowledge, these writers mean merely that whatever we know must be so in relation with our faculties as to be cognizable by them, this is a mere truism which needs no defence, and calls for no outlay of argument to support it. But this relativity of knowledge is perfectly consistent with a true and genuine knowledge of things as they really are. Not necessarily that we know all pertaining to them. Much remains unknown by the most accomplished botanist about the merest blade of grass. But what in the due use of our faculties we do know, we know truly. Otherwise we do not know it at all. Not to know truly is not to know at all. Now the peculiarity of the relativity of knowledge contended for by these writers is, that we know not things in themselves and as they really are, but only in their relations either to one another or to our faculties, which may be fitted to misconceive them. So we have no reliable knowledge. What, however, Hamilton and Mansel thus wrest from knowledge, they think to reclaim by faith, as if it were possible to believe what can only be conceived as a conglomerate of contradictions and absurdities. Spencer allows nothing to faith which he refuses to the intellect. But he saves, or tries to save from the wreck of intellectual cogitables, the solitary fragment of an "Inscrutable Power," which is the basis of conciliation between science and religion. "In the very asser-

tion that all our knowledge, properly so called, is relative, there is involved the assertion that there exists a non-relative. . . . Unless a real non-relative or absolute be postulated, the relative itself becomes absolute, and so brings the argument to a contradiction. And on contemplating the process of thought we have equally seen how impossible it is to get rid of the consciousness of actuality lying behind appearances; and how from this impossibility results an indestructible belief in that actuality." Pp. 96–7. "So we arrive at the point where religion and science coalesce." P. 99.

Before proceeding to show from Mr. Spencer's more articulate statements, that this absolute which he saves or extracts from the wreck of all our knowledge, is the absolute alternately of Pantheism and Atheism, we wish to say a word more in regard to this doctrine, that we have no knowledge of realities, or of aught but appearances or relations which are unrealities. Says our author, "each attempt to conceive real existence ends in intellectual suicide." P. 100. It would be hard to imagine a more groundless and fatal principle. It is in utter contradiction to the normal and unperverted consciousness of the human race. It is itself absolute "intellectual suicide." If the intellect knows no reality, no real thing, it knows nothing. Nothing remains but absolute scepticism. We shall not repeat our exposure of the transcendental subtleties, quirks, and sophisms levelled against the possible knowledge of God and reality, which has been given in former numbers. These are here impressed into the service of what we shall find to be a sublimated Sensism and Materialism. It all amounts to a "system of sublime transcendental nullism." It is no new device. Atheists and sceptics of old understood it. One of the page-headings of *Cudworth's Intellectual System* is in these words: "*All Knowledge to Atheists Phantastical and Relative.*" It is a convenient device for reasoning out of conceivability and possibility all truth and all being—or rather for turning them into a shapeless, plastic mass, on which the speculatist may stamp as little as he pleases, sweeping away all else. What inscription our author puts upon, and what he erases from this formless abstraction, we will now ascertain.

Although, in his view, religion has the merit, in all its forms, of ever having discerned and insisted on this "ultimate verity," it has fulfilled this office very imperfectly. Pp. 99, 100. "Religion has ever been more or less irreligious, and it continues to be partially irreligious even now. In the first place, as implied above, it has *professed to have some knowledge* of that which transcends knowledge; and has so contradicted its own teachings. While with one breath it has asserted that the course of all things passes understanding, it has, with the next breath, asserted that the cause of all things *possesses such or such attributes*—can be in so far understood. In the second place, while, in great part sincere in its fealty to the great truth it has had to uphold, it has often been insincere, and consequently irreligious, in maintaining the untenable doctrines by which it has obscured this great truth. *Each assertion respecting the nature, acts, or motives of that power* which the universe manifests to us, has been repeatedly called in question and proved to be inconsistent with itself or with accompanying assertions." Pp. 100–1. Our readers will observe that it is here asserted that the ascription to God of "attributes, nature, acts, or motives," is irreligious. What then is left for faith or worship? What shall the Christian say, when asked "where is thy God?" And what will this new philosophy teach us next? "As fast as experience proves that certain familiar changes always happen in the same sequence, then begins to fade from the mind the conception of a variable personality, to whose variable will they were before ascribed." P. 102. In opposition to Mr. Mansel, who, after having argued it all to be inconceivable, says: "It is our duty, then, to think of God as personal, and it is our duty to believe He is infinite," Mr. Spencer presses their common doctrine in the premises to a more unrelenting logical issue. He says:

"That this is not the conclusion here adopted, needs hardly be said. If there be any meaning in the foregoing arguments duty requires us neither to affirm nor deny personality. . . . . This, which to many will seem an essentially irreligious position, is an essentially religious one; nay, is *the* religious one, to which, as already shown, all others are but approximations. In the estimate it forms of the ultimate cause, it does not fall

short of the alternative position, but exceeds it. Those who espouse this alternative position make the erroneous assumption that the choice is between personality and something lower than personality, whereas the choice is between personality and something higher. Is it not just possible that there is a mode of being as much transcending intelligence and will as these transcend mechanical motion? It is true we are utterly unable to conceive any such higher mode of being. . . . And may we not, therefore, rightly refrain from assigning to it any attributes whatever, on the ground that such attributes, derived as they must be from our own natures, are not elevations, but degradations?" Pp. 108–9.

It is scarcely necessary to pronounce this pure, bold, blank Atheism with regard to the Supreme Being, and sceptical nihilism with regard to all else. The author well says, "an immense majority will refuse, with more or less of indignation, a belief seeming to them so shadowy and indefinite." He, however, endeavours to comfort all parties, in that the creeds that are bad, as measured by an absolute standard, are good as measured by a relative standard. "Though from higher perceptions they hide the abstract verity within them, yet to lower perceptions they render this verity more appreciable than it would otherwise be." P. 121. Or, as he elsewhere states it, "the religious creeds through which mankind successively pass, are, during the eras in which they are severally held, the best that could be held; and that this is true, not only of the latest and most refined creeds, but of all, even the earliest and most gross. Those who regard men's faiths as given to them from without . . . will think this a very shocking opinion." *Illustrations of Progress.* Pp. 440–1. No doubt; and not less shocking the statements following, such as that "it is well for the savage man to have a savage god." It is an obvious corrollary from this that when "the unknown cause produces in him (the author) a certain belief, he is thereby authorized to profess and act that belief." P. 123. This is a necessary consequence of the reign of a blind, impersonal Power, of whose movements all things, including beliefs and opinions, are the necessary and fatalistic results. It undermines responsibility

for opinions not only, but all other responsibility, as will soon more fully appear.

The atheistic character of this new philosophy is clear enough. It will soon be made equally clear that its Atheism runs now into Pantheism, now into Materialism. His theory to account for the universe is that of "evolution," an unlimited application of the development hypothesis. All forms of being are evolved from the "persistence of force." They are but phenomena of pure force persisting, and necessarily developed by its persistence. This scheme, of course, substantially takes in the developments of the higher animals from the lower, and of man from the ape, in its universal sweep, even as the ocean absorbs the rivers. Mr. Spencer repeatedly commends Darwin and Huxley. Approaching his own distinctive doctrine, he says:

"The series of changes gone through during the development of a seed into a tree, or an ovum into an animal, constitute an advance from homogeneity of structure to heterogeneity of structure. . . . This is the history of all organisms whatever. It is settled beyond dispute that organic evolution consists in a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. Now I propose, in the first place, to show that this law of organic evolution is the law of all evolution. Whether it be in the development of the earth, in the development of life upon its surface, in the development of society, of government, of manufactures, of commerce, of language, literature, science, art, this same advance from the simple to the complex holds through successive differentiations, holds uniformly. From the earliest traceable cosmical changes down to the latest results of civilization, we shall find that the transformation of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous is that in which evolution essentially consists." Pp. 148–9.

That this is true of literal organisms, of course, is admitted. That it is also some approximation to truth in the whole physical and cosmical sphere, may also be admitted. That it applies to a considerable class of social phenomena within the domain of man's free will, such as division of labour in its causes and effects, is also undoubted. But in the higher moral and spiritual realms the reverse can easily be shown to be true.

As men rise in the scale of being and society advances, they go from a more heterogeneous to a more homogeneous state. We are aware that this new philosophy ignores Christianity, and, indeed, all of religion but the name. But we do not. And even in the lower spheres, as a mere intellectual being, the more society advances, the more do education and intelligence pervade the masses, and make the lower classes homogeneous with the higher. The same is true of political rights and franchises. The more society advances, the more does bondage disappear, and the more fully are the humblest classes put on a political equality with the highest. The greater the progress of material improvement, of machinery, of inventions for making animals and the inanimate forces of nature do the work of man, the more perfectly do all classes share in the comforts and luxuries thus produced. The same locomotive that draws the rich draws the poor. As some one has said, "the locomotive is a great democrat." The same spinning-jennies and power-looms that weave for one class weave for another. Not only does this tendency appear among the different classes of the same nation, but between different nations. Commerce, by its exchanges, makes the nations partakers of each other's wealth. It makes the discoveries and progress of one nation the common property of all. The steam-engine, the telegraph, the railway, are rapidly spreading over the whole earth. Even civilization, then, tends towards increasing homogeneity in our race. The instinct of the masses, as if in rude mimickry of the brotherhood of the gospel, articulates its aspirations in the watchwords—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. All this reaches its full and genuine realization in proportion as morality and religion, especially the glorious gospel, pervade the nations and mould society. In degree as men are wicked and selfish, they are discordant, belligerent, heterogeneous. In so far as they become pure and good, they become congenial, harmonious, "homogeneous." But in Christ "all are brethren." "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ." Gal. iii. 28. Here we find the true homogeneity, in the one holy catholic church, not in any single outward organization, but in the "communion of saints," who love

the Lord Jesus Christ and will live and reign with him for ever. So far as this religion prevails it unifies mankind, making them one body, with one spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all. All "persistence of force," among men uncontrolled by this, it is granted and insisted, tends to the heterogeneous, to discord, confusion, and every evil work.

But without stopping longer on this question, let us see whither our author carries it, or it carries him. Having settled it, that evolution, from the simple to the complex, is the method by which all things come into being, he proceeds to inquire what this process involves. Having told us it is "probable that every species of organic form up to the most complex, has arisen out of the simplest, through the accummulation of modifications upon modifications, just as every individual organic form arises," (p. 184,) he at length comes to say, that "manifestly this community of result implies community of causation. . . . . Determining evolution of every kind—astronomic, geologic, organic, ethnologic, social, economic, artistic, &c.—they must be concerned with something common to all these; and to see what these possess in common will be the best method of guiding ourselves to the desired solution. The only obvious respect in which all kinds of evolution are alike, is, that they are modes of change. . . . We narrow the field of inquiry by recognizing the change in which evolution consists as *a change in the arrangement of* parts: of course using the word *parts* in its most extended sense, as signifying both units and masses of such units." Pp. 219—221.

Having reached this point, the author proceeds directly to the goal of which he is in quest by the following steps:— "Evidently the problem, as thus expressed, brings us face to face with the ultimate elements of phenomena in general. It is impossible to account for a certain change in the arrangement of the parts of any mass without involving, first, the *matter* which makes up the parts thus rearranged, next the *motion* exhibited during the rearrangement, and then the *force* producing this motion. The problem is a dynamical one; and there can be no truly scientific solution of it, save one given

in terms of matter, motion and force—terms in which all other dynamical problems are expressed and solved.

"The proposal thus to study the question from a purely physical point of view, will, most likely, notwithstanding what has been been said in the first part of this work, raise in some minds either alarm or prejudice. Having throughout life constantly heard the charge of materialism," &c., . . . "men who have not risen above that vulgar conception which unites with matter the contemptuous epithets 'gross' and 'brute,' may naturally enough feel dismay at the proposal to reduce the phenomena of life, of mind, and of society, to a level with those which they think so degraded. . . . The course proposed does not imply a degradation of the so-called higher, but an elevation of the so-called lower." Pp. 221–2.

Although the author, in the immediate context and at the close of the book, contends that his "implications are no more materialistic than they are spiritualistic, and no more spiritualistic than they are materialistic," he avowedly, and, at all events, most undeniably confounds and identifies matter and mind as at bottom one. This is enough. He denies, in what we have quoted, the dualism both between mind and matter, and (as we shall soon more fully see) between Creator and creatures. He must therefore be either an Idealist or Materialist. The former he is not, for he not only speaks of the "insanities of idealism," p. 225, but all his modes of thought and expression in regard to mental phenomena are in terms of "matter, motion, force." The mind is treated like matter, as divisible, which no spirit is or can be. The evidence is therefore cumulative and irresistible that he makes physical and psychical forces convertible, and holds the latter to be evolved from the former. This is unadulterated Materialism, which, indeed, in the language already quoted, the author much more decidedly professes and apologizes for, than disclaims.

Having thus virtually reduced all things to matter, motion, force, his next step is to define reality as "nothing more than persistence in consciousness." P. 227. Another signal instance of the facility for running into idealism, which so often appears in Materialists, and in the sensuous school. To resolve all reality into "persistence in consciousness," is to resolve all

things into modes of mind, which is idealism. Language can be found abundantly in Locke's great effort to trace the origin of all our knowledge to the senses, implying that the things immediately cognized through the senses are but ideas of the mind; while Hume tries to resolve all things material and immaterial into ideas and impressions. No wonder that in such modes of thought Berkeley saw a sure foundation for his Idealism. And if matter and mind are essentially one, according to our author's system, although that unity of essence be material, it is not strange that he should set forth reality in terms of mind as well as of matter.

He next proceeds to analyze our conceptions of space, time, matter, motion, force. Along with the usual platitudes about knowledge being relative, and of "relative realities," he goes on to resolve all these ideas into force, or effects and derivatives of force. "Forces standing in certain correlations, form the whole content of our idea of matter." P. 233. This being so, and our ideas of space being first suggested in connection with matter or extended substance, "the experiences from which the consciousness of space arises are experiences of *force*. . . . Concerning time, relative and absolute, a parallel argument leads to parallel conclusions." P. 231. Motion "involves the conceptions of space, of time, and of matter. . . . And since, as we have seen, these are severally elaborated from experiences of *force*, as given in certain correlations, it follows that from a further synthesis of such experiences the idea of motion is also elaborated. . . . We come down, then, finally, to force, as the ultimate of ultimates. . . . Thus all other modes of consciousness are derivable from experiences of force, but experiences of force are not derivable from anything else." Pp. 233–5.

He then undertakes to show that this "ultimate of ultimates" in the form of matter and motion, can neither be created nor destroyed. Here, and in what will immediately follow, we enter the region of the affinities of the work on the "Correlation and Conservation of Forces," already noticed, with our author's system. He says: "if we analyze early superstitions, or that faith in magic which was general in later times, and even still survives among the uncultured, we find one of its

postulates to be, that by some potent spell matter can be called out of non-entity, and can be made non-existent. . . . . We have learnt that relatively to our consciousness, matter never either comes into existence nor ceases to exist. . . . The total quantity of matter in the universe cannot really be conceived as diminished, any more than it can be conceived as increased. . . It is impossible to think of something becoming nothing, for the same reason that it is impossible to think of nothing becoming something—the reason, namely, that nothing can become an object of consciousness. The annihilation of matter is unthinkable for the same reason that the creation of matter is unthinkable; and its indestructibility thus becomes an *a priori* cognition of the highest order. . . . By the indestructibility of matter, we really mean the indestructibility of the *force* with which matter affects us." Pp. 238—45.

In the chapter following he applies a like analysis to motion, urging that it is absurd "to think of motion as either being created or annihilated." P. 248. So he arrives at his great doctrine of the "Persistence of Force." The origin of this phrase he thus explains. "Some two years ago, I expressed to my friend Professor Huxley, my dissatisfaction with the current expression—"Conservation of Force;" assigning as reasons, first, that the word "conservation" implies a conserver and an act of conserving; and second, that it does not imply the existence of the force before that particular manifestation with which we commence. In place of "conservation," Professor Huxley suggested *persistence*. This entirely meets the first of the two objections." P. 250. What studious care to eliminate everything suggestive of a personal God! The chapter concludes with a passage quoted with admiring approval by Professor Youmans, and ending as follows. "The sole truth which transcends experience by underlying it, is thus the Persistence of Force. This being the basis of experience, must be the basis of any scientific organization of experience. To this an ultimate analysis brings us down: and on this an ultimate analysis must build up." P. 258. This "persistence of force," then, without intelligence, will, personality, is the "sole truth" that he gives us as the Head-spring of Being, the Fountain of Life, the Sustainer and Disposer of all

things, from the blind working of which all beings take their forms, relations, adjustments, properties, and workings. We have found that the author attributes belief in creation to superstition. But the credulity of believing the most reptile superstition is superlative wisdom in comparison with this. Verily, "the fool hath said in his heart there is no God."

He next treats of the "Correlation and Equivalence of Forces:" the former of these words indicating that the different kinds are mutually convertible, and the latter that they are mutual equivalents in nature and amount. Of course he here makes the most of whatever the scientists have discovered or maintained in regard to the continuance and mutual convertibility of physical forces. Tracing this through the ascending series of forces, and striving to show the successive transformations of the physical into the chemical, of these into the vital, and of the vegetable into the animal, he tells us, "many will be alarmed by the assertion that the forces which we distinguish as mental, come within the same generalization. Yet there is no alternative but to make this assertion. . . . We must regard the sensations which such agencies, (pressure, motion, sound, light, &c.,) produce in us, as new forms of the agencies producing them. Any hesitation to admit that, between the physical forces and the sensations, there exists a correlation like that between the physical forces themselves, must disappear on remembering how the one correlation, like the other, is not qualitative only but quantitative." P. 275. "The forces called vital which we have seen to be correlates of the forces called physical, are the immediate sources of these thoughts and feelings; and are expended in producing them." P. 278. "Various classes of facts thus unite to prove that the law of metamorphosis, which holds among the physical forces, holds equally between them and the mental forces. . . . How the metamorphosis takes place—*how a force existing as motion, heat or light, can become a mode of consciousness.* . . . These are mysteries which it is impossible to fathom. But they are not profounder mysteries than the transformations of physical forces into each other." Pp. 280–1. The same principle is applied, of course, to the social forces which result from the combined operation of the physical, vital, and mental.

The main point here to be marked is, the identification of mental and material forces—that materialism which in the author's writings shows great "persistence of force." All the plausibility of his reasonings on this subject arises from the mysterious and reciprocal influence of mind and body, and the phenomena thence arising, especially as related to our cognition of externals. But why do not sensations arise in a log when struck with rays of light and heat? What is there in any physical force striking or pressing us analogous to our consciousness or sensations thence arising? If we see the stars through a telescope, does the telescope therefore see? Really, is it meant to teach us that heat, light, and motion are the equivalents not only of sensation, but of reason, conscience and will, and transformable into them? Out upon such reptile philosophy, which, under pretence of elevating matter, sinks rational and immortal man to the grade of the brute, the stock, and the stone. The next stage logically, in this progress downward, would be for him to idolize them, so closely do the extremes of scepticism and superstition meet.

It is scarcely necessary, after all this, to quote the author's explicit and avowed "adhesion to the development hypothesis" as against creation, stigmatized as a "Hebrew idea" and "myth," (*Psychology*, pp. 577—9, *Illustrations of Progress*, chap. ix.); his assertion that there are intelligent acts without consciousness, (*Psychology*, p. 501); that modes of consciousness subjectively are modes of force objectively, (*First Principles*, p. 465); that "the common notion that there is a line of demarcation between reason and instinct has no foundation whatever in fact," (*Psyc.* p. 572); that there is a series of insensible steps by which brute rationality may pass into human rationality, (*Id.* p. 573); that the *ego* is but a "state of consciousness," (*Id.* 618), and that the "notion of free-will" is a "subjective illusion," (*Id.* p. 619); and finally, that in treating professedly of moral education, he avowedly ignores the moral element, scouting it as "the transcendental distinction between right and wrong, about which wise men know so little and children nothing." (*Education*, p. 217.)

This system, making the universe, as it does, an evolution of absolute force or inscrutable power, instead of a creation by a

Personal God, contains the essence of Pantheism, or, more strictly, Monism, that all is one and one is all. We have Pantheism where we have the evolution of man and nature from an absolute impersonal power, of which they are the manifestations and outworkings. This is, for substance, the new philosophy of Herbert Spencer. Its Atheism and Materialism are not incompatible with this, and if they were, it is his concern, not ours, to explain the contradiction. Monism and Pantheism are but forms of Atheism, of denying a Personal and Holy God. And as to Materialism, there is the pan-materialismus of Epicurus, as well as the pan-logismus of Hegel, and the pan-theismus of Spinoza. We look in vain for any virus in Atheism, Pantheism, Materialism, and Fatalism, which these works do not contain.

Professor Henry, who has beautifully illustrated the conservation and correlation of forces in the physical sphere, finds in it evidence of the presence and agency of God in all the realms of life. In an able paper on this subject in the *American Journal of Science*, for July 1860, he says: "*Vitality* thus viewed gives startling evidence of the immediate presence of a direct, divine, and spiritual essence, operating with the ordinary forces of nature, but being in itself entirely distinct from them." P. 33. "This view of the nature of body is the furthest removed from Materialism; it requires a separate thinking principle." P. 41. Doubtless some, if not most of the writers on the mutual transformableness and continuance of the physical forces, whom Mr. Spencer and Prof. Youmans are seeking to impress into the service of the New Philosophy, would concur with Prof. Henry in this matter. If so, they ought not to have uttered an uncertain sound, or left their opinions to be matters of conjecture. Their zeal for God should have prompted them, as it did him, to guard this point against all misconstruction, cavil, or perversion. In regard to a personal God and creation, we understand Mr. Spencer to concede that the great majority of scientists are against him.

And it is quite refreshing to find the prince of naturalists and zoölogists earnestly and eloquently protesting against this whole development or evolution theory, in relation to the kingdom of life, as wholly unsupported by facts, and of pernicious

tendency. Says Agassiz: "Had Mr. Darwin, or his followers, furnished a single fact to show that individuals change in the course of time, in such a manner as to produce at last species different from those known before, the state of the case might be different. But it stands recorded now as before, that the animals known to the ancients are still in existence, exhibiting to this day the characters they exhibited of old. . . . Until the facts of nature are shown to have been mistaken by those who have collected them, and that they have a different meaning from that now generally assigned to them, I shall therefore consider the transmutation theory as a scientific mistake; untrue in its facts, unscientific in its methods, and mischievous in its tendency." *Id.* 144–54. "Though I know those who hold it to be very unscientific to believe that thinking is not something inherent in matter, and that there is an essential difference between inorganic and living and thinking beings, I shall not be prevented by any such pretensions of a false philosophy from expressing my conviction, that so long as it cannot be shown that matter or physical forces do actually reason, the manifestation of thought is evidence of the existence of a thinking being, as the author of such thought, and I shall look upon an intelligent and intelligible connection between the facts of nature as direct proof of the existence of a thinking God." *Id.* March, 1858. P. 204.

These few words from these great masters in science contain more precious truth than all Mr. Herbert Spencer's toilsome and voluminous works. We do not underrate nor depreciate the extent of his knowledge and research, the keenness and astuteness of his mind, his ingenuity and tact as a writer, or the originality and value of his articles within a certain sphere —the sphere of matter and sense—the sphere that remains after obliterating the moral ideas, the spiritual, immortal, and accountable nature of man, and a personal, holy, and reigning God, from the universe. But this void fatally vitiates the whole. It is as if one should describe the solar system without the sun, the body without a soul or a head, the earth without its fauna and flora, sociology without government. However shrewd and useful, therefore, may be many of his writings on some branches, yet this is more than balanced by tearing them

from their living root. Thus, in his famous educational article entitled "What knowledge is of most worth?" which was not only endorsed, but republished in one of our New York dailies, which numbers its readers by the hundred thousand, Physical Science is put foremost. All that comes into competition with it is disparaged; supersensual, spiritual, scriptural knowledge is ignored; while the science commended is pronounced "antagonistic to the superstitions that pass under the name of religion." All that can be said in praise of Spencer's miscellaneous writings, can be said in praise not only of those of Hume, Compte, Malthus, but in a far higher degree of Mill, who is a mightier man than our author. He, near the close of his Logic, avows his adhesion to the radical and destructive principles of the Positive Philosophy of Compte. Mr. Spencer took pains to write a letter to the *New Englander*, in which he had been styled a positivist, denying the imputation. That some of his methods are not precisely the same as Compte's, we are aware. But as to the whole animus, scope, and results of his system, with regard to the immaterial, the moral and divine—Religion and Christianity—let him choose between them who will. We submit to our readers whether the choice is worth the trouble of making.

It is a portentous fact, which the friends of Christianity, and indeed of religion and morality, cannot afford to ignore or neglect, that sceptical and destructive opinions are just now having a formidable development in Great Britain, whence they, of course, migrate more freely to this country than from the continent. Aside of the church, a positive and semi-positive school, with their allies, under the lead of such men as Huxley, Darwin, Spencer, and Mill, appear to be assailing the fundamental, moral, and religious convictions of men from the scientific side, with weapons claimed to be forged in the laboratories of physical science. The absolute atheism or religious nihilism to which they go, has been sufficiently pointed out. Another class enter upon the same destructive work from the ideal and transcendental side, following their German masters. Mr. Morell seems to have been oscillating to and fro from one to the other. We have not seen his "Introduction to the Study of Mental Philosophy on the Inductive Method;" but, from

some extracts in an able Review of it by Professor Noah Porter of Yale College, in the *American Presbyterian and Theological Review* for April, 1864, we judge that he is now leaning to the sensuous school. From the alleged correlation between physical forces, he argues "that a similar correlation exists between vital energy, nervous energy, and mental energy;" "that the vital forces and the mind forces are one and the same at the root," etc., etc. This seems just now the newest and most fashionable drift of destructive thinking. Both currents form a confluence in the *Westminster Review*, and in the party of Destructives in the Established Church. These, with the growth of Romish tenets and practices in the Establishment, and of the Romish Church out of it, form an antagonistic yet combined and fearful host arrayed against the faith once delivered to the saints, the truth as it is in Jesus. The signs are manifold that this thing is not done in a corner, but that the assault upon the fundamentals of faith will be transferred from the old world to the new, and rage from within as well as without the pale of the church. Those set for the defence of the gospel must therefore gird on their armor. They must watch, detect, expose, confront and overpower their foe. Valiant for the truth, speaking it in love, strengthened by Him who is the Truth, they shall conquer. When the enemy comes in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him. It is a giant with which we have to wrestle—but a blind giant after all—blind to the intuitions of our nobler and immortal nature, to the soul, God, and immortality: "a Cyclops with one eye, and that in the back of its head," and giving us the "ouran-outang theology of the origin of the human race in place of the Book of Genesis." Let us pierce with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, this

Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum,

and we need not fear the issue. We shall be more than conquerors through Him that hath loved us.

Art. V.—*Principles of Church Union, and the Reunion of the Old and New-school Presbyterians.*

There is an organization, having its seat in the city of New York, "to secure a greater unity of faith and feeling and of corresponding action among evangelical Christians." It hopes to effect "*a Federal Union*" of the several evangelical denominations, "under one general church government, by the very constitution of which unity may be secured, and the rights of individual denominations, however obscure, may be protected." The president of this organization is the Hon. Alex. W. Bradford. There are twenty-one vice-presidents already chosen, among whom we notice such familiar and honoured names as Hon. Daniel Lord, Gen. John A. Dix, Shepherd Knapp, H. E. Pierrepont, the late Wm. Curtis Noyes, Hiram Ketchum, &c. There are two secretaries, J. M. Buckingham and Rev. Henry Kimball. The chairman of the Executive Committee is the Rev. W. A. Muhlenberg, D. D. A public meeting of the friends of this movement was held in New York on the 2d and 3d of March. Similar meetings are to be held in April at Philadelphia; in June at Boston, and later in the season, in the West. It appears therefore that this movement is inaugurated under very high auspices, and is to be carried on with energy. The promotion of Christian fellowship and coöperation among all true believers is an object which commends itself to the conscience and heart of every Christian. The plan most prominent apparently in the minds of those who have formed this organization, is to attempt a Federal Union of all Evangelical Denominations. This is analogous to the plan often broached by philanthropic statesmen of a Federation of Nations. Each of the confederates was to retain its own nationality, institutions, and supreme authority within its own limits, but all to be subject to a common tribunal for the decision of questions of conflicting interests, or which concerned all the members of the federation. By this means it was hoped wars might be prevented, the necessity for the enormous expenses and other evils of standing armies be obviated, and all the interests of

Christian civilization be advanced. This, too, was a grand idea; benevolent, beneficent, and Christian; the substitution of reason for the sword, the decisions of a civil tribunal for that of the battle-field. The only objection to it was impracticability. It supposed nations and their rulers to be more reasonable and better than they really are. Let us hope that the same fatal objection may not be found to bear against the plan above mentioned for a federation of Christian churches.

In the January number of this journal, we published an article from the pen of a respected contributor, advocating the confederation of the various Presbyterian bodies in this country, of which there are at least eight or ten distinct organizations. That article presented in a clear light the serious evils which flow from this multiplicity of Presbyterian bodies. Not only the evils of sectarian jealousy and rivalry, but the enormous waste which it incurs of men, labour, and money. It did not propose an amalgamation of all these independent organizations, but suggested that while each should retain its own separate being, its order, discipline, and usages, the possession and control of its own property and institutions, all should be subject to one general synod, for the decision of matters of dispute, and the conduct of missionary and other benevolent operations, in which all Calvinistic Presbyterians can, without the sacrifice of principle, combine. The advantages of this plan are obvious, in the promotion of efficiency, in the consolidation of efforts, in the economy of men and means, and in the prevention of unseemly rivalry and interference. But we must take men and churches as they are. Those who are liberal, and, shall we say, enlightened enough, thus to coöperate, may be persuaded into such an union. But if some Presbyterians believe that it is sinful to sing Watts's hymns, and that they would be false to their "testimony" and principles even to commune with those who use such hymns in the worship of God; what can be done? We cannot force them to think otherwise, and while they retain their peculiar views they are doomed to isolation.

In the Assembly of 1863 a memorial was presented in favour of the reunion of the Old and New-school branches of the Presbyterian church, to which a respectful answer was returned by the Assembly, declaring that it was inexpedient to take at

that time any decided action on the subject; and referring to the fraternal correspondence between the two bodies then already inaugurated as the *initiative* to a better understanding, which might serve "to prepare the way for a union that shall be harmonious and permanently promotive of the interests of truth and vital godliness." As condition and preparation for such union, the Assembly urge the careful instruction of the young in "the distinctive principles of Christian doctrine and church polity as held by the Presbyterian church." In 1864 the subject was brought before the one Assembly in Dayton, and the other at Newark, by overtures from the presbyteries. The New-school Assembly adopted a paper breathing a very fraternal spirit, and expressing very sound principles, which was transmitted to our General Assembly, and responded to in a kind and respectful manner. While expressing satisfaction at the results of the plan of correspondence now in successful operation, our Assembly declare that it was not expedient at present "to propose any additional measures towards the consummation of the object contemplated by the presbyteries whose action has been submitted to their consideration;" and they express their "concurrence with the suggestions and counsels of the Assembly of 1863," in the resolution relating to instruction in the distinctive principles of Presbyterian doctrine and polity, which suggestions they recommend "to the prayerful consideration of the parties concerned." Certain friends of reunion, apparently not fully satisfied with the action of the Assembly, called a meeting in the city of Newark, at which earnest addresses were made, and measures adopted to promote the object contemplated. Since then an association or organization has been formed at Cincinnati, under the guidance of prominent and influential men belonging to both branches of the church, and a monthly periodical instituted to advocate the reunion of the two churches.

The facts above stated afford very clear evidence of a widespread movement in the public mind, not confined to Presbyterians, but embracing other denominations, in favour of a closer union among evangelical Christians. We have no doubt that this is, in great measure, a healthy movement. The object aimed at is undoubtedly right and very important, and the mo-

tives which impel to efforts for its attainment may well be assumed to be, in the general, holy motives. As the union of Christians is an obvious duty, it should be carried out as far and as completely as fidelity to the truth and righteousness will admit. When the diversity between denominational churches is clear and avowed, nothing more than a federal union, which shall leave each in the possession and avowal of its peculiar faith and order, is possible. But where, as among Presbyterians, there is the profession of the same faith and polity, the desire is natural to strive for complete amalgamation. This is especially the case as to the two branches of the American Presbyterian church, whose separation is of comparatively recent origin. This we understand to be the avowed object of the advocates of the reunion of the two bodies. Whether this reunion should be accomplished in the present state of things, is a question not to be decided upon the general ground, that Christian union, internal and external, is commanded in the word of God; nor on the ground of sentiment or feeling; nor on considerations of expediency, but on the ground of principle. Believers are commanded to be one body in external organization as well as in heart, but other things also are commanded which are not to be sacrificed to anything merely external and formal. God prefers mercy to sacrifice.

All Protestants agree that the church in heaven and on earth is one. There is one fold, one kingdom, one family, one body. They all agree that Christ is the centre of this unity. Believers are one body in Christ Jesus; that is, in virtue of their union with him. The bond of this union between Christ and his people, apart from the eternal federal union constituted before the foundation of the world, is the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. By one Spirit we are baptized into or constituted one body. That Spirit working faith in us, does thereby unite us to Christ in our effectual calling.

It follows from the indwelling of the Holy Spirit being the principle of unity, or the bond which unites all believers to each other, and all to Christ, that all the legitimate manifestations of this unity must be referable to the Spirit's presence. That is, they must be his fruits, produced by his influence on the hearts of his people. As the Holy Spirit is a teacher—as

he dwells in believers as an unction from the Holy One, which, as the apostle says, (1 John ii. 27), teaches them all things, so that they need not that any man teach them, it follows that all true Christians agree in faith. They have one faith, as they have one Lord and one baptism. If they were perfect, that is, if they perfectly submitted to the guidance of the Spirit by his word and by his inward influence, this agreement in matters of faith would be perfect. But as this is not the case, as imperfection attaches to everything human in this life, the unity of faith among believers is also imperfect. Nevertheless it is real. It is far greater than would be inferred from the contentions of theologians, and it includes everything essential to Christianity. That there is one God; that the Godhead subsists in three persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that the Eternal Son of God assumed our nature, was born of a woman, and suffered and died for our salvation; that He is the only Saviour of men; that it is through his merit and grace men are delivered from the condemnation and power of sin; that all men being sinners, need this salvation; that it is only through the power of the Holy Ghost sinners are made partakers of the redemption of Christ; that those who experience this renewing of the Holy Ghost and are united to Christ, and they only, are made partakers of eternal life—these are doctrines which enter into the faith of all Christian churches, and of all true believers. As it is not for us to say what is the lowest degree of knowledge necessary to salvation, so it is not for us to determine, with precision and confidence, what degree of aberration from the common faith of Christians forfeits the communion of saints. We know indeed that those who deny the Son, deny the Father also, and that if any man believe that Jesus is the Son of God, he is born of God.

2. The Holy Spirit is not only a teacher but a sanctifier. All those in whom he dwells are more or less renewed after the image of God, and consequently they all agree in their religious experience. The Spirit convinces all of sin, *i. e.*, of guilt, moral pollution, and helplessness. He reveals to all the righteousness of Christ; *i. e.*, the righteousness of his claims to be received, loved, worshipped, and obeyed, as the Son of God and the Saviour of the world. He excites in all in whom he dwells the

same holy affections, in greater or less degrees of strength and constancy. True Christians, therefore, of all ages and in all parts of the world, are one in their inward spiritual life, in its principles and its characteristic exercises. The prayers, the hymns, the confessions and thanksgivings, which express the yearning desires and outgoings of soul of one, suit all others. This is a bond of fellowship which unites in mystic union the hearts of all the people of God, and makes them one family or household.

3. The Holy Spirit is a Spirit of love, and love is one of the fruits of his presence. The command of Christ to his disciples, so often repeated by him and his apostles, is written on the heart by the Spirit, and becomes a controlling law in all his people. This is not mere benevolence, nor philanthropy, nor friendship, nor any form of natural affection. It is a love of the brethren because they are brethren. It is a love founded on their character and on their relation to Christ. It extends therefore to all Christians without distinction of nation, or culture, or ecclesiastical association. It leads not only to acts of kindness, but to religious fellowship. It expresses itself in the open and cordial recognition of every Christian as a Christian, and treating him accordingly. We confess Christ when we confess his followers to be our brethren; and it is one form of denying Christ to refuse to acknowledge his disciples as such. Inasmuch as ye did it unto them, ye did it unto me, are very comprehensive, as well as very solemn words.

It is thus that all believers as individuals are one spiritual body. But the union of believers extends much further than this. Man is a social being, and the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the people of God is an organizing principle. As men, in virtue of their natural constitution, form themselves into families, tribes, and nations, united not only by community of nature and of interests, but by external organic laws and institutions; so believers in Christ, in virtue of their spiritual nature, or under the guidance of the Holy Spirit as the principle of spiritual life, form themselves into societies for the propagation and culture of their spiritual nature.

This leads 1, to their uniting for the purposes of Christian worship, and the celebration of the Christian ordinances. 2. To

the institution of church government, in order to carry out the injunctions of the word of God, and the exercise of mutual watch and care, or for the exercise of discipline. It arises out of the nature of Christianity, in other words, it arises out of the state of mind produced in believers by the indwelling of the Spirit, that they should, under the guidance of the written word, adopt means of deciding on the admission of members to the church, and upon the exclusion of the unworthy, as well as for the selection or appointment of the officers necessary for their edification. Thus individual or separate congregations are formed. The natural principle of association of such individual churches is proximity. Those believers who reside sufficiently near each to make it possible or convenient for them to meet from Sabbath to Sabbath, would naturally unite for the purposes above indicated.

3d. The unity of the church, however, continues. These separate congregations constitute one church. First, because they have the same faith, and the same Lord. Secondly, because they are associated on the same terms; so that a member admitted to one, becomes a member of the church universal; and a member excluded from one congregation is thereby excluded from the fellowship of all. It would indeed be an anomaly, if the man whom Paul required the Corinthians to excommunicate, could by removing to Philippi be restored to the communion of the saints. Thirdly, because every single congregation is subject to the body of other churches. Believers are required by the word, and impelled by the indwelling of the Spirit, to be subject to their brethren in the Lord. The ground of this subjection is not the fact that they are neighbours, and therefore is not confined to those with whom they are united in daily or weekly acts of worship. Nor does it rest on any contract or mutual covenant, so as to be limited to those to whom we may agree to obey. It is founded on the fact that they are brethren; that the Spirit of God dwells in them, and therefore extends to all the brethren. The doctrine that a church is formed by mutual covenant, and that its authority is limited to those who agree together for mutual watch and care, is as inconsistent with the nature of Christianity and the word of God, as that parental authority is

founded on a covenant between the parent and the children. Children are required to obey their parents, because they are parents, and not because they have covenanted to obey them. In like manner we are required to obey our brethren, because they are brethren; just as we are bound to obey the wise and good, because they are what they are; or as we are bound to obey reason and conscience, because they are reason and conscience; or God, because he is God. Mutual covenants as the ground and limitation of church authority, and the "social compact" as the ground of civil government, are alike anti-scriptural. The church therefore remains one body, not only spiritually, but outwardly. Each individual congregation is a member of an organic whole, as the several members of the human body are united not only by the inward principle of life common to them all, but in external relation and mutual dependence. The eye cannot say to the ear, nor the hand to the foot, "thou art not of the body."

It follows from what has been said, that the church in any one town or city would be subject to those in its immediate vicinity, and those again to the churches in a larger circle, and these to the church universal. Thus by an inward law, provincial and national churches, or ecclesiastical organizations, would be formed, all inwardly and outwardly connected, and all subject to the church as a whole. The representative principle which pervades the Bible, and which has its foundation in the nature of man, is also founded in the nature of the church, and is necessarily involved in her organization. As it is physically impossible that all the people should assemble for the administration of government and discipline, it is a matter of necessity that the power of the church should be exercised through its properly appointed representatives—so that this organic outward union of the church, as the expression of its inward spiritual unity, becomes feasible, and has to a large extent been actual.

It can hardly be denied that such is the normal or ideal state of the church. This is the form which it would in fact have assumed, if it had not been for disturbing influences. A tree planted under favourable circumstances of soil and climate, and with free scope on every side, assumes its normal shape

and proportions, and stands forth the realization of its idea. But if the soil or climate be uncongenial, or if the tree be hedged in, it grows indeed, but in a distorted shape, and with cramped and crooked limbs. This has been the actual history of the church. The full and free development of its inward life has been so hindered by the imperfection of that life itself, and by adverse external influences, that instead of filling the earth with its branches, or standing one and symmetrical, as a cedar of Lebanon, or an oak of Bashan, it is rent and divided, and her members twisted out of their natural shape and proportions.

These adverse influences, although partly external, (geographical and political,) have been principally from within. As external union is the product and expression of spiritual unity; if the latter be defective, the former must be imperfect. Christians have not been so united in their views of Christian doctrine and order as to render it possible for them all to be joined in one organized external body. Romanists (especially of the genuine ultramontane school) assume that Christ constituted his church in the form of an absolute monarchy, and appointed the bishop of Rome its head, and invested him with absolute power to decide all questions of doctrine and morals, and with universal authority to exercise discipline; making him, in short, his vicar, with plenary power upon earth; and that the church can exist under no other form, so that to deny the authority of the pope is to secede from the church. As no man can be a member of the Russian empire and enjoy its privileges, who does not acknowledge the authority of the Czar, so no one can be a member of the Romish Church who does not acknowledge the authority of the pope. This theory of the nature and organization of the church, and of the condition of membership therein, of necessity separates those who adopt it from all other Christians. If they are right, all who protest and refuse to acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as their sovereign lord, are schismatics. If they are wrong, then the crime of schism rests on them. In either case, however, the church is divided.

Prelatists, on the other hand, hold to the perpetuity of the apostleship, and assume that bishops are the official successors

of the apostles, and ought to be accepted and obeyed as such. The class of those who adopt this theory teach that the being of the church depends on this principle. As in the early church those only were recognized as members who received the doctrines and submitted to the authority of the apostles, so now those only are in the church who yield like subjection to the prelates having apostolic succession. Another class, while they do not go to this extreme, still hold that it is the duty of all Christians to adopt and submit to the episcopal organization of the church, and to render canonical obedience to its prelates.

Presbyterians are fully persuaded, from their interpretation of the Scriptures, that the office of the apostles was temporary; that they have no official successors, and that presbyters are the highest permanent officers of the church, according to its original design and institution. They therefore cannot conscientiously submit to the claims either of papal or prelatical authority, and are necessitated to organize an external church for themselves; or rather, as they believe, to maintain and perpetuate the original and divinely appointed mode of organization.

Independents believe that a church is a company of believers united by mutual covenant for the purposes of Christian worship and discipline, and is complete in itself, subject to no ecclesiastical authority but that of its own members. Holding these views they cannot submit to pope, prelates, or presbyteries. Thus we have the external church of necessity divided into three independent, antagonistic bodies. The evil, however, has not stopped here.

Baptists assume that immersion is essential to baptism; that baptism is necessary to membership in the visible church; and that adult believers are the only proper subjects of that Christian ordinance. Hence they cannot recognize any persons as members of the church who were either baptized in infancy, or to whom the rite was administered otherwise than by immersion. They are thus separated (at least externally) from the great body of Christians. Less diversities of opinion than any of the above have led to the multiplication of sects. Some Presbyterians, believing that the civil magistrate is clothed with

the power to maintain the purity of the church, will not recognize the authority of any magistrate who has not bound himself by covenant to exercise his power to sustain the church according to their views of gospel doctrine and order. These Covenanters, therefore, separate from other Presbyterians who do not agree with them in this fundamental principle. Otherwise they would be unfaithful, as they believe, to the testimony for the truth which they are bound to bear.

Others again believe that the Book of Psalms was divinely appointed to be used in public worship, and that the use of hymns written by uninspired men in the service of God is a violation of his commands. With such a belief they cannot unite in worship or communion with those who differ from them in this matter. Thus the evil has gone on increasing until the church is split into sects and independent communions almost without number. Nevertheless, the existence of such divisions is the less of two evils. When men differ, it is better to avow their diversity of opinion or faith, than to pretend to agree, or to force discordant elements in a formal uncongenial union.

It is clear from the history of the church, that diversity as to forms of church government, or matters connected with worship and discipline, more than differences about doctrine, has been the cause of existing divisions of the church. Many Romanists, Episcopalians, and all Presbyterians (with few exceptions) have been, and are, Augustinian in doctrine. In the Romish Church, during all the middle ages, Augustinians, Pelagians, and Semi-Pelagians were included in her communion. The same diversity notoriously exists in the Church of England, and in the episcopal churches of this country at the present day. These churches are one, not in doctrine, but in virtue of their external organization, and subjection to one and the same governing body. In the Romish Church the principle or centre of union is the pope; in the Church of England the king in council; in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, the General Convention. The Presbyterians of Scotland, subject to the same General Assembly, constitute one church; those subject to another Assembly constitute another. And so it is in the United States. Churches therefore may agree in their standards of doctrine, in their form of govern-

ment, and mode of worship, and yet be separate, independent bodies.

The existence of denominational churches being unavoidable in the present imperfect state of inward spiritual unity among Christians, it becomes important to determine their relative duties. In the first place, it is their duty to combine or unite in one body (so far as geographical and political considerations will permit), wherever and whenever the grounds of their separation are inadequate and unscriptural. They are not bound to unite when the differences between them are such as to prevent harmonious action; but where the points in which they differ are either such as the Scriptures do not determine, or which are of minor importance, it is obviously wrong that all the evils arising from the multiplication of sects should for the sake of these subordinate matters be continued. It is clearly impossible that Romanists and Protestants should be united in the same ecclesiastical organization. It is no less impossible that anything more than a federal union, such as may exist between independent nations, can be formed between Prelatists and Presbyterians, between Baptists and Pædobaptists, between Congregationalists and any other denomination recognizing the authority of church courts. The principles conscientiously adopted by these different bodies are not only different, but antagonistic and incompatible. Those who hold them can no more form one church than despotism and democracy can be united in the constitution of the same state. If by divine right all authority vests in the king, it cannot vest in the people. The advocates of these opposite theories therefore cannot unite in one form of government. It is no less obvious that if ecclesiastical power vests in one man—the bishop—it cannot vest in a presbytery. Episcopalians and Presbyterians therefore cannot unite. The latter deny the right of the bishop to the prerogatives which he claims; and the former deny the authority of the presbytery which it assumes. The same thing is equally plain of Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The former regard themselves as bound by the decisions of sessions and presbyteries; the latter refuse to recognize the right of church courts to exercise discipline or government. So long, therefore, as such differences exist

among Christians, it is plain that Romanists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, must form separate and independent bodies.

Differences as to doctrine do not form such insuperable barriers to church union as diversity of opinion respecting ecclesiastical government. The creed of a church may be so general, embracing only the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, such as can be professed with a good conscience by all true Christians, and thus ministers and members who differ widely within those limits may unite in one ecclesiastical organization. It is notorious that great differences of doctrine prevail in all large churches, as in the Church of England, and the Church of Scotland, and in this country in the Episcopal church, and in a less degree, perhaps, among Presbyterians. Much as to this point depends on the standards of the church. Those standards may be so strict and so extended as to exclude all but Calvinists, or all but Arminians, as is the case with the Wesleyans. It is a question of delicacy and difficulty how minute a confession of faith for an extended organization should be made. It may be too concise and latitudinarian, or it may be too minute and extended, requiring a degree of unanimity greater than is necessary, and greater than is attainable. Fidelity and harmony, however, both demand that the requirements of the standards, whatever they may be, should be sincerely adopted and enforced so far as every thing essential to their integrity is concerned.

But secondly, when union between different denominations is impracticable or undesirable, they have very important duties resting upon them in relation to each other. 1. The first and most comprehensive of these duties is mutual recognition. By this is meant the acknowledgment of their members as Christian brethren, and of the denominations or bodies themselves as Christian churches. It is a great offence against Christian charity, and a direct violation of the command of Christ, to refuse to receive as our brethren those whom Christ receives as his disciples. It will not avail as an excuse for such repudiation of brotherhood, to say that others do not walk with us; that they do not adopt the same form of government, are not subject to the same bishops or church courts; or that they do

not unite with us in the same testimony as to non-essential matters; or do not agree with us in the same mode of worship. We might as well refuse to recognize a man as a fellow-creature because he was a monarchist and not a republican, a European and not an American, or an African and not a Caucasian. This is no small matter. Those who refuse to recognize Christians as Christians, sin against Christ and commit an offence which is severely denounced in the word of God. The same principle applies to churches. To refuse to recognize as a church of Christ any body of associated believers united for the purposes of worship and discipline, can be justified only on the ground that some particular form of organization has by Divine authority been made essential to the existence of the church. And if essential to the existence of the church, it must be essential to the existence of piety and to the presence and operations of the Holy Spirit. *Ubi Spiritus Sanctus ibi Ecclesia* is a principle founded upon the Scriptures, and held sacred by evangelical Christians in all ages. It was the legend on the banner which they raised in all their conflicts with Papists and High Churchmen from the beginning. A body of Christians therefore, professing the true faith, and united for the purpose of worship and discipline, no matter how externally organized, is a church which other Christians are bound to recognize as such, unless it can be proved that a particular mode of organization is in fact, and by Divine command, essential to the existence of the church.

2. It is included in the acknowledgment that a body of Christians is a church of Christ, that we should commune with its members in public worship and in the sacraments, and allow them to commune with us. This follows from the spiritual unity of the church; from its having the same faith and the same Lord and God, and from the conditions of church membership being the same for all churches. A member of the church at Jerusalem was entitled to the privileges of the church of Antioch. If he was a Christian in one place, he was no less a Christian in another, and the rights of a Christian belonged to him wherever he went. It is obvious that this principle, although true in itself, is limited in its practical application. There may be something in the mode of conducting public

worship or in the administration of the sacraments which hurts the consciences of other Christians, and prevents this freedom of communion in church ordinances. If a church requires all who partake of the Lord's Supper to receive the elements upon their knees, should any man conscientiously believe that this posture implies the worship of the consecrated bread, he cannot join in the service; or if a church is so unfaithful as to admit to its fellowship those whom the law of Christ requires should be excluded, other churches are not bound to receive them into fellowship. These and similar limitations do not invalidate the principle. It remains the plain duty of all Christain churches to recognize each other as churches, and hold intercourse one with another as such. And it is also their duty to make nothing essential either to the existence of the church or to church fellowship, which the word of God does not declare to be essential.

3. A third duty resting on different churches or denominations, is to recognize the validity of each other's acts of discipline. If the church, notwithstanding its division into sects, is still one; if the legitimate terms of membership are the same in all; and if the lawful grounds of exclusion are also the same, then it follows that a man excluded from one church should be excluded from all other churches. The meaning of the act of suspension or excommunication is, that the subject of censure is unworthy of Christian fellowship. If this be true in one place, it is true in every place. Civil tribunals act upon this principle. Not only do the courts of the same state respect the decisions of co-ordinate courts; but the judicial decisions of one state are held valid in other states, until just reason can be shown to the contrary. The rule is the same with regard to acts of church discipline. The right to exercise discipline is to be acknowledged. The propriety and justice of the particular acts of discipline are to be presumed and acted upon. If clear evidence be afforded that those acts were unauthorized by the law of Christ, or manifestly unjust, other churches, in consistency with courtesy and Christian fellowship, may disregard them. If a Baptist church should excommunicate a member because he had his children baptized, no pœdobaptist church could, on that ground, refuse to receive him. Or if one

Presbyterian church should subject a member to discipline because he joined in acts of worship in which hymns written by uninspired men were sung, other Presbyterians would be free to disregard such censures.

4. The same remarks apply to cases of ordination. If we are bound to recognize a given body as a Christian church, we are bound to admit that it has a right to all the privileges and prerogatives belonging to a church. Among those necessary prerogatives is the right to perpetuate and extend itself, and to appoint men to all scriptural offices necessary to that purpose. The ministry is a divine institution. It is appointed for the edification of saints and for the ingathering of those who are without. It is necessary, therefore, that a church should have ministers; and therefore it is necessary that she should have the right to ordain. If the Presbyterians, Methodists, or Congregationalists are to be recognized as Christian churches, their right to ordain ministers cannot be legitimately denied. It is one thing, however, to admit the right and another to admit the propriety of the mode in which it is exercised. If Presbyterians believe that the presbytery is the organ by which the church signifies her conviction that a man is called by the Spirit to the work of the ministry, they may consistently refuse to receive as ministers of their own body those who have not been presbyterially ordained. Or if one presbytery should exercise its admitted right of ordination in contravention either of the laws of Christ, or of the rules of the Presbyterian church, other presbyteries would not be bound to receive such minister as a member. The Bishop of Oxford ordained a man whom the Bishop of Chester refused to allow to officiate in his diocese. This was not schismatical. It was not a denial of the right of the Bishop of Oxford to ordain; it was only a denial that he had properly exercised that right in a given case. It is not necessary therefore that one denomination should concern itself how other denominational churches exercise the right of appointing men to the ministry, provided it admits that they possess the right of appointment; and recognize those thus appointed as ministers of Christ. It can preserve the purity of its own ministry and churches without incurring the charge of discourtesy or schism. Presbyterians

may recognize Methodist preachers as ministers of the gospel, and welcome them to their pulpits, but they cannot be expected to receive them into their own body or make them pastors of their own churches. The same of course may be said of Methodists in regard to Presbyterians.

5. Another important duty which rests upon denominations recognizing each other as Christian churches, is that of non-interference. When one church has planted itself in a field which it is abundantly able to cultivate, it is a breach of the principles of unity for another denomination to contend for joint-occupation. This is a great evil, and one of constant occurrence. It often happens that one denomination organizes a church in a village the population of which is barely sufficient for one church, when another starts a rival church, which can succeed only by drawing support from the other. When the field is the world, and so much land remains unoccupied, it is a great wrong thus to embarrass the operations of our fellow-Christians, and to burden the people with the support of two, three, or more churches, where one would do more good than many.

6. Finally, it is obviously the duty of different denominations to cultivate peace. They should avoid all the causes of alienation and ill-feeling, and do everything in their power to promote Christian love and fellowship. It is their duty, indeed, to maintain what they believe to be the truth, and endeavour to promote unity of faith; but they are bound to abstain from mere rivalry and sectarian conflicts.

How do these obvious principles apply to the case of the Old and New-school Presbyterians in this country? They now constitute two distinct organizations. They are as much separate and independent bodies as the United Presbyterians, or the Presbyterians in Canada or Scotland, are independent of each other and of us. What is the present duty of these two large, important, and influential bodies in relation to each other? It will be admitted that it is their duty to recognize each other as Christian churches, to worship and commune one with the other; to respect each other's acts of discipline; and recognize the right of each to all church privileges and prerogatives. They are under special obligation also to cultivate peace and

kind feeling; to abstain from mutual criminations and abuse, and to do all in their power to allay what may yet remain of enmity arising from past contentions. It is also specially incumbent upon them to avoid interfering one with the other. In this point both parties have hitherto grievously erred. A handful of the adherents of the one body has been organized into a rival church, when the success of the one must be the destruction of the other. As to all these matters there can be no difference of opinion. But is it the present duty of these bodies to unite and become one church, as they were before the division? This is a very grave question, involving principles and interests of vital importance. It is obvious enough that this union ought to take place if it can be effected without the sacrifice of principle, and if it can be made real and harmonious. Every one is ready to acknowledge that great evils arise from division; and great good might be expected from a righteous and cordial union of these important organizations. The only question is, can such a union be now reasonably expected? This leads to the further questions, what were the grounds of separation? and do, or do not, those grounds still continue?

It is of the last importance, in order to determine the question of duty in this matter, to bear in mind that the church was not divided by the action of the majority (the Old-school), but by the voluntary secession of the minority or New-school. This is a simple historical fact, abundantly proved by official records. In 1837 the Assembly passed certain acts, dissolving the third Presbytery of Philadelphia, and directing its members and churches to attach themselves to neighbouring presbyteries. It also declared that the Synod of the Western Reserve being largely composed of Congregational churches, should no longer be considered a constituent part of the Presbyterian church. A similar resolution was afterwards adopted in reference to the Synods of Genesee, Utica, and Geneva. The Assembly declare "that it has no intention by these resolutions to affect in any way the standing of any member of either of said synods; nor to disturb the pastoral relation in any church, nor to interfere with the duties or relations of private Christians in their respective congregations." It also directed that all churches presbyterially organized within the bounds of those synods

should apply for admission to any presbytery conveniently located in connection with our body; and that if any presbyteries within the same bounds were "strictly Presbyterian in doctrine and order," they should apply for recognition to the next General Assembly. The fact is, that under what is called the Plan of Union, many churches, numerous presbyteries, and even whole synods, had come to be composed, in a greater or less degree, of Congregationalists. The Presbytery of Lorain, for example, was reported to the Assembly as having within its bounds only one Presbyterian church, all the rest being Congregational. The Presbytery of Trumbull had twelve ministers and only one Presbyterian church. The Synod of Western Reserve included one hundred and eighteen ministers, and had only between twenty and thirty Presbyterian churches within its bounds. It was because these ecclesiastical bodies were not organized according to the constitution that the Assembly declared that they could no longer be recognized as constituent parts of the Presbyterian Church; while it made full provision for the continuance of the union of all the Presbyterian elements included within them, with the rest of the churches.

As these events happened nearly a generation ago, it is probable that a large portion of our present ministers and members know little about them. Many of them perhaps never heard of the Plan of Union, and have no idea what it was. Yet a knowledge of these events, and of the principles involved in the controversy which led to the division of the church in 1838, is absolutely essential to an intelligent understanding of the question of reunion, which is now exciting so much attention. We must be permitted, therefore, briefly to state what the facts and principles involved in that catastrophe were.

In the year 1801, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Association of Connecticut entered into an agreement, called the Plan of Union, in relation to "a form of government for the churches in the new settlements." This plan provided, 1. That a Presbyterian might be the pastor of a Congregational church, and a Congregationalist the pastor of a Presbyterian church. 2. That "if in the new settlements any church of the Congregational order shall settle a minister of the Presbyterian order, that church may, if they choose,

still conduct their discipline according to Congregational principles." "But if any difficulty shall exist between the minister and the church, or any member of it, it shall be referred to the presbytery to which the minister shall belong, provided both parties agree to it; if not, to a council, consisting of any equal number of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, agreed upon by both parties." 3. So if a Presbyterian church call a Congregationalist as pastor, the discipline may continue Presbyterian, except when the difficulty is with the pastor, and then the matter was to be referred to a mutual council. 4. If a church consists partly of Congregationalists and partly of Presbyterians, they were to choose a standing committee from the communicants to administer discipline. If a Presbyterian member be dissatisfied with the judgment of the said committee, he might appeal to the presbytery; if a Congregationalist, he had the right of appeal to the body of the male communicants of the church. 5. The Plan further provided, that the standing committee of any church might depute one of their number to attend presbytery, who should have the same right to sit and act in the presbytery as a ruling elder.

It is clear that the object aimed at in this Plan was desirable and excellent; that the motives of its authors were pure and good; that its provisions were wise and just; and that its operation, within the sphere originally intended, was likely to be salutary, so long as Congregationalists and Presbyterians were cordially agreed in matters of doctrine, and free from a sectarian spirit. But, on the other hand, it is no less clear that the contracting parties were utterly incompetent to give any authority or force to such an arrangement. The General Association of Connecticut had no jurisdiction over the churches even of that state, and they had no more right to control the action of the Congregationalists in the new settlements than they had to make laws for the Congregationalists of England. The General Assembly was not less powerless in the premises. That body acts under a written constitution; it has no more right to enact any thing in contravention of that constitution, than it has to make laws for the state. The constitution says that a church organically connected with our body must be governed by a session composed of ruling elders and the pastor;

that the elders, as well as the pastor, must adopt our standards of doctrine and order, and be regularly ordained to his office. The Plan of Union permitted churches organized and governed on the Congregational system to have the same connection with the church as a whole, as regular Presbyterian churches. The constitution says that a presbytery must consist of all the ministers and one ruling elder from each church within a given district. The Plan of Union says that a presbytery may consist of ministers and Congregational laymen, who have never adopted our standards or taken upon them the obligations of our ruling elders. That this Plan therefore was in its origin and provisions utterly at variance with the constitution of the Presbyterian Church, is a matter beyond dispute.

Besides this, the Plan had been greatly perverted and abused. Instead of being, as originally intended, a temporary arrangement for the "new settlements," it was made a permanent institution, spread over large regions of country, thickly settled and far advanced in wealth and resources; so that many hundreds of irregularly organized or Congregational churches came to be included in the Presbyterian body. At first, it was required that the Congregational churches should appoint a standing committee (an approach, at least, to a Presbyterian session) for the administration of discipline. But in a multitude of cases this was neglected, and the whole church was regarded as the committee. The Plan contemplated Congregational laymen being allowed to sit and vote only in the presbytery which had jurisdiction over the territory to which the churches which they represented belonged. But in fact they were sent to the synods, and delegated as "ruling elders" to the General Assembly. They were so designated in their commissions, and so enrolled on the minutes of those bodies. Thus Congregationalists, who had not adopted our standards, and who were opposed in principle to our form of government, were made constituent members of our church courts, and administered a discipline over Presbyterians, to which they themselves refused subjection. This was as though Canadians, Mexicans, and Cubans, citizens of foreign nations, should be allowed seats in the Congress of the United States, and in our courts of jus-

tice,—should participate in making and administering laws which they were not called upon to obey.

This state of things had grown up gradually and without the knowledge of the church at large. There was no way by which these facts could be officially known. Presbyterian, mixed, and Congregational churches were reported by the presbytery in the same way. From all that appeared in their reports, all those churches were Presbyterian—they were so designated. And the delegates from them were enrolled as ruling elders. It filled the church therefore with astonishment, when it came to be discovered that to so large an extent Presbyterians were governed by Congregationalists.

This subject was brought before the Assembly of 1837, by a convention of (Old-school) ministers and elders, which met in the spring of that year in Philadelphia. The memorial of that convention was presented to the Assembly and referred to a committee, consisting of Drs. Alexander, Green, and Baxter, and Messrs. Plumer, Laurie, and Lenox. That committee reported, "In regard to the relation existing between the Presbyterian and Congregational churches, the committee recommend the following resolutions, viz.

"1. That between these two branches of the American church, there ought, in the judgment of this Assembly, to be maintained sentiments of mutual respect and esteem; and for that purpose no reasonable efforts should be omitted to preserve a perfectly good understanding between these branches of the church of Christ.

"2. That it is expedient to continue the plan of friendly intercourse between this church and the Congregational churches of New England, as it now exists.

"3. But as the 'Plan of Union' adopted for the new settlements, in 1801, was originally an unconstitutional act on the part of that Assembly, these important standing rules never having been submitted to the Presbyteries, and as they were totally destitute of authority as proceeding from the General Association of Connecticut, which is invested with no power to legislate in such cases, and especially to regulate churches not within her limits, and as much confusion and irregularity have arisen from this unnatural and unconstitutional system of union,

therefore, it is resolved, that the act of the Assembly of 1801, entitled a 'Plan of Union,' be, and the same is hereby, abrogated.

"4. That our delegates to the bodies representing the Congregational churches, be instructed to explain the reasonableness and even the necessity of the foregoing measure."

After a protracted and earnest debate, this report was adopted by a vote of 143 *yeas* to 110 *nays*. The question then presented itself, What was to be said and done in reference to those congregations, presbyteries, and synods, which were constituted on the Plan of Union now abrogated? It was proposed that such judicatories as were known or reported to be irregularly constituted, should be cited before the bar of the next Assembly. This resolution after a long debate was carried; *yeas* 128, *nays* 122. By this time the contending parties had come to the conclusion that it was better that they should separate and constitute two independent churches. A committee of ten—five from each side of the house—was appointed, to agree upon the terms of separation. While that committee was absent, Dr. Cuyler presented a preamble, and a series of resolutions, of which the following was the most important, viz., "*Resolved*, That no church, which is not duly organized according to the provisions of our constitution, shall henceforth form a constituent part of any of our presbyteries, or be represented in any of our judicatories, unless they shall conform to our constitution, when they shall be cheerfully received." After some debate, this matter was laid aside to await the report of the committee "on an amicable division." That committee reported that they agreed as to the propriety of a separation, as to the division of the funds, as to the names of the two bodies, as to the records of the church, as to its boards and constitutions, but could not agree as to the question whether the division should be made at once or referred to the presbyteries, and as to whether the present Presbyterian Church should be dissolved and two new bodies formed, of which neither should be the successor of the one now existing. The whole matter was then laid on the table by the vote—*yeas* 139, *nays* 107. Every effort to adjust the difficulty having failed, the resolutions above referred to, declaring that the abrogation of the Plan of Union effected the disconnection of the churches and judicatories

formed under it with the Presbyterian Church; and therefore, that the Synods of Western Reserve, and those of Geneva, Genesee, and Utica, were declared to be "out of the ecclesiastical connection of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America."

The convention above mentioned included in their memorial addressed to the Assembly a testimony against certain errors, in reference to which they requested an expression of the judgment of the church. Those errors were specified as follows: 1. "That God would have prevented the existence of sin in our world, but was unable, without destroying the moral agency of man: or, that for aught that appears in the Bible to the contrary, sin is incidental to any wise moral system. 2. That election to eternal life is founded on a foresight of faith and obedience. 3. That we have no more to do with the first sin of Adam than with the sins of any other parent. 4. That infants come into the world as free from moral defilement as was Adam when he was created. 5. That infants sustain the same relation to the moral government of God in this world as brute animals, and that their sufferings and death are to be accounted for on the same principles as those of brutes, and not by any means to be considered as penal. 6. That there is no other original sin than the fact that all the posterity of Adam, though by nature innocent, or possessed of no moral character, will always begin to sin when they begin to exercise moral agency; that original sin does not include a sinful bias of the human mind, and a just exposure to penal suffering; and that there is no evidence in Scripture, that infants, in order to salvation, do need redemption by the blood of Christ and regeneration by the Holy Ghost. 7. That the doctrine of imputation, whether of the guilt of Adam's sin, or of the righteousness of Christ, has no foundation in the word of God, and is both unjust and absurd. 8. That the sufferings and death of Christ were not truly vicarious and penal, but symbolical, governmental, and instructive only. 9. That the impenitent sinner is by nature, and independently of the renewing influence or almighty energy of the Holy Spirit, in full possession of all the ability necessary to a full compliance with all the commands of God. 10. That Christ does not intercede for the elect until after their regeneration. 11. That saving faith

is not an effect of the special operation of the Holy Spirit, but a mere rational belief of the truth, or assent to the word of God. 12. That regeneration is the act of the sinner himself, and that it consists in a change of his governing purpose, which he himself must produce, and which is the result, not of any direct influence of the Holy Spirit on the heart, but chiefly of a persuasive exhibition of the truth, analogous to the influence which one man exerts over the mind of another; or that regeneration is not an instantaneous act, but a progressive work. 13. That God has done all that *he can do* for the salvation of all men, and that man himself must do the rest. 14. That God cannot exert such influence on the minds of men, as shall make it certain that they will choose and act in a particular manner without impairing their moral agency. 15. That the righteousness of Christ is not the sole ground of the sinner's acceptance with God, and that in no sense does the righteousness of Christ become ours. 16. That the reason why some differ from others in regard to their acceptance of the gospel is, that they make themselves to differ."

The committee to whom this memorial was referred, recommended, 1. That the Assembly bear its solemn testimony against these and the other errors specified, whenever, wherever, and by whomsoever taught. 2. That the inferior judicatories be enjoined to adopt all suitable measures to keep their members pure from opinions so dangerous, and especially "to guard with great care the door of entrance into the sacred office. Nor can," it is added, "the Assembly regard as consistent with ministerial ordination vows, an unwillingness to discipline according to the rules of the word of God and of our standards, any person already a teacher, who may give currency to the foregoing errors."

The consideration of this part of the report of the committee was, after some discussion, deferred until after the action of the Assembly in reference to the Plan of Union. It was subsequently taken up and adopted.

From this narrative it appears that the two great points, and the only ones prominently before the Assembly, as to which the parties differed, were doctrine and order. As to the latter, as we have seen, the Old-school insisted that all churches and

judicatories in connection with our church should be presbyterially organized agreeably to the constitution. The New-school insisted that Congregational churches should be included in our body and represented by lay delegates, with all the rights of ruling elders, in all our church courts. As to doctrine, the difference was not that all the Old-school were orthodox and all the New-school heterodox; nor that errors which a large part of the New-school party rejected did in fact more or less prevail among our ministers and churches; but the great and vital difference was, whether these errors should be a bar to ministerial communion. The one party would refuse to license or ordain any one who avowed the opinions above referred to. The other would and did ordain them without hesitation. The one party called for their condemnation by the church, the other resisted the utterance of such testimony. The one endeavoured to exercise discipline on those who avowed the errors in question in their writings, the other earnestly opposed all such exercise of discipline.

It was these doctrinal differences, far more than questions relating to church organization, which had profoundly agitated the church for years before the disruption. Indeed, the reason why so much feeling was excited when it was found that Congregationalists were, to so large an extent, incorporated in our judicatories, was that these Congregationalists, although not subject to our standards, were almost without exception found among either the abettors or protectors of false doctrine. And the main ground of opposition to the American Home Missionary Society was the conviction that it was extensively used to promote doctrinal errors.

No one doubts that at the time of the disruption there were, as there are now, many excellent ministers in the New-school body sound in the faith, who would be an honour and blessing to any church. But it is as little open to doubt that there were among them many who openly avowed and taught the doctrines against which the Assembly felt called upon to bear their solemn testimony. And what is perhaps of still more importance, the party, as a party, strenuously resisted making the holding of those errors a bar to ministerial communion. This is plain, 1. Not only from the resistance offered to the

reception and adoption of the report in which those errors were condemned; and to the resolution which enjoined it upon the lower judicatories not to admit to the ministerial office in our church those who taught them; and to subject to discipline those already teachers among us by whom they were advocated. 2. From the fact that in every instance in which, before the disruption, the Old-school attempted to make those errors the ground of discipline, they were resisted to the utmost by the New-school party. 3. In the first published address made to the churches after the division, by the New-school Assembly, they express the hope that "the *shades* of opinion" which separate New Haven and East Windsor may soon be obliterated. They thus speak of doctrines which the Old-school Assembly solemnly testified against as "dangerous" errors, inconsistent with an honest adoption of our standards, as mere *shades* of opinion; themselves (or their officers) italicising the word, to diminish as much as possible its force. 4. In no case known to the public has any minister ever been subjected to discipline for avowing the errors in question; nor has any candidate for the ministry been refused ordination because he adopted them. 5. It is notorious that the two parties adopted different views as to the sense in which ministers professed to receive the Westminster Confession as containing the "system of doctrine" contained in the sacred Scriptures. The one maintained that it required the cordial adoption of all the doctrines which enter into the Calvinistic system, and which are essential to its integrity. The other said, (at least it was said by some of their leaders and was practically acted upon by the party,) that it meant only the adoption of "the essential and necessary doctrines" of religion. Reference was made to the Adopting Act of 1729, by the original synod of the church, which was interpreted in the same way by President Dickinson and by other Presbyterian ministers of that day.

Such then were the grounds of difference between the two parties as presented in official documents. The Old-school required, 1. That all congregations and judicatories connected with the Presbyterian Church should be presbyterially organized according to the constitution. 2. That the doctrinal standards of the church should be so enforced as to prevent the admission

of any man into its ministry, or his continuance in the exercise of his office over its churches, who held doctrines inconsistent with the Calvinistic system in its integrity. To these requirements the New-school as a party refused to submit, and voluntarily seceded from the church and set up a new organization for themselves, in which Congregationalism and greater latitude of doctrinal opinion would be tolerated.

That this is historically true will appear from the following facts: 1. The Assembly of 1837 having abrogated the Plan of Union, and declared that churches and judicatories constituted on that plan could no longer remain in our connection, directed all the synods in which such organizations existed to take measures for their being either conformed to the constitution or excluded from our body. 2. The Synod of New Jersey, in obedience to this requisition of the Assembly, directed the Presbytery of Montrose "to take such order as soon as it can conveniently be done, to bring all churches within its bounds to an entire conformity with our standards, and to inform such churches that they can retain their connection with the presbytery on no other terms." 3. The same course was opened to the other synods affected by the repeal of the Plan of Union. Not a single presbytery however belonging to them, so far as known, consented to separate from the Congregational churches within their bounds, and in a convention of delegates from those presbyteries, held at Auburn, August 17, 1837, it was unanimously resolved that such separation should not take place. 4. Having thus resolved to adhere to their union with Congregationalists, delegates from all these presbyteries appeared at the Assembly of 1838 and claimed to be enrolled as members. 5. It was among the standing rules of the Assembly that the Moderator of the last Assembly should preside until a new moderator was chosen, and that the stated and permanent clerks should be a standing committee for receiving the commissions of delegates and forming the roll. The first business in order therefore, after the Moderator had taken the chair, was the report of that committee. Those delegates whose commissions were unquestioned were placed on the roll; those commissions the regularity or validity of which was called in question were to be reported to the house for its decision.

The clerks having omitted from the roll the names of the delegates from the presbyteries affected by the abrogation of the Plan of Union, the only regular course was to bring up the question of their claim to seats in the Assembly after the house was duly constituted. Without waiting for any decision of the Assembly, a member called another man than the legal Moderator to the chair, and the forms of constituting the house were rapidly gone through by a minority of the members, and they then withdrew to meet in another place; and claimed to be the true General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. This claim was finally disallowed by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania sitting in banc.

From this statement of the facts in the case, it is plain that the New-school body voluntarily seceded from the Presbyterian Church and set up a new organization. A large part of those who withdrew, if not the majority, were delegates from presbyteries unaffected by the action of the Assembly of 1837, and whose seats in the Assembly of 1838 were uncontested.

We are not disposed to question the legal right of these brethren to withdraw. The moral right to divide the church, for the reasons which controlled their action, is a matter for them to determine. No man or set of men can properly secede from a church of Christ, unless he is called upon to profess or to do something which his conscience forbids; or is forbidden to profess or do something which his conscience and the word of God enjoin. This is the generally received doctrine as to schism or separation of churches. If the consciences of our New-school brethren forbid them to separate from the Congregationalists; or to require conformity in doctrine to the standards of the church as the condition of ministerial communion, then they were right in their secession; or at least that secession was unavoidable. The question of reunion is of necessity a question of the return of the New-school body to the Presbyterian Church. Whether they can with a good conscience return, depends (from our point of view) on the question whether they are willing that all congregations and judicatories included in our church, shall be constituted and organized according to the standards of that church; and, whether they are willing to endeavour to secure, by the proper

exercise of discipline, that the candidates for ordination and ordained ministers shall embrace the Calvinistic system of doctrine, as presented in the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, in its integrity. If they are willing to do this, we can see no conscientious objection to their return; and there can, as it seems to us, be no valid reason on the part of the Old-school to complete a cordial union. But if they are unwilling to adopt the principles above stated, and to act upon them, we see not how either party can with a good conscience consent to a reunion.

Both parties had grounds which appeared to them valid for the course which they adopted. The New-school denied, 1. The constitutional right of the General Assembly to abrogate the Plan of Union. 2. That admitting they had the right to set it aside for the future, they had no authority to exclude the churches and judicatories already formed on that Plan, and which had been for years in unquestioned union with our church. The Old-school, on the other hand, maintained, 1. That the Plan was unconstitutional and void *ab initio*. 2. That as it was adopted by a mere vote of the Assembly, it could be abrogated by a vote of that body. 3. That necessarily the effect of that abrogation was to deny to all churches and judicatories formed under it, the right to be represented in our church courts, or to form constituent elements of those courts. The Plan was not of the nature of a contract. It conferred certain privileges, so long as it continued in force; but those privileges ceased so soon as the consent of the Assembly to their continued enjoyment was withdrawn. For a number of years, by a vote of the Assembly, the delegates from the bodies in correspondence with us, (the General Associations of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, &c.) were allowed not only to sit and deliberate in the General Assembly, but also to vote on all questions which came before the body. This was clearly unconstitutional. But it conveyed a privilege which, when the Assembly saw fit to deny, the Associations in question did not dream they had a right to demand on the ground of usage and precedent. If the Congress of the United States had allowed delegates from every nation in Europe to sit and vote in our national councils, would such

an unconstitutional stretch of power be held to bind the country for ever? 4. The Old-school moreover insisted that they were bound by their allegiance to the constitution, to see that it was conformed to by all the churches and judicatories under their care. And therefore that they could not in conscience recognize Congregational churches as constituent parts of the Presbyterian Church, or allow their delegates to sit as members with full powers in our church courts. 5. That such a course was not only unconstitutional, but unreasonable and unjust. If it is preposterous that French and English citizens, not amenable to our government, should sit as members of our state and national councils, it is no less preposterous that Congregationalists, who have never adopted our standards, and who are not subject to our laws, should administer the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church. This is a thing to which Presbyterians with their eyes open never would have submitted, and to which they cannot be expected again voluntarily to subject themselves. Supposing therefore the New-School to adhere to the ground openly and unanimously taken by them in 1837 and 1838, in refusing to recognize the abrogation of the Plan of Union, and to separate from Congregationalists, there is an obvious and insuperable barrier to a reunion of the two churches. That they do adhere to that ground, we fear, admits of no doubt. They have never renounced it, or rescinded their action in relation to it. They have never required, so far as we know, Congregational churches to be presbyterially organized, in order to a connection with their presbyteries, nor do they refuse, to the best of our information, to allow lay delegates from Congregational churches to sit in their courts as ruling elders. Many of their presbyteries, we are informed, embrace Congregational churches, and in some they still constitute, we are told, almost the entire body. This is not a matter of passion or feeling. It is simply a matter of principle and conscience. Can any Old-school man with a good conscience, and a proper sense of his obligation to the constitution, consent to a reunion which shall allow Congregationalists who do not adopt our standards either of doctrine or discipline to be constituent members of our church courts. We do not think that this is a matter that admits of debate.

We do not doubt that many of our New-school brethren disapprove of this amalgamation of two inconsistent elements in their judicatories, that they regard it as wrong in principle and injurious in its practical operation, and are desirous that it should be brought to an end. We suppose also that from the increased denominational zeal of Congregationalists that they are becoming more and more averse to be tacked on as an appendage to the great Presbyterian Church, and are disposed to act by and for themselves. The difficulty from this source to a reunion of the two Presbyterian churches is likely therefore soon to pass away, provided the reunion be not prematurely urged. Any attempt at reunion before the way is properly prepared, will only aggravate existing evils, and drive the two bodies further apart than they are at present.

The other great cause of the division of the church in 1838 was the difference of doctrinal views between the two parties of which the church was constituted. As to this we wish to say nothing which will not command the assent of all candid and well-informed men, whether Old-school or New school. We presume it will be universally admitted, 1. That such differences did to a greater or less extent prevail. This fact is asserted by the Assembly of 1837, and is proved by the writings, the controversies, and other avowals which rendered the fact notorious. 2. It will also be conceded that inasmuch as the division was effected, in a large measure, by other causes than these differences about doctrine, many who agreed in doctrine were found on both sides of the dividing line. 3. As to the extent to which doctrinal errors prevailed in the New-school body, there was not then, and there is not now, any means of determining the matter. We are surprised, however, to find that Mr. Gillett (*History of the Presbyterian Church*) refers to the fact that the resolution condemning doctrinal errors was passed "by an overwhelming majority," as proof that few were opposed to the adoption of that resolution. The vote in favour of the resolution was only 109, although the Old-school vote on other questions had reached 143. This proves how much the Assembly had been depleted by ordinary causes before the resolution about doctrines was acted upon, which was not until toward the close of the sessions. Besides, all the delegates from the

presbyteries within the four synods of Western Reserve, Genesee, Utica, and Geneva, had before this left the house. The New-school party therefore was reduced at that time to a mere handful of voters. That only six therefore voted against the resolution is no proof of the state of opinion in the house as originally constituted. The number of the advocates and abettors of errors, however, is not the point to be decided. That was a tolerable, because a controllable, evil. 4. The main difficulty was that the two parties differed in principle. They differed as to the nature of the obligation assumed in the adoption of the Westminster Confession. The fact of such difference was avowed. It was a matter of public discussion what was the true meaning of the phrase "system of doctrine" which every minister or elder of our church used when he said he received the Confession of Faith as the confession of his faith. Three interpretations were given of its meaning. Some went to the extreme of saying it involved the adoption of every proposition contained in the Confession and Catechisms. Others went to the opposite extreme, and maintained that it meant only the adoption of those articles which were "essential and necessary to religion," by which they doubtless intended evangelical religion. The great majority of the church from the beginning held and taught that the phrase in question means the adoption of all the doctrines essential to the Calvinistic system as taught in the symbols of the Reformed churches.

That this is the true interpretation is evident, 1. From the signification of the words as established by usage, which cannot be arbitrarily altered. The "system of doctrine" contained in the Racovian Catechism is the Socinian system, and he who adopts that catechism before God and man professes himself to be a Socinian. The "system of doctrine" contained in the "Form of Concord" is the Lutheran system; that contained in the Apology for the Remonstrance is the Arminian system; and by parity of reasoning the system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession is the Calvinistic system. No man therefore can honestly adopt that confession who is not a Calvinist; and no man can honestly profess to be a Calvinist who does not adopt all the "essential and necessary articles" of Calvinism, as a known and historical form of faith. More than

this the words do not signify. More than this no church court has the right to demand. And less than this no such court is authorized to accept. 2. This has been the interpretation put upon the formula in question from the beginning. No man has ever been subjected to discipline in our church for the denial of anything in our standards, which did not include the rejection either of some doctrine held in common by Calvinists and all other evangelical churches, (such as the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, etc., etc.), or of some article of faith regarded as essential to the integrity of the Calvinistic system. 3. To demand more than this would be destructive to the unity of the church. There never was a period in our history in which all our ministers agreed in adopting every proposition contained in the Confession and Catechisms. It is notorious that such agreement does not now exist. On the other hand, to demand less than the adoption of the Calvinistic system in its integrity, would destroy the purity and harmony of the church.

That the New-school party, as a party, did adopt a different principle, and contend that those who rejected more or less of the essential doctrines of the Calvinistic system could properly be received or retained as ministers of our church, is plain, 1. From the fact, which we presume no one will deny, that they as freely receive and ordain candidates for the ministry, educated in the Theological Seminary at New Haven, and holding the distinctive doctrines of that school, as they did candidates from East Windsor, Princeton, Danville, or Allegheny. 2. From the fact that the New-school Assembly designated the differences between New Haven and East Windsor as mere shades of opinion. 3. Because in every instance in which the attempt was made to enforce the discipline of the church on those who professed the errors condemned by the Assembly of 1837, it was resisted with an energy and feeling which convulsed the church to its foundation. 4. Because it is a fact, patent and undeniable, that no New-school presbytery has to this day ventured to subject to censure the avowed advocates of the errors specified in the paper adopted in 1837. 5. It is well known that at the time of the disruption, and in the previous discussions, appeal was made by leading men, to the "Adopting Act," as it is called of the original synod of our

church. It was contended that the Presbyterian Church in this country was constituted on a liberal basis, which allowed great diversity of opinion in doctrinal matters. President Dickinson, one of the most distinguished ministers of our body in that day, as above stated, was opposed to all human creeds. He said that "a joint acknowledgment of our Lord Jesus Christ as our common head, of the sacred Scriptures for our common standard both in faith and practice, with a joint agreement in the same essential and necessary articles of Christianity, and in the same methods of worship and discipline, are a sufficient bond of union for the being and well-being of any church under heaven." In this sense he understood the Adopting Act, in which the synod professed to receive the Westminster Confession in all its "fundamental and necessary articles." This he understood to mean, articles necessary to Christianity, and not such as were necessary to Calvinism. This is plain, because he refers to the Adopting Act in proof that Presbyterians in this country acted on the principle "that we should admit all to the exercise of the ministry among us, that we suppose qualified for the work, according to the instructions which Christ has given us in the gospel, and capable of doing service in the church of Christ, in that important character, how different soever in opinion from us."*

It is to be remarked that what we call the "Adopting Act," the synod call their "preliminary act," passed on the morning of September 19th, 1729. The Adopting Act itself, as the synod regarded it, was passed in the afternoon of that day, wherein they say that after full comparison of views, they unanimously agreed (excepting Rev. Mr. Elmer, who afterwards acceded) "in declaring the Westminster Confession and Catechisms to be the confession of their faith, *excepting only* certain clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters." Those clauses, which related to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, are no longer in the Confession as adopted by our church. President Dickinson was a sound Calvinist, and would have no difficulty in joining in the declaration (as he actually did) that he adopted the Westminster Confession with

* Hodge's History of the Presbyterian Church, vol. i. ch. 3.

the single exception above mentioned. He evidently however was in principle opposed to making its adoption in that sense a term for ministerial communion, and interpreted the "preliminary act" as requiring of "intrants" only the profession of faith in the "fundamental and necessary articles of Christianity." That act gave some ground for his interpretation of it, and when published to the churches, was by many in fact so understood. That such however was not the true intent and meaning of the synod is plain, 1. From the avowed design of the act. It is stated in the overture which was the occasion of its adoption, that it was the prevalence of "Arminianism, Socinianism, Deism, Freethinking," &c., in the Reformed churches abroad, which created the necessity for the act. The author of the overture, after its adoption, expresses his satisfaction in the measure, inasmuch as he had been greatly anxious "lest we should be corrupted with the new schemes of doctrine which for some time had prevailed in the north of Ireland, that being the part whence we expected to be, in a great measure, supplied with new hands to fill our vacancies in the ministry within the bounds of the synod." It was no jealousy on the part of the Scotch and Irish members against those from England and New England, but fear of the corrupting influence of the Irish ministers which gave rise to this measure. This was a rational fear. There was the prospect of a large accession of Irish members, which actually soon took place; and the defection from the truth among Irish Presbyterians, which afterwards culminated in the Arian apostasy, had already begun to manifest itself. If however the avowed design of the Adopting Act was to guard against the introduction of Arminianism, as well as against Socinianism, then it of necessity implied and meant more than adhesion to "the fundamental articles of Christianity." Arminians have never been accused of not being Christians. 2. As however the language of the preliminary act gave some ground for the suspicion that the synod intended to require of "intrants" nothing but a profession of the essential articles of Christianity, it became necessary that the true intent of their act should be more distinctly stated. Accordingly at the very next meeting of the synod in 1730, it was unanimously declared, "That they understand those clauses

that respect the admission of intrants in such a sense as to oblige them to receive and adopt the Confession of Faith and Catechisms at their admission, in the same manner and as fully as the members of the synod that were then present." Again, in 1736, a similar declaration was made in still stronger terms, and the declaration put on record that, as they say, "This was our meaning and true intent in our first adopting of the said Confession, which may particularly appear by our adopting act, which is as follows." They then recite the act passed on the afternoon of September 19, 1729.* From all this it appears that our church from its organization was, and ever professed and intended to be, a Calvinistic church. No man could at any time rightfully enter its ministry, who did not profess to hold the Calvinistic system in its integrity. This is the fundamental and constitutional basis of the church, to which

* Mr. Gillett allows himself (see *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i. p. 58), to say in reference to the above-cited minute, "As a matter of fact this was not true, and as a matter of right it was a gross injustice to attempt to change the constitutional basis upon which the synod had deliberately, and with full notice of its intention, placed itself. In spite of this action the Adopting Act still stood as the fundamental and constitutional basis of the synod, and no possible *interpretation* could supersede it." This is a very serious charge against the members of the synod. They assert that in a certain act, their true intent and meaning were so and so. Mr. Gillett says that assertion is not true, such were not their intent and meaning. We know not how such a statement can be justified. The assertion of the synod was to the letter true. They actually did in 1729, what they declared in 1736 they then intended to do. They adopted the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, with the single exception of certain clauses relating to the power of the civil magistrate. They made no distinction between doctrines essential to religion and those not essential. Not less extraordinary is the denial of the authority of the synod to interpret their own act. A body which passes an act may certainly declare its meaning. If Congress enacts a law, which is of doubtful interpretation, they may authoritatively declare what its true meaning is. Besides, Mr. Gillett seems to regard the Old Synod as a body analogous to our modern synods. This is far from being the true light in which it is to be viewed. Our modern synods act under a written constitution greatly restricting their powers. They represent only a part of the church. The Old Synod was the convention of the whole church. It had the plenary powers which belong to a State, or National Convention. It could abolish the Adopting Act, modify or explain it, as it saw fit. There is therefore not the slightest authority for declining to recognize the binding force of the acts of 1730 and 1736, as in any degree less than that of 1729. The last named was no more "fundamental and constitutional" than the others.

it is bound by every consideration of duty and honour to adhere.

Now if, as we cannot but think is too plain to admit of denial, our New-school brethren, as a party, have never been willing and are not now willing to adopt and act on that principle, then there is a second insuperable barrier to the union of the two churches. It is insuperable, because it is a matter not of prejudice, or consistency, but of principle and conscience.

The two insuperable difficulties then which, as it seems to us, forbid at present the union of the two branches of the Presbyterian church, are therefore, first, the fact that the New-school body still admit Congregational churches to be represented in their church courts, and to constitute equally with Presbyterian congregations an element in their organization; and, secondly, that they theoretically and practically adopt a different rule from that on which the Old-school feel bound to act as to ministerial communion. The great advantages likely to arise from the union of these two influential bodies, are so obvious and so great, that both parties would doubtless rejoice in its consummation, provided the union could be a real and harmonious one. We see nothing in the way of such a union, which might not be surmounted, except the two difficulties above-mentioned. If our New-school brethren would require all churches in organic connection with their body to be presbyterially organized according to the constitution, and refuse to ordain or to admit to the ministry, or retain in it, any man who was not a sincere Calvinist, then we believe the way would be open for a harmonious and lasting union.

But it may be asked, What is Calvinism? What are the doctrines essential to that system? Both churches profess "sincerely to receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this church as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures." If they do not agree as to the nature of the profession thus made, how can they be expected to agree as to what is Calvinism? One may say the Westminster Confession contains all the doctrines taught in the Apostles', the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, and therefore any man, though a Papist, Lutheran, or Arminian, may say he receives the Confession as containing the great catholic system common to all

Christian churches. The Confession contains also the Protestant, as opposed to the Romish system; and in that sense a man may say he receives the Confession as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures. So far as the mere *signification* of the words is concerned, such persons may make the profession required in the ordination service, as well as he who receives the Confession as containing the Calvinistic system. The meaning of the formula is not determined by the mere signification of the words, but by established usage, and especially by the *animus imponentis*. In what sense does the church understand the words in question? and what is the profession which she requires of those whom she receives to the exercise of the ministry within her pale? As to this point, as we have seen, there can be no rational doubt. But admitting that it is the Calvinistic system which every minister is required to profess, who is to determine what is Calvinism? In answer to that question, it is to be remarked, that Calvinism is an historical form of doctrine, and admits of being as certainly and definitely determined as Romanism, Lutheranism, or Arminianism. And it must not be arbitrarily determined. No man has the right to say that Calvinism is just what he chooses to make it; that this and that doctrine may be omitted, and yet "the system" be retained. This would not be honest. If any man in the time of the Pelagian controversy professed to adopt the Augustinian system, and yet denied the doctrine of original sin, or of innate, hereditary, sinful corruption of nature; or the doctrine of the sinner's inability to repent and believe, without the supernatural aid of the Spirit; or the sovereignty of God in election; he would have been considered by all men as contradicting himself. If we cannot determine for ourselves what Calvinism is, then any half dozen intelligent disinterested men can determine for us. It is a question as easily and certainly answered as any other connected with the history of doctrine. Any text book can furnish the answer. Or it might be agreed to take those points as necessarily included in the Calvinistic system, in which all the symbols of the Reformed churches agree. Would not that be fair? Or, we might draw up for ourselves, not a new confession, but a statement of doctrines which should be

admitted, as essential to the system which Presbyterian ministers are to be required to adopt. The Old-school church would no doubt agree to adopt the list of errors condemned by the Assembly of 1837, as incompatible with an honest adoption of the Westminster Confession. Mr. Gillett in his History published by the committee of the New-school Assembly, says that with slight modifications the condemnation of those errors would have been unanimously assented to by the New-school party. If so, then let that be officially and authoritatively declared, and a common understanding be attained as to what doctrines are, and what are not to be tolerated in the Presbyterian churches. We confess however that we have no hope of agreement at present on this point, and without this it is obvious that reunion is impossible, without the sacrifice of principle and of the vital interests of the church. It would obviously be a sacrifice of principle on the part of the Old-school to agree to a union with any body of men who will not consent first, to require that all our churches shall be presbyterially organized; and secondly, who will not agree that all our ministers and elders shall be required to adopt the Westminster Confession and Catechism as containing not merely the catholic system of doctrine (*i. e.* the system held in common by the Greek, Latin, and Protestant churches); not merely the system held in common by all Protestants, whether Lutheran, Arminians, or Reformed; but the distinctive system of the Reformed churches. For this they have uniformly contended, and to this they are conscientiously pledged. In the second place, it would be a palpable breach of faith to consent to a reunion on any other terms. The Old-school church has received large benefactions, constituting almost the entire, if not the entire, endowments of all its theological seminaries and colleges, which were made on the faith of its being and continuing a Presbyterian and a Calvinistic body. For that church therefore to unite itself with any body of ministers and churches which are either not Presbyterian or not Calvinistic, or who, if themselves Calvinistic, are not willing to make the sincere and honest profession of the Calvinistic system in its integrity a condition of ministerial communion, would be a breach of faith, and would justly work a forfeiture of those endowments. In the third

place, a union on any other terms would lead inevitably to a revival of all the conflicts, jealousy, and bitterness which afflicted and disgraced the church before its disruption. Such a union instead of being a blessing, would be a curse.

We are therefore satisfied that the time has not yet come for the reunion of the Old and New-school branches of our church. They are doubtless becoming year by year more and more agreed on the vital points on which they differed. This approximation, if not hindered by premature and injudicious attempts at union, will, it is to be hoped, continue, until both parties are so far of one heart and one mind that outward union will be a natural and necessary consequence of their inward unity.

P. S. Since the above article was written, our attention has been turned to the Pastoral Letter addressed to the churches by the New-school Assembly of 1838. We are much gratified to find that the Assembly take the same view of the points of difference which led to the division of the church as that we have presented. Those points were, first the union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians in our church courts; or the validity and force of the Plan of Union; and, second, the import of the terms of subscription to the Confession of Faith and Catechisms. As to the former, the Assembly say, "When the tide of population began to roll westward, and the territories of our church were fast filling up with pious emigrants from the east, a proposal was made by the General Assembly of our church to the Association of Connecticut, to permit the union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements, for the greater facility of extending and supporting the institutions of religion. This union, so congenial to the spirit of the gospel, exerted for a long time an auspicious influence in the extension of Presbyterian churches from the Hudson to the Mississippi. But at length, in the mysterious providence of God, it came to pass that the very causes of our prosperity became the occasions of disaster. For, in the rapid multiplication of new states and Presbyterian churches, it soon became apparent that native American Presbyterians must unavoidably become a majority of the church; and though the

slight variations of doctrine and policy created no alarm while the helm of power was supposed to be safe, the prospect of its passing into other hands created a strong sensation."

We are not concerned with the theory which underlies this paragraph, viz., that the New-school is a "Native American Presbyterian" party, and of course the Old-school a foreign American Presbyterian party, and that the whole contest was a struggle for power. The only point on which we are now interested, is the admission of the fact that the union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians in our church was one great source of the division. One party proposed the abrogation of that Plan of Union, the other resisted it; one voted for it, the other voted against it; and when passed, entered their solemn protest against the abrogation on the minutes.

As to the "terms of subscription" this document quotes what the Old Synod called their act preliminary to the Adopting Act, to show that any man, otherwise competent, should be admitted to the ministry in our church, who did not depart from the Westminster Confession of Faith in any article "essential or necessary in doctrine, worship, or discipline," or, as they are elsewhere called, "essential and necessary articles of faith." In process of time, however, it is said, efforts were made to change these terms, and "the slight shades of doctrinal differences always known and permitted to exist in the church, before and since the Adopting Act, and recognized in every form as consistent with the Confession of Faith and the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace, became the occasions of alarm, and whisperings, and accusations, and at length of ecclesiastical trials for heresy."

Now as no trials for heresy were instituted by Old-school men, except for the avowal of the peculiar doctrines of New Havenism, and as the first public avowal of those doctrines by the New Haven divines was made in 1829, they can hardly be said to have existed and to have been allowed in the church "before and since the Adopting Act" of 1729. And as those doctrines in the judgment of Unitarians, of Orthodox New England divines, (such as Dr. Woods, Dr. Tyler, Dr. Nettleton, Dr. Hall, etc., etc.), as well as of Old-school Presbyterians, are utterly inconsistent with Calvinism, it is as clear as day where

the trouble lies. It is no less clear from the whole tenor of this Pastoral Letter, as well as of "The Declaration of the (N. S.) Assembly" in 1839, that there can be no reunion of the two branches of the Presbyterian Church, which does not rest, 1. On a clear and distinct agreement as to whether Congregationalists are to be allowed to sit and act in our church courts, and congregationally organized churches be recognized as constituent parts of our body; and 2. On an equally clear agreement as to the terms of subscription to the Confession of Faith. Experience has taught us that it is not sufficient to agree to adopt that Confession as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures. It does contain the general system of Christianity, in which all Christians agree; but it contains also the distinctive system of doctrine known as Augustianism or Calvinism. There must be an agreement as to which of these two senses is the one in which the system of doctrine contained in the Confession is to be adopted. And further, it would seem also to be necessary to come to an understanding as to what is, and what is not essential to an honest adoption of the Calvinistic system. Any union which leaves these several points undetermined would be a violation of principle, a breach of faith, and the occasion either of corruption or of conflict in the church.

SHORT NOTICES.

A Commentary, Critical, Experimental, and Practical, on the Old and New Testaments. By the Rev. Robert Jamieson, D. D., St. Pauls, Glasgow; Rev. A. R. Faussett, A. M., St. Cuthberts, York, and the Rev. David Brown, D. D., Professor of Theology, Aberdeen. The Four Gospels, by Dr. David Brown. Glasgow: W. Collins. London: J. Nisbet & Co. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This new exposition of the entire Bible is an enlargement both in matter and form of the commentaries published by Martien (now Claxton), which have been already favourably noticed in this journal. It is prepared by three clergymen well qualified for the task, and belonging respectively to the Church of Scotland, the Church of England, and the Free Church. Dr. Jamieson is one of the most esteemed ministers of the Established Church in Glasgow, and is the author of an excellent work on the Manners and Customs of the Early Christians. Mr. Faussett represents the Evangelical portion of the Anglican church, and has translated some of the volumes in the series published by Clark of Edinburgh. Dr. David Brown, Professor of Theology in the Divinity College of the Free Church at Aberdeen, is the best known of the three, in this country, by his work on the Second Advent, and by a precious little volume republished by the Board of the Reformed Dutch church, entitled, *Hopes Crowned in Death*, containing the memoirs of a son of rare promise, cut down in the bloom of manhood.

In this work the Old Testament is divided between Dr. Jamieson and Mr. Faussett, while the whole of the New is assigned to Dr. Brown. The latter is a man of ripe and various scholarship, profound piety, large experience, and for many years past a most constant, laborious, and reverent student of the Scriptures. We do not believe that in any branch of the church a minister can be found who better deserves the appellation "mighty in the Scriptures" than Dr. David Brown. The present volume, the fifth in the series, though the first published, is from his pen, and from a careful examination of it we can heartily say that the title of the work accurately describes its contents. It *is* a Critical, Experimental, and Practical exposition of the Four Gospels.

The critical part of the work shows that the author is at home in the science and the literature of exegetics. Where the

text needs no criticism, none is given; there is no parading of exegetical processes, as if for the sole purpose of showing how skilfully the author can handle exegetical tools. The textual and other difficulties in the Gospels are never slurred over; on the contrary, they are fairly grappled with, but at the same time with the deep and reverent humility that becometh the oracles of God. And last though not least, there is little of that dryness and coldness of which critical expositions are apt so largely to partake. The author has so happily managed his work that even the critical parts of it share in the unction which befits and marks the experimental and practical portions. In a notice like this, it is impossible to give extracts illustrative of the work. We must content ourselves with saying that it is admirably adapted to meet the wants both of the pastor and the private Christian. The latter especially will find in it the latest and best results of exegetical research, presented in a form which will enable him to form his own judgment of their value; and will get all the help he needs in preparing for the Bible class, or the Sabbath, combined with that form of exposition which he naturally desires in his private and devotional perusal of the word of God.

The Preface contains a condensed but very complete argument in regard to the authenticity, genuineness, and canonical authority of the Gospels, which is followed by admirable notices of the characteristic features of the several Gospels, and of their interrelations. There is also a good map of Palestine. Other important documents will, no doubt, be added to the next volume, which will include the remainder of the New Testament.

Three volumes of the original draught of this Commentary have been already published, and a fourth on the Poetical Books has been announced as ready. The enlarged form bears the imprint of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, who furnish the elegant Glasgow edition of the Gospels at the now low price of $4 25; and it is probable that they will publish the remaining volumes as they are ready.

Inspiration: The Infallible Truth and Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures. By James Bannerman, D. D., Professor of Theology, New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George St. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. Dublin: John Robertson & Co. 1865. 8vo. Pp. 595.

In all ages of the church the authority due to the Holy Scriptures has been a fundamental question. In modern times when that authority has been so variously and persistently impugned by open and contemptuous sceptics, and so weakened

by rationalistic, or semi-rationalistic theories, advanced by many avowed believers in the supernatural origin of Christianity, a thorough examination of the whole subject has become a matter of primary importance. This work Dr. Bannerman has undertaken to accomplish. From the slight examination which we have had the opportunity to make in the day or two the book has been in our hands, we are inclined to think that he has been eminently successful in his attempt. We shall be surprised if this volume be not speedily and universally recognized by believers in the Scriptures as the most satisfactory exhibition of the doctrine of Inspiration and the Infallible Authority of the sacred volume which has yet been given to the public. The style of the book is uncommonly clear; the analysis is just and complete; and the real point in every question is stated with precision, excluding unnecessary and cumbrous distinctions. In looking through the volume at particular doctrines and definitions, we have seen nothing from which we feel disposed to dissent. We congratulate the Christian public on this valuable addition to the theological literature of this generation.

A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, with a revised Translation. By Rt. Rev. Charles J. Ellicott, D. D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Andover: Warren T. Draper, Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1865. Pp. 265.

The commentaries of Bishop Ellicott on Galatians and Ephesians are already favourably known in America. The Andover press is doing a good work in republishing the exegetical works of this distinguished writer. In this commentary the Greek text is given at the top of the page; below it in double columns is the commentary, and at the end of the volume is the revised, annotated translation. These annotations are themselves very instructive, as they give the different rendering of all the successive English versions of these Epistles. The commentary consists of a skilful grammatical analysis of the text, a learned and very condensed survey of the history of its interpretation, and a brief statement of the author's own view of the sense of the sacred writer. The Commentary is, as it is called, Grammatical and Critical, rather than theological.

History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. By E. H. Gillett, Author of the "Life and Times of Huss." Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1334 Chesnut St. New York, A. D. F. Randolph, 638 Broad. Two vols. Pp. 576 & 605.

Mr. Gillett having achieved an enviable reputation as a historian, no doubt led to his being designated to write the history of the Presbyterian Church in this country. This work is fa-

vourably distinguished by a clear and simple style, a compression of details, and by copious research so far as the materials within the author's reach are concerned. He does not seem to have had access to the manuscript minutes of some of the older presbyteries, as those of New Castle and Donegal, nor to the collections made by order of the Assembly by the late Dr. Ashbel Green and Ebenezer Hazard, Esq.; nor to many of the pamphlets and controversial treatises published during the great revival of the last century, and the division of the church to which it led. This history, as was to be expected, is written from a New-school stand-point, with the animus of a New-school man, but, we are happy to say, not with the spirit of a heated partisan. It is a very great improvement on all previous historical attempts from that branch of the church. This history and that of Dr. Hill, for example, are the poles apart. We differ from the author in the account which he gives of the Adopting Act of 1729. The controversy was not between what he calls an *ipsissima verba*, and a *systematic* adoption of the Westminster Confession; but between the adoption of the Confession as containing the Calvinistic system, and adopting it only as containing "the fundamental and essential articles of Christianity." The latter was what President Dickinson insisted upon, and which he continued to assert was the true sense of the Act, notwithstanding the counter-declarations of the synod in 1730 and in 1736. We do not think he does justice to such men as Thompson and others of the old side, who resisted the irregularities, censoriousness, and violence of Gilbert Tennent, Davenport, and other prominent revivalists. The account of the transactions of 1837 and '38 is probably as satisfactory to Old-school men as any history of those events by an Old-school man would be to our New-school brethren. This we consider no small commendation. A Roman Catholic history of the Reformation satisfactory to Protestants, is a thing not to be expected. We agree with the general judgment of the press that this work of Mr. Gillett is highly creditable to the author and will be useful to the public.

Zulu-Land; or, Life among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal and Zulu-Land, South Africa. With Maps and Illustrations, largely from original Photographs. By Rev. Lewis Grant, for fifteen years Missionary of the American Board in South Africa, author of a "Grammar of the Zulu language, and Corresponding Member of the American Oriental Society." Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1334 Chestnut Street. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 770 Broadway. Pp. 351.

Such works as this from the pens of educated and experienced missionaries have far more than a religious interest. They not only inform the churches of the progress of the gospel

among the heathen, but communicate knowledge which the ethnographer, the philologist, the naturalist, the geographer, highly appreciates. The contrast as to climate, productions, and character of the people, between the eastern and western coasts of South Africa is very great, and apparently in all points in favour of the eastern side of the continent. This work of Mr. Grant, evincing wide culture as well as zeal for the spiritual interests of the African, will be read with avidity and profit.

O Mother Dear, Jerusalem. The Old Hymn, its origin and genealogy. Edited by William C. Prime, author of "Boat Life in Egypt and Nubia," "Tent Life in the Holy Land." New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, No. 770 Broadway. 1865.

Few hymns in the English language have for so long a time over so many minds held their sway as that whose origin and genealogy Mr. Prime has so satisfactorily traced in this beautiful volume. The reader will find the hymn in which he has so long delighted, presented in the various forms in which it has hitherto appeared, and some portions of it traced up to the devout songs and aspirations of the earlier periods of the church. The author of this volume has performed a work for which a large class of readers will be sincerely grateful.

The Law of God, as contained in the Ten Commandments, Explained and Enforced. By William S. Plumer, D. D., LL.D., author of the "Grace of Christ," &c. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

A treatise on the Law of God is a fit counterpart to that on the Grace of Christ, which was warmly welcomed by the friends of sound doctrine and evangelical religious experience. There is, moreover, a distempered kind of thinking and feeling abroad, in regard to the standard of righteousness and holy living, for which the clear and full exposition of the only perfect standard of goodness is the proper antidote. The law of God must be proclaimed and enforced, in order to the conviction of sinners and the guidance of Christians. Contrary to the views of many, it is, like all Scripture, "profitable." The gospel will not be appreciated and obeyed by those ignorant of the law. Religion is apt to dissolve into a thin sentimentalism, when the law is overlooked or ignored.

Dr. Plumer has met this want in his own peculiar way, wherein he has few rivals. He loves the concrete rather than the abstract. He deals not in long-drawn arguments and hair-breadth distinctions. He states his strong points in clear, forcible language, and illustrates them by a fertility of anecdote, apothegms, and sayings of illustrious men, which, so far as we know, could be commanded by no other writer. He

gives special attention to popular vices and the practical duties of religion. This work is well adapted to impress important and widely neglected truths upon the people.

Memoirs of the Rev. John McDowell, D. D., and the Rev. William A. McDowell, D. D. By William B. Sprague, D. D., of Albany. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1864.

This volume is mainly occupied with the life, labours, and characteristics of Dr. John McDowell, whose long and eminently useful life, of course, affords far more abundant materials for the biographer than the shorter career of his lamented brother. That it is written by Dr. Sprague, is sufficient evidence that it is well done, and is a fit memorial of one of the most pious, discreet, zealous, laborious, and successful ministers of our church. He was not only a useful member and officer of the various courts and boards of the church, and prominent in the direction of her leading educational institutions, but his brightest record was in his unostentatious, faithful, and efficient pastoral labours. He was pastor of three churches, and was permitted to hold the office more than half a century. The whole number of members added to these three churches, while under his supervision, was—on examination, 1333; by certificate, 932—total 2265. This is higher glory than can be won in the cabinet or the field, the forum or the exchange. He that winneth souls is wise; and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. By Abel Stevens, LL. D., author of "the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism." New York: Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry Street. 1864. Two vols., pp. 423 and 511.

Dr. Stevens's elaborate work on the history of Methodism in Great Britain has established his reputation as a faithful and able historian. These volumes, comprising the early history of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, are the first instalment of a new work. It is on the one hand complementary to the work on the Rise and Progress of Methodism in Great Britain, and preliminary to the full history of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country. The author, however, states that he has endeavoured to render these volumes complete in themselves, so that no contingency which may interfere with the further prosecution of his plan can impair the present portion of it. The writings of Dr. Stevens on the denomination of which he is a distinguished ornament, have taken the place of authorities, and have an abiding importance for Christians of all denominations who take an intelligent interest in the progress of the church in all its branches.

Phrases. A Treatise on the History and Structure of the different Languages of the World, with a comparative view of the Forms of their Words, and the Style of their Expressions. By J. Wilson, A. M., author of "Errors of Grammar and Nature of Language." Albany: J. Munsell, 78 State Street. 1864. Pp. 384.

This volume came into our hands only a few hours ago, and after all the manuscript intended for our present number had been sent to the press. We can therefore speak of it only from a very cursory inspection. The writer says: "To name the number of years, long weary years, that the author has spent in slavish toil over this book, or to tell the number of books he had pored upon in order to render him familiar with the subject, and, especially, with the structure and character of the different languages of the world, or to state the amount it had cost him in collecting these books, nearly all of which were imported, many being rare and costly, would seem mere boasting; and hence the silence upon that point." We can readily credit this statement. The volume contains abundant evidence of great labour and of wide research. It appears, from our slight inspection of it, to be in large measure a collection and illustration of the grammatical forms characteristic of different languages, and of the idiomatic phrases or modes of speech peculiar to each. We have not noticed any attempt at a scientific account of the genesis of these grammatical forms, or of the special relations of cognate languages. This philosophical element, which enters so largely into the science of comparative philology, may however be more fully developed in the work than we have been led to apprehend. We sincerely hope that the author will be rewarded for his long-continued labours in a very interesting and important field of knowledge, by finding his work duly appreciated by competent judges, and influential in aiding and guiding the efforts of other students.

Presbyterian Almanac.

We would again call the attention of our readers to the important enterprise of Mr. Wilson of Philadelphia, who for several successive years has published an Almanac replete with information valuable to all Presbyterians and not accessible in any other one publication. We are informed that the next volume will be sent to the subscribers in a few days.