ADDRESSES

AT THE

CELEBRATION OF THE

Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary

OF THE

WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY

BY THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A.

EDITED BY THE

REV. WM. HENRY ROBERTS, D. D., LL.D.

PHILADELPHIA
PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION AND
SABBATH-SCHOOL WORK
1898

The Chapel of Henry VII., Westminster Abbey.

THE Assembly of Divines met for the first time in this Chapel on the 1st July, 1643, after the Prolocutor, Dr. W. TWISSE, had preached to a great crowd including the members of Assembly and of Parliament. Their first work was to revise the XXXIX Articles. When winter came on the Assembly removed to Jerusalem Chamber, where they continued to the close.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS volume contains the addresses delivered at the celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Work of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, held under the auspices of the General Assembly, during its sessions at Winona Lake, Indiana, May, 1898. The proposal to observe this Anniversary was made to the General Assembly of 1897, by an overture from the Presbytery of Baltimore. This overture was referred to a special Committee of seven, four ministers and three elders, to report to the sitting Assembly. The members of the Committee were: Chairman, Hon. James A. Mount, Governor of Indiana, with ministers I. W. Rendall, D. D., G. L. Spining, D. D., W. H. Roberts, D. D., and ruling elders Gen. E. C. Mason and W. H. H. Smith, Esq. The Committee presented the following report to the General Assembly which was unanimously adopted:

"The Special Committee appointed by this Assembly to report upon the observance of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Westminster Standards would respectfully report as follows:

"The history of the adoption of the Westminster

Standards concisely stated is as follows: The Confession of Faith was reported to the English Parliament December 4, 1646, was returned with the proof-texts to Parliament on April 29, 1647, and adopted June 3, 1648. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland adopted the Confession August 27, 1647, and it was approved by the Parliament of the kingdom of Scotland, February 7, 1649. The Larger and Shorter Catechisms were reported by the Westminster Assembly to the English Parliament October, 1647, and were adopted September 15, 1648. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland adopted both Catechisms July 20, 1648, and the Parliament of the kingdom of Scotland February 7, 1649. In view of the varying dates of adoption, and of the fact that Church and State in both England and Scotland were united at the time of the formulation of the Westminster Standards, it is believed that the year 1898 is the most appropriate year for the observance of the Anniversary. The Committee therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

"1. That the General Assembly observe the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Westminster Standards on the second Thursday of the sessions of the General Assembly of 1898, and that a Committee of nine, of which the officers of the Assembly shall be members, and of which the Moderator shall be the Chairman, shall be appointed by the Moderator, to make due preparations for the observance of this great historical event.

"2. That this Assembly recommends to the Synods, Presbyteries, and Churches under its care, to observe at such times as may be convenient to them, during the year 1898, the anniversary of the adoption of these great Standards of faith and practice, which have been so inestimable a blessing alike to the Churches and to the world.

"In behalf of the Committee,
"JAMES A. MOUNT, *Chairman*."

By virtue of the provisions of the above report, the Committee on the celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Westminster Standards was appointed as follows: Ministers, Sheldon Jackson, D. D., LL. D., William H. Roberts, D. D., LL. D., William E. Moore, D. D., LL. D., S. W. Dana, D. D., and Edward H. Robbins; with Ruling Elders, George Junkin, LL.D., William C. Gray, LL. D., Hon. Stanton J. Peelle, and Hon. Darwin R. James. This Committee proceeded to the discharge of the duty laid upon it by the selection of a list of topics and speakers, and by the appointment of the Chairman, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, and the Secretary, Dr. Wm. Henry Roberts, as an Executive Committee.

The Celebration was observed, as appointed, on Thursday, May 26, 1898. Sessions were held morning, afternoon, and evening. The full order of exercises was as follows:

PROGRAMME OF THE WESTMINSTER CELEBRATION.

9 O'CLOCK A. M.

The Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., LL. D., presiding.

1. Invocation—The Chairman.
2. The One Hundredth Psalm—Rev. Joseph B. Turner, Dover, Del.
   "All people that on earth do dwell."
3. Reading of the Scriptures—Rev. Samuel S. Gilson, D. D., Pittsburgh, Pa.
   Isaiah, Chap. lxi.

4. Prayer—Rev. John Hemphill, D. D., San Francisco, Cal.

5. Reading of Letter from Dean Bradley, of Westminster.

6. Psalm XXIII.—Rev. David W. Fahs, D. D., Independence, Iowa.
"The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want."

7. Presentation—Dr. W. C. Gray, Chicago, Ill.
Portrait of Alexander Henderson.

8. Address—Rev. Wm. H. Roberts, D. D., LL. D., Philadelphia, Pa.
"Alexander Henderson."

9. Address—Rev. Samuel J. Niccolls, D. D., LL. D., St. Louis, Mo.
"The Civil and Religious Conditions of the Times of the Westminster Assembly."

10. Psalm XLVI.—Rev. William Bryant, Mount Clemens, Mich.
"God is our refuge and our strength."

11. Address—Rev. George Norcross, D. D., Carlisle, Pa.
"The Story of the Westminster Assembly."

12. Address—Rev. J. D. Moffat, D. D., LL. D., Washington, Pa.
"Fundamental Doctrines of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms."

13. Psalm CXXXIII.—Rev. Samuel Dunham, Binghampton, N. Y.
"Behold how good a thing it is."

14. Prayer and Benediction—Rev. Chas. A. Stoddard, D. D., New York, N. Y.

2.15 O'CLOCK P. M.

Rev. Wm. E. Moore, D. D., LL. D., Columbus, Ohio, presiding.

1. Invocation—The Chairman.
2. Hymn 159 [Hymnal]—Rev. J. E. Chapin, D. D., Neenah, Wis.
   "O, could I speak the matchless worth."
3. Reading of the Scriptures—Rev. Wm. S. Holt, D. D., Portland, Ore.
   Hebrews, Chap. i. 1–12.
4. Prayer—Rev. John Dixon, D. D., Trenton, N. J.
5. Address—Rev. Robert F. Coyle, D. D., Oakland, Cal.
   "The Westminster Polity and Worship."
6. Address—Rev. Wallace Radcliffe, D. D., Moderator, Washington, D. C.
   "The Men and Work of the Westminster Assembly."
7. Hymn 662 [Hymnal]—Rev. W. A. Hunter, D. D., Bloomington, Ill.
   "O God, beneath Thy guiding hand."
8. Address—Rev. Benjamin L. Agnew, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa.
   "The American Presbyterian Churches and the Adopting Acts."
9. Address—Gen. James A. Beaver, Bellefonte, Pa.
   "The Presbyterian Churches and the People."
10. Hymn 665 [Hymnal]—Rev. William A. Major, Seattle, Wash.
    "My country, 'tis of thee."
11. Prayer and Benediction—Rev. James T. Lapsley, D. D., Danville, Ky.

7.15 O'CLOCK P. M.

Gov. James A. Mount, Indianapolis, Ind., presiding.

1. Invocation—The Chairman.
2. Hymn 347 [Hymnal]—Rev. John A. Silsby, China.
   "Stand up, stand up for Jesus."
3. Reading of the Scriptures—Rev. George Carson, Charlotte, N. C.
   Revelation, Chap. xxii. 1–17.
4. Prayer—Rev. Joseph S. Malone, Meadville, Pa.
5. Address—Gen. John Eaton, Washington, D. C.
   "The Presbyterian Churches and Education."
6. Address—Rev. N. D. Hillis, D. D., Chicago, Ill.
   "Presbyterianism and its Influence upon Society through its Emphasis upon Childhood and Youth."
7. Hymn 667 [Hymnal]—Rev. Theodore Bracken, Emporia, Kan.
   "God of our fathers, whose almighty hand."
8. Address—Rev. George L. Spining, D. D., Orange, N. J.
   "The Presbyterian Churches and Home Missions."
9. Address—Mr. Robert E. Speer, Secretary Board of Foreign Missions, New York.
   "The Presbyterian Churches and Foreign Missions."
10. Hymn 390 [Hymnal]—Rev. J. C. R. Ewing, D. D., India.
    "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun."
11. Prayer and Benediction—Rev. Joseph G. Reaser, D. D., Webb City, Mo.

In connection with the Celebration a gavel was used, which was made of Westminster Abbey oak. The gavel block consisted of a section of a small

pillar of Purbeck marble removed from Westminster Abbey during repairs, and was set in American oak. The Westminster specimens were obtained from Dean Bradley, of Westminster Abbey, through the kindness of William Caruthers, LL. D., of London, England, and at the request of the Rev. Henry C. McCook, D. D., Sc. D., pastor of the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa. Dr. McCook had the gavel made and the marble mounted. The programme had upon it engravings representing the Seal for the Approbation of Ministers of the Westminster Assembly; the Chapel of Henry VII. and the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey; the Seal of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.; the likenesses of Dr. William Twisse, prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, Alexander Henderson, author of the Solemn League and Covenant, and Francis Rous, author of Rous's Version of the Psalms. The Psalms and "Tones" used at the morning session were taken from Livingstone's *Psalter* of 1635, and were arranged for use by Mr. Henry C. Wilt, the organist of the Tabernacle Church, Philadelphia. The letter of Dean Bradley, above referred to, is as follows:

"DEANERY, WESTMINSTER ABBEY,
"May 5, 1898.

"THE REV. HENRY C. MCCOOK, D. D.

"*My Dear Sir:* At the request of Mr. Caruthers, F. R. S., late keeper of the Botanical Department of

the British Museum, I have placed at your disposal, for the use of the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, a piece of oak and a fragment of Purbeck marble.

"Each of these formed part of the fabric of the church of the Abbey of Westminster, which was erected by King Henry III. in the thirteenth century, and which took the place of that built by King Edward the Confessor, who was buried there within less than a year of the Norman Conquest.

"It was within this church that, during the temporary suppression of the Episcopal Church of England, there was held on June 1, 1643, a solemn service, attended by the Assembly appointed by Parliament, 'to establish a new platform of worship and discipline for this nation for all time to come.' The preacher was Dr. Twisse of Newbury, the Prolocutor of that Assembly.

"The Assembly met for some time in the chapel called that of Henry VII., the king who erected it in the place of the older 'Lady Chapel,' and where lie side by side his own remains and those of his Yorkist queen and of James I., the first of our Stuart sovereigns.

"As the autumn came on, they adjourned to the Jerusalem Chamber, built by Abbot Litlington in the reign of King Richard II. as an adjunct or withdrawing room to the Abbott's Refectory or dining-

hall, built shortly before by the same Abbot, and warmed by what was then a rare luxury, a 'sea-coal fire-place.'

"Here the Assembly continued their meetings for between five and six years, and here, as I need hardly remind you, were framed 'the important documents,' The Westminster Confession and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms.

"I need hardly say that I have gladly placed at your disposal these two small fragments of English oak and English marble, which once formed part of this historic church, in which all who share our race and speak our language, not least of all, as I have reason to know, our kinsmen and fellow Christians of the United States, feel so keen an interest.

"Believe me to be,

"Very truly yours,

"C. G. BRADLEY,

"*Dean of Westminster.*"

The Celebration was highly successful, the audiences at all the sessions filling the large and well-appointed auditorium at Winona Lake to its full capacity. The character of the addresses, the reception accorded them, as well as the names of the speakers, is cumulative proof of the undivided loyalty of the Church to its standards of faith and practice. After the Celebration, the Assembly adopted the following report of the Committee on the Anniversary:

"The Committee on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Westminster Standards respectfully presents a Report to the Assembly, recommending the passage of the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, 1. That the thanks of the Assembly are hereby cordially extended to the speakers at the Celebration, and especially for their admirable presentation of the great subjects dealt with by them on the occasion.

"*Resolved*, 2. That the thanks of the Assembly be extended to the Rev. Henry C. McCook, D. D., Sc. D., of Philadelphia, for his admirable collection of Westminsteriana, placed at the disposal of the Assembly in the Westminster Exhibit.

"*Resolved*, 3. That the thanks of the Assembly be extended to the 'Winona Assembly and Summer School' for the use of the building in which the Westminster Exhibit was placed on public view.

"*Resolved*, 4. That the thanks of the Assembly are hereby tendered to Dr. F. L. Marshall, musical director, to Miss Marshall, to the choir of the First Presbyterian Church of Ft. Wayne, Ind., and to Mr. E. F. Yarnell and daughter for their highly appreciated musical services in connection with the Celebration.

"*Resolved*, 5. That the Stated Clerk of the Assembly be authorized to pay all the expenses connected with the Westminster Celebration, including a sum not exceeding $100 for the expenses of the Westminster Exhibit, and that the Chairman of the Committee, with the Stated Clerk, be the Committee of Audit.

"*Resolved*, 6. That the speeches delivered at the Celebration, together with the historical sermon, be published in a volume with an appropriate preface, under the editorship of the Secretary of the Committee, the Rev. William H. Roberts, D. D., the volume to be published by and at the expense of the Board of Publication and Sabbath-school Work.

"*Resolved*, 7. That the portrait of Alexander Henderson, presented to the Assembly by Dr. W. C. Gray and

others, be accepted with cordial thanks, and that it be deposited for the present with the Presbyterian Historical Society.

"Respectfully submitted,
"SHELDON JACKSON, *Chairman.*"

The Assembly also adopted the following resolution of thanks:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the General Assembly be extended to the Committee on the Westminster Celebration for their efficient and admirable services."

It is proper here to refer to the excellent and instructive collection of historical mementoes of Presbyterian leaders, churches, institutions, and agencies, which was brought together in one of the buildings at Winona Lake, Ind., by a Committee, of which the Rev. R. V. Hunter, D. D., was chairman. The admirable collection of Westminsteriana, belonging to the Rev. H. C. McCook, D. D., Sc. D., was a part of this Exhibit. The thanks of the Assembly were tendered both to Dr. Hunter and Dr. McCook, and also to the Synods, Presbyteries, etc., that co-operated in the Exhibit.

In addition to the addresses delivered at the Westminster Celebration, the Assembly directed that the opening sermon delivered by the retiring Moderator, Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., should be made a part of the volume. Further, at the request of all the Commissioners present at Winona Lake, Ind., on Sun-

day, May 29, the discourse delivered by the editor of this volume, on "The Westminster Standards and the Formation of the American Republic," has been included.

Persons desiring historical information, in addition to that given in this volume, concerning the Westminster Assembly of Divines, are referred to Mitchell's *Westminster Assembly: its History and Standards*, the most readable and popular book yet published on the subject. This work has been issued in an admirable form by the Presbyterian Board of Publication and S. S. Work, whose cordial coöperation in the publication of these *Anniversary Addresses* is heartily acknowledged. Those who desire a detailed account of the Westminster Assembly's proceedings should consult the *Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, edited by Mitchell and Struthers; Lightfoot's *Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines;* Gillespie's *Notes of the Debates and Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster;* and Baillie's *Letters and Journals.*

WM. HENRY ROBERTS.

CONTENTS.

THE SERMON AT THE OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY.

BY THE

REV. SHELDON JACKSON, D. D., LL. D.,

MODERATOR.

THE SERMON AT THE OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY.

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"Begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit his land."—DEUT. 2 : 31.

IT is not without significance that America should have remained hidden from the civilized world until the close of the 15th century. For ages history had recorded in brick and stone, on papyrus and parchment, the rise and growth, the decay and fall of nations in Asia, Africa, and Europe; but the story of America remained a blank; its very existence unknown.

The Church of God which in patriarchal days was established in the family of Abraham, and during the Old Testament dispensation was confined to his seed, with the coming of Christ was thrown open to "every kindred and tongue and people and nation." At first creeping along the shore of the Mediterranean to Rome, it spread over all Europe. But everywhere it was complicated with and trammeled by the State, and occasionally used by the State for the oppression

of the people. Even the great Reformation of the 16th century was more or less political in its aims and methods. Heathen or Christian, there had always been in the religions of the world a connection between Church and State. The custom of ages had so intrenched itself in men's minds that it did not occur to them there could be a better way. And yet while this connection existed it was impossible for the Church to secure an environment suitable to its highest development; an environment that would give it the widest freedom and make possible a "free Church in a free State." To secure this it was necessary to get out from under the influence of the past; to find a new land, where ancient customs were not intrenched; where entangling alliances with the State could be thrown off—a new land, where the Church could go back to the Spirit of Christ and start anew in the conquest of the world. Such a land had God reserved for such a time. He had also prepared a Church to take possession of it.

Even before the Reformation God was preparing the way for it. The new learning passed over Europe like the breath of God. The discovery of printing had so multiplied Bibles, that increasing numbers could have and study the Word of God in their own homes. This developed intelligent and independent thinkers. Then came the Reformation (1517) to quicken the seed, warm the heart, and convert the soul; to prepare a special people for a new land and a new de-

parture in Church life. Then as persecutions arose that the early Church might be scattered abroad preaching the Word, so there arose the persecutions of Charles IX. and Louis XIV. in France, Philip II. and his cruel agent the Duke of Alva in Holland, Henry VIII. and bloody Mary in England, and later Charles I. and Archbishop Laud in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to prepare and make ready the people whom God had chosen to abandon home and country and journey to a new land, where they could worship God with none to molest or make them afraid. Contemporaneous with these movements was the discovery of Columbus. There beyond the "pillars of Hercules," beyond the "Ultima Thule" of history, beyond even the "Fortunate Islands" of antiquity, across the unknown waters, stood the land which God had hidden for ages, waiting for the fulness of time when a people should be especially prepared to occupy it.

CHRISTIAN FOUNDATIONS.

Then was born a nation in righteousness. The nations of Europe and Asia; the nations of antiquity (except Israel), were born in war and conquest, in blood and ambition; but these United States were founded by those who sought first and foremost a land where they could worship God untrammeled by kings and governments. They came not for conquest, but for civil and religious liberty. As the first

official act of Columbus was the erection of the cross of Christ upon the new world, so the first voices heard by the native races on the shores of America were those of prayer and praise.

> "And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
> With the anthems of the free."

It is of interest to note in this connection that the first Protestant worship on the shores of America was by the French Presbyterians, the Huguenots, in 1562, fifty-eight years before the landing of the Mayflower at Plymouth Rock. Many and divers were the nationalities that sought homes in this new land. But those who principally moulded and shaped affairs —the pilgrims of destiny and builders of empire, who laid foundations broad and deep for Christ and His Church, foundations which would support the temple of freedom, and through all coming time bless the generations—the men above all others, in that epoch-making age, who, gathering up the lessons of the past, worked out plans, and laid enduring foundations for civil and religious liberty, were the Scotch, the Hollanders, the Huguenots, and the Puritans.

At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War the Scotch and Scotch-Irish were the most numerous race in the colonies, numbering about 900,000, or nearly one-third of the entire population, while the Puritans numbered 600,000, and the Cavaliers, 400,000. It is estimated there were 60,000 of them in New England

alone; and at the time they were the dominant influence in the United States.

For centuries in Scotland and Ireland they had stood as firm as their eternal hills against kingcraft and priestcraft; against absolutism in State and Church. They endured the rack and thumbscrew in the old castle at Edinburgh; they were hunted like wild beasts on their mountains; mutilated and branded in their persons, butchered, drowned and burned at the stake; but in this fiery furnace of affliction they were learning lessons in political economy that gave Great Britain the habeas corpus act, a free parliament, and constitutional liberty. They were in training to found a free republic. And when the time came to establish the foundation of that republic with the sword, no wonder that twelve of the twenty-four major-generals of the American army, and one-half of the troops should have been Scotch and Scotch-Irish.

True yoke-fellows with them were the Hollanders, whose sturdy faith had been wrought out and manhood developed during those desperate years when they stood as a wall between Protestantism and its overthrow. A race who could conquer the sea and successfully withstand the onslaught of a united papal Europe, was surely good material for the foundation stones in free America.

Then there were the Huguenots, refined and purified and made meet for their high calling, to help in

laying the foundations of the Church in this goodly land. By their baptism of suffering, in those days when the streets of Paris ran red with the blood of her best citizens, they had been made the apostles of God to other lands. The Huguenots who came to America were the flower of France, from the loss of whom she did not recover for a century. And brothers with the Huguenots and Hollanders and Scotch were the Puritans, who, driven from their homes by the persecutions of Henry VIII., Queen Mary, and the Stuarts, had sought and found shelter in Holland, Germany and Switzerland, where they sat at the feet of the ablest scholars and most advanced thinkers of their age. There they learned those lessons and received that special training which prepared them for their great mission in America.

Thus God sifted out of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, and out of Holland and France, the choicest materials for the new republic on the shores of America; and through them brought into American life and character the best and highest results of the past.

It is also worthy of note that of these four prominent factors in our early American history, three—the Hollanders, Huguenots and Scotch and Scotch-Irish—were Presbyterians. The fourth, the Pilgrim Fathers, held in common with Presbyterians the Calvinistic creed, and many of their churches had ruling elders over them, of whom elder Brewster is an illustrious example. These and kindred spirits

from other lands, only in smaller numbers, were those whom God in his providence had called out from the ripest civilizations of Europe; men of the highest ability, learning, character and religious consecration. And to whatever causes the historian or philosopher may ascribe the wonderful migration at an early date of Christian people to America, we must see in it over and above all, the hand of God. It was his almighty hand that brought to this land the brave old Hollanders, the Scotch Presbyterians, the English Dissenters, the Irish Calvinists, the quiet Quakers, the glorious Huguenots, the hymn-loving Lutherans—the chosen ones of God called out from all lands to take possession of and develop this land for Christ. As the angels looked down on that historic age they heard

> "The tread of pioneers
> Of nations yet to be—
> The first low wash of waves
> Where soon shall roll a human sea."

Gaining a foothold upon the Atlantic seaboard, they gradually extended their settlements into the interior, and as they advanced the wild forests, and still wilder beasts and men, gave way before them. They overflowed into central and western New York and the Western Reserve: over the Alleghenies into the fertile valley of the Ohio; across the Blue Ridge into Tennessee and Kentucky; across the prairies of Indiana and Illinois into Michigan and Wis-

consin; and wherever they went the log church and the log school-house were erected among the rude log homes of the settlers.

As the churches become strengthened, God, by means of the Louisiana purchase (1803), took that mighty empire extending from the Gulf of Mexico, diagonally across the continent two thousand miles to Puget Sound, out from under French Romanism, and called upon this Church to "enter and possess." Hitherto emigration had been homogeneous; a number of families going from one section to another, and taking with them their minister and schoolmaster. But with the doubling of our area at one bound the Church felt that former methods were inadequate for such an emergency. In anticipation of this increase of territory the General Assembly of 1802 created a Standing Committee of Missions, which in 1816 was made The Board of Missions.

Scarce had the Church time to grasp the magnitude of the added work before the annexation of Texas and the close of the Mexican War, took out from the blighting influence of Spanish Catholicism and gave to Protestant control, a region over 45,000 square miles larger than the thirteen States. Once securely under the American flag the marvelous stores of gold and silver in California, Nevada, Utah, Montana, and Colorado were uncovered to an astonished world. Then in 1867 Alaska, whose western limit places

San Francisco east of the center of the United States, was taken from the control of Greek Catholicism and laid upon the American Church, and lo! our "Iceberg" astonishes the world by the extent and richness of its gold deposits, and to-day representatives from many lands are flocking into Alaska by the tens of thousands.

This is the continent that God had reserved for his Church. A land magnificent in its extent and resources, and in its wide range of climate and productions; with skies as brilliant as those of Italy; winter resorts the peer of Cannes, the Riviera and Mentone; waters as healing as those of Carlsbad and Baden-Baden; air as health-giving as Algiers and Egypt; plains as productive of breadstuffs as the valley of the Nile and the land of Goshen in their palmiest days; mines as rich as ancient Golconda and Ophir; a land whose possibilities are so great that the wildest visionary has not begun to comprehend the outcome.

> "A glorious land,
> With broad arms stretched from shore to shore;
> The proud Pacific chafes her strand;
> She hears the loud Atlantic's roar."

And this is the land that God has given his Church to possess—to take and to hold as a base of operations for the conquest of the world. Hear his voice saying to the American Churches: "I give you from ocean to ocean, from tropical gulf to frozen

north. 'Begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit his land.'" How goodly for situation, throned in the midst of the ocean! Not "a city," but "a continent" "set on a hill." From its heights the Church of the United States sends out its beacon light eastward to the sacerdotalism and formalism of Europe and the heathenism of Africa, westward to the dead conservatism of Asia, and southward to the benighted millions of the "neglected church." Was there ever a better base of operations? Was there ever a stronger leverage for uplifting the race? Was there ever a grander theater for action? And on this vantage ground God has placed the American Christian, the resultant combination of English tenacity, Scotch shrewdness, German steadiness, Irish vivacity, Welsh frankness, Dutch sturdiness, Huguenot seriousness, and Scandinavian thrift—the very best and highest type of character—a character that, brought under the sway of powerful religious motives, "full of faith and the Holy Ghost," becomes invincible in the conversion of the world.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

From the consideration of the American Churches in general let us turn our attention to our own denomination. While we recognize and admire the dash of the Methodists, the zeal of the Baptists, the energy of the Congregationalists, the loyalty of the Lutherans, and the stateliness of the Episco-

palians; while we recognize most fully all branches of the Church of Christ as our brethren, as different corps of the same grand army; as fighting under the same flag and obedient to the command of the same leader; yet in this year, during which we are celebrating the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of our Westminster standards, upon an occasion like this and in such presence it will not be improper or invidious to give special prominence to our own division of the army of the Lord.

As American Presbyterians we can thank God and take courage. Ours is not a Scotch, Dutch, Irish, English, Welsh, French, Swiss or German Presbyterian Church, but a union of all of them; as with our American character, so with it, a resultant of the very best of the several constituents from which it was originally formed. It has appropriated all that is best in the teachings of the Swiss Reformed Church, from Ulrich Zwingle to Philip Schaff; in the Huguenot Church from John Calvin to Robert Baird; in the Scotch Church from John Knox to John Witherspoon; in English and Welsh Presbyterianism from John Wyckliffe to Jonathan Edwards; all the best from Saint Patrick, father of Presbyterianism in Ireland, to Francis Makemie, one of the fathers of Presbyterianism in America. "The soil of Switzerland is in the roots, the blood of Holland is in the veins, and the free breath of Scotland in the leaves" of the Presbyterianism that shadows a continent and

offers gospel shelter beneath its branches for the world's humanity. All lines of progress in civilization, civil liberty, and human betterment in the old world led to and brought forth their richest fruitage in the new. Seeds from the old world planted in a new soil have grown the largest body of Presbyterians on the globe. There are eighty-six affiliated branches of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian system. The thirteen branches in the United States constitute nearly one-half and our own church one-fifth of the world's Presbyterianism.

IN THE REVOLUTION.

The Presbyterian Church of America gave to the world the American republic; it was the predominant Church of the Revolution. The Baptist Church at that period was few in numbers; the Methodist Church was in its infancy and weak; the Quakers and some of the German Churches were non-combatants; and the Established Church of England in the colonies sided with the mother country. The Churches that then controlled public sentiment and shaped the affairs of State, were the Congregationalists of New England and the Presbyterians of the New England, Middle, and Southern States. The Presbyterians greatly outnumbered the Congregationalists; accordingly more than one-half of the officers and soldiers of the American army were Presbyterians.

The Hon. Richard Wright, Speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, himself an Episcopalian, declared that "the American War of Independence was a Presbyterian and Scotch-Irish war." Horace Walpole, addressing the English Parliament during the Revolution, said: "There is no use crying about it. Cousin America has run off with a Presbyterian parson, and that is the end of it." Our historian, Bancroft, writes: "The first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came not from the Puritans of New England, nor the Dutch of New York, nor the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." In some of the presbyteries of that day "it was deemed an offense worthy of discipline for any minister to exhibit British sympathies." Indeed so prominent were Presbyterian influences that both in Europe and America it was popularly spoken of as the "Presbyterian rebellion."

As in colonial and revolutionary times, so ever since the Presbyterian Church has been among the foremost in support of reform and good government. The tendency of its doctrines being to make brainy, whole-souled, and resolute men—men of affairs—it is not strange that its members are found in the uppermost seats of scientific, professional, commercial, and political life; that it forms the judicial character sought for the supreme and other high courts of the land; that ten times the nation has turned to its

Presbyterian elements for its President—Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, Cleveland, and Harrison.

The Presbyterian Church is also a leading Church in liberality. According to the census of 1890, it contributed for missions a larger sum than any other denomination.

ORGANIZATION.

Not only have we been brought into the kingdom for such a time as this, placed in this favored land, and connected with a Church that is one of the leading factors in moulding and controlling public sentiment, but we have a Church adequately organized for the work before it. Our system of Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assembly gives true representation to the voice of the whole Church. It combines strength with elasticity and liberty with law; it secures the advantages of federal control, while providing for the full development of the individual member.

Our system of boards organizes us for active work. The Board of Publication and Sabbath-school Work provides instruction and literature for the children of the Church. As they advance in years the Board of Aid for Colleges and Academies provides them with higher instruction, and, if they need it, the Board of Education assists in defraying the expenses of those who are preparing to become ministers.

And when the young men are prepared for the active work of the ministry, the Board of Home Missions stands ready to send them to the weaker churches of the older States, or into the newer regions of the land. To those who are called of God to engage in work among the negroes, the Board of Freedmen extends a helping hand. For the maintenance of religious school work among mountain whites, Negroes, Mormons, Mexicans, Indians, and Alaskans, the Women's Board of Home Missions is an efficient organization. That the strong churches may help the weak, and the feeble congregations secure a sanctuary of their own, is the work of the Board of Church Erection. Home Missions, Freedmen, and Church Erection combine to give Gospel privileges to every section of this great land.

And while the Church remembers the divine command of "beginning at Jerusalem," it is equally loyal to the additional command of sending the Gospel message "into all the world." For this purpose the Church has the Board of Foreign Missions, with its active auxiliaries, The Women's Boards of Foreign Missions. And last, but not least, when the workers have given their strength to the service of the Church, and through failing health or the infirmities of increasing years the veterans are compelled to retire from active work, the Board of Relief for Disabled Ministers, and the Widows and Orphans of Deceased Ministers, lovingly cares for

them. The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. has the most complete, efficient, and perfect system of organized church work in existence. With the inspiration of its past successes, its present influential and wealthy membership, and its thorough organization, it stands to-day the leading Church in the evangelization of America and the world.

NEED OF A NEW BAPTISM.

In the neighboring city of Omaha stands Machinery Hall, Trans-Missouri Exposition, with wheels innumerable, shafting by the mile, and machines bewildering in their complexity, but all is motionless. They wait the touch of the electric button that communicates power and starts life. Thus the "Boards," the machinery through which the Church works, are in splendid order, fully equipped, and competent to conquer this land and the world for Christ, but they are not doing it: they wait the application of divine power—the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Not only is the Church not advancing all along the line, but it is not even holding its own. In places it is retreating; needed reinforcements are not furnished; consecrated men and women separated by the Holy Ghost for mission work are not and cannot be sent for want of funds. Missionaries who through heroic self-denial have pushed forward the work have been compelled to fall back for want of supplies. Some churches have been closed; some young converts remanded

back to heathenism; some native catechists, won and trained through years of patience and expense, turned adrift; some of the covenant children of the Church in the newer settlements denied Gospel privileges, are making shipwreck of their souls; some new and growing centers of influence left without the moulding and restraining influences of the Gospel and a "remembered Sabbath," are laying the foundations of future socialism and anarchy. Many talents are hid in napkins and buried; many stewardships are unrecognized, and many Christians are robbing God, by withholding a portion of the offerings that are his due. The Church, through her Boards, is in debt, and the cry of the missionaries suffering from deferred payments and reduced salaries ascends before the Most High God. The cries of Church members, scattered as sheep without a shepherd—the cries of your children going down to destruction, are heard all over the land. They reach to Heaven; they are as solemn as eternity.

To your knees, O Church of the Living God! The great and overwhelming need of the hour—the great and overwhelming need of our country and Church—the great and overwhelming need of our own souls, is the fresh and immediate baptism of the Holy Spirit—a baptism which shall set every heart on fire of God to possess this land for Christ. At the close of this century we face a future of great unrest; of reconstruction; of marvelous and rapid changes.

And the Church must lead and control these changes, or be overwhelmed by them.

> "We are living, we are dwelling
> In a grand and awful time;
> In an age on ages telling,
> To be living is sublime."

We are living in one of the great crises of the world's history. The age demands consecrated men and women, consecrated time, consecrated energies, and consecrated wealth. Shall it have them? "Bring ye all the tithes into the store-house, that there may be meat in my house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of Heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it."

"Begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit his land."

Rev. Alexander Henderson.

Author of the Solemn League and Covenant, and Leader of the Scotch Commissioners.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

PRESENTATION OF PORTRAIT.

BY

W. C. GRAY, LL. D.

ADDRESS

BY THE

REV. WM. HENRY ROBERTS, D. D., LL.D.

PRESENTATION OF THE PORTRAIT OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON.*

By Dr. W. C. GRAY,

EDITOR OF THE INTERIOR.

Moderator and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

At the suggestion of your honored stated clerk I have taken the liberty of substituting a portrait of the great Scottish Reformer, Alexander Henderson, for the one promised of John Witherspoon. This is more appropriate because we celebrate to-day the great Calvinistic, not the American, Declaration of Independence.

And this, brethren, is also an expression of a thought which I have long entertained, that we make too little of the "living epistles" sent of God to us from age to age in the persons of our great

* Dr. W. C. Gray, in May, 1897, in supporting the invitation for the Assembly to meet at Winona Lake, Indiana, in 1898, stated that he would present for himself and others a portrait of John Witherspoon to the Assembly. It was suggested to Dr. Gray that the portrait of Henderson would be more appropriate to the occasion, and the suggestion was accepted by him on the condition that the stated clerk of the Assembly would deliver an address upon the subject of the portrait.

Christian heroes and saints. Those who have come to us since Christ taught and died, vastly outnumber those who were sent before. They have been more in number, and, I will venture to say, leaving aside the prophets and apostles with their divine commission, more illustrious in life, service, and character. The heroism of these great men was sublime, their self-abnegation, Christ-like. Not for glory did they brave death, not for honors did they toil, but because they were constrained by the love of Christ and of their fellow-men. I would that you, my spiritual fathers, would read more of these "living epistles" to your people from your pulpits.

Upon this canvas the form and features of one of the great benefactors of the Church are brought to view by the skilful brush of the artist. His higher self, his mind and soul, his character and services, are now to be portrayed by that prince of adopted Philadelphians, scholar and orator, Dr. William Henry Roberts.

Dr. Roberts responded to Dr. Gray, saying:

It gives me sincere pleasure to accept, in the name of the General Assembly, the portrait of Alexander Henderson, presented for himself and others by our distinguished friend, the gifted editor of the Interior. The presentation emphasizes our unity in support of the common faith, our loyalty to the great Head of the Church, and adds a deeper and more lively interest

to this historic commemoration. May this incident in the celebration be but one of many which shall bring us yet closer together as brethren of the same household. I now proceed to the delivery of the address upon the subject of the portrait.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

BY THE

REV. WM. HENRY ROBERTS, D. D., LL. D.

THE Presbyterian Churches, in whatever land located, have been highly privileged of God in the gift from him of men competent for the great emergencies of their history. Peculiarly has this been true of the Church of Scotland, the Church of which Alexander Henderson was a minister. First of its leaders must ever stand John Knox, and next to him the subject of our thought, of whom it was said, in the Scotch Assembly of 1647, in an address by Baillie, one of the Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, that his career made it obligatory on "the Presbyterians and on their posterity to count him the fairest ornament, after Mr. John Knox, of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy." Placed thus next to John Knox in relation to the history of British Presbyterianism, it is appropriate on this occasion briefly to sketch his life, and to exhibit his intimate connection with the history of those great standards of faith and practice, which it is our privilege to maintain, as well as to commemorate.

Alexander Henderson was born in the year 1583, at Creich, in Fifeshire, Scotland. The Hendersons of Fordel claim him as a cadet of their family. He graduated at St. Andrews' University in 1603, and by the year 1610 was a professor therein and also questor of the Faculty of Arts. His reputation for learning and philosophy was completely established at the early age of twenty-seven. Shortly thereafter he became minister of the parish of Leuchars, in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, and was at the time of his installation a supporter of Episcopacy. The religious controversies then prevalent in Scotland, however, quickly brought him face to face with the undying conflict between the Presbyterian and Episcopal, the popular and the autocratic forms of Church Government. While debating the issue between the two, an event befell Henderson which became the turning-point of his life. The Rev. Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, one of the distinguished Presbyterian ministers of the period, administered communion one Sabbath in a parish adjoining that over which Henderson was pastor. The latter attended the preparatory service, and, under the fervent preaching of Bruce, underwent, according to his own testimony, that great inward change which we know as regeneration. From the hour of his conversion, like others of the great evangelical leaders, he at once abandoned Episcopacy, and threw himself heart and soul into the cause of the Reformation. The evangelical faith is always antagonistic

to hierarchical pretensions, and there is an intimate relationship between the doctrines of grace and true liberty.

So distinguished and able a minister as Henderson became speedily a leader of the Presbyterians. The times were critical, and the man called of God had appeared. About 1625, Charles I. began his efforts to force upon Scotland the Episcopal worship and ceremonies practised in England. Melville and Calderwood, the old leaders of the Reformation, had been banished from the kingdom. Henderson, instead of being overawed by their fate, came boldly forward in defense of liberty. The struggle went on for several years, and came finally to a crisis in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, on Sunday, July 23, 1637, by the act of Jenny Geddes, who threw the stool upon which she had been sitting at the officiating priest, as he began the reading of the English Liturgy. This act of a Scotch matron was the beginning of the struggle for constitutional and Christian freedom, not only for Scotland but for the world. Not the first time, by the way, that women have played an influential part in the cause of civil and religious liberty. Men and women of all classes of society, and the great majority of the nobility of Scotland, at once took sides against the king and the bishops. The monarch refusing to call a General Assembly, Presbyterians quickly found another method of co-operation. Every county, presbytery, and borough

in the kingdom appointed a representative, who constituted, with the nobility, and with Henderson and Dickson, a General Council. It was arranged that these Commissioners, as they were called, should meet as a body only on extraordinary occasions, and that ordinary executive power should be vested in four committees or tables, consisting each of four individuals, one table of noblemen, another of gentlemen, a third of burgesses, and a fourth of ministers. A member from each of these four tables constituted the chief table, possessed of supreme authority. Of this chief table, Henderson, as the leading minister of Scotland, soon became the dominating spirit. Side by side with the king's government, therefore, there came promptly into existence in Scotland a new representative government, and its orders were everywhere obeyed with far more promptitude than those of the most despotic of tyrants. Through the five tables or boards all Scotland could be set in motion within forty-eight hours, and more than once was so set in motion, in support of the principles of the Reformation.

Having thus organized the Presbyterian forces, it was natural that some steps should be taken which would bind them indissolubly into one. The Episcopal authorities, with the sanction of the king, endeavored to foment differences between the Presbyterians. There were three parties among the latter, one called the Eastern, the second the Western, and

the third the Highland. Edinburgh was the center of one, Glasgow of another, and Aberdeen of the third. Between them there was much friction. Henderson, however, knew the people with whom he was dealing. He realized then, what has been witnessed often since in the history of the Presbyterian Churches, that, however they may differ upon many things, there is one thing which unites them firmly together, loyalty to sound doctrine. Henderson, therefore, proposed through the tables to the Reformers, that, as they were declared outlaws and rebels by their sovereign, they should join in covenant with their God. The covenant as written by him consisted of three parts: first, the old covenant of 1560, containing the Confession of Faith; second, the acts of Parliament sustaining the Confession of Scotland against popery; and third, special clauses applicable to the prevailing circumstances. It was worded so as to set forth not only the determination of the signers to "resist all contrary errors to the uttermost of their power all the days of their lives," but also pledged them not "to suffer themselves to be defeated or withdraw from their union."

Wednesday, February 28, 1638, became in connection with this covenant, known as the Solemn League and Covenant, one of the most memorable days in the history of the world. Presbyterians had crowded to Edinburgh to the number of sixty thousand. A fast had been appointed in the church of

the Grey Friars. At two o'clock on that day the venerable edifice, and the large open space around it, were filled with Reformers from every portion of the country. Henderson constituted the meeting by prayer. The Earl of Loudon stated the occasion of the gathering. The covenant was then read. Objections, which were few, were heard, and about four o'clock the venerable Earl of Sutherland stepped forward and put the first name to the memorable instrument. After his signature had been appended, it was carried the rounds of the whole church, and was then taken out to be signed by the crowd in the church-yard. Here it was spread upon a flat tombstone, and many wrote after their names the words, "till death," and some, ink failing, opened their veins and signed with their own blood. In testimony of their sincerity, the signers, after the subscription had been completed, confirmed it by an oath. Grandly solemn must the scene have been, when, the signatures having been completed, that vast assemblage of nobles, gentry, ministers, elders, and burgesses, with uplifted hands, with tears streaming down their faces, called upon God to witness to their loyalty to the Solemn League and Covenant. Well might Henderson say, "that this was the day of the Lord's power, wherein the arm of the Lord was revealed, the day of the Redeemer's strength, on which the princes of the people assembled to swear their allegiance to the King of Kings."

The signing of the Solemn League and Covenant at Greyfriars' Church was followed by the signature of copies of it in every portion of Scotland. The effect upon the hierarchical party was decisive. They found that the people were practically a unit for the Presbyterian Reformation. The king at first determined to use force, but soon became convinced that it would be a useless thing so to do. The Reformers or Covenanters followed up their advantage by petitioning the king to call the General Assembly. To this he finally consented, and on November 21, 1638, the first General Assembly in twenty years met in St. Mungo's Cathedral in the city of Glasgow. To this Assembly gathered all the chief lords of the Council and barons of Scotland, who sat in the body armed, and who, in more than one sense, were ruling elders. Along with them, and a number of other elders, were seated the ministers from the several Presbyteries, to the number of about one hundred and forty. The body was presided over at first by the Lord High Commissioner, the Duke of Hamilton, appointed by the king to represent him, and was opened with prayer by the Rev. John Bell, the oldest minister of the bounds. The High Commissioner endeavored in every way possible to prevent action on the part of the Assembly, even to the extent of opposing the choice of a moderator, but in vain. Alexander Henderson was duly elected, and under his skilful leadership the Constitution of the Church

was in all particulars restored to that which it had been under John Knox, and the bishops whom the king had established in Scotland were deposed from office. The deposition of the bishops took place on Tuesday, the 13th of December, in the presence of a great multitude, being preceded by a sermon by Henderson upon the text, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool." After the sermon, Henderson, with great solemnity and gravity, pronounced the sentence of deposition. In the performance of this act he had the unique honor of being the one Presbyterian moderator, who, with due forms of law, deposed from the places which they had usurped in the Church of Scotland, two archbishops and twelve bishops. Of these bishops, eight were excommunicated as well as deposed. Thus was the Church freed from the bonds of ecclesiastical tyranny, and thus was signally vindicated its power to govern itself, under Christ, the supreme Head.

The struggle begun in Scotland spread gradually to other portions of the kingdom of Great Britain. In England and Wales, Puritanism had been accomplishing its beneficent revolutionary work. The Presbyterians had become a powerful party in the Church of England, and the Long Parliament was controlled by them. They had also been materially aided by the warlike acts of the Covenanters of Scotland, who in defense of their liberties had invaded

England, and had inflicted serious defeats upon the forces of King Charles. In this condition of affairs, Henderson, as the leader of the Church of Scotland, an Assembly moderator with a victorious army at his back, was appointed one of the Commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the king. As a result, on the first of October, a truce was established between the warring parties, and from Ripon, the place of meeting, the Scotch Commissioners went to London and brought charges against Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1641, the Scotch General Assembly again met, and Henderson was made a second time moderator. By this time he had become the leader, not only in the Church, but also in the State. His was the influence of moral force and of strong and equable character. At the Assembly of 1642, which met at St. Andrews, Henderson was appointed to answer a letter from the Parliament of England, and in the reply which he prepared he emphasized the necessity of having one Confession of Faith, Catechism, and Directory in both nations. To this proposal of Henderson's the Parliament of England consented, and announced their resolution to call an assembly of divines, and to require some ministers from the Kirk of Scotland to assist at the deliberations. Henderson was therefore the author of the proposition which resulted in the calling of the Westminster Assembly, and in that body, the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland were, Henderson as the leading minister, with Douglas,

Gillespie, Rutherford, and Baillie, and, in addition, ruling elders, the Lords Cassillis, Maitland, and Warriston.

At the Westminster Assembly great honor was paid to Henderson. To him was assigned the framing of the first draft of the Directory for Public Worship. He took part in the Assembly for a sufficient length of time to see the Liturgy overthrown in England, as it had been in Scotland, and the Presbyterian Church made the Established Church of England. These changes were effected after a recommendation from the Westminster Assembly by the Parliament. Henderson also persuaded both the Westminster Assembly and the English Parliament to accept the Solemn League and Covenant. Both bodies met for the purpose in St. Margaret's Church, London, the Covenant was explained at length by Henderson, was read article by article, and then two hundred and twenty-two members of Parliament signed the instrument, as did also the Assembly and many of the audience. Thus were England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland welded into unity in maintenance of the true faith and of the cause of liberty. Henderson intended also to visit the Reformed Churches of the Continent, and was the chief writer of a manifesto sent by the Westminster Assembly in the interests of the common faith, to the Churches of Holland, France, Germany, and Switzerland. He returned to Scotland for a brief period, and was present at the Scotch Assembly of

1645, which approved the Westminster Directory of Public Worship. Then he went back for a few weeks to Westminster, and took part in the work of completing the version of the Psalms known as Rous's, from the name of its author, Francis Rous, a native of Cornwall, England. The last important public act in the life of Henderson was the conduct of a disputation with King Charles I., upon the points which separated the king from the Covenanters. This disputation was conducted in writing at Newcastle, England, in 1646. The papers containing it are extant, and the answer to the claim made by some persons at the time, that the king's arguments were the stronger, was, that if such was the case, then as the king's arguments were authorities from the fathers, who were fallible men, his triumph was over the Word of God. Immediately after the conclusion of this disputation, which bound the king and Henderson yet closer in ties of a personal friendship which had long existed, Henderson's constitution broke down. Never a robust man, the mental anxieties and fatigue of public life made him the easy prey of disease. He passed from earth to heaven on the 19th of August, 1646, at the age of fifty-three years.

But what a record is that of his life. How it emphasizes the value of unremitting devotion to the cause of truth. Savingly converted by the earnest preaching of the Word of God, he was faithful to that Word in every hour. How his life sets forth also the

power of a patient, clear-sighted, prompt, and firm mind. In the furnace of controversy, Henderson never departed from the gentle courtesy which becomes the servant of the Lord. In the great emergencies of the conflict between truth and error he saw what ought to be done and did it. When a course of action was once determined upon, he followed it strenuously and persistently until the result was secured. As the head of the Boards of the Scotch ecclesiastical Republic; as the moderator who ruled with a hand of steel in a velvet glove; as the destroyer in Scotland of a church government alien to the faith and spirit of the people; as the penman of the Solemn League and Covenant; as the proposer of the Westminster Assembly; as the leading Commissioner of the Church of Scotland in that great body; as the friend of the king; as the unifier of the forces of righteousness and order in Church and State, he stands a man whose like either Church or State have seldom known. His fellow commissioner, Baillie, pronounced upon him a tender eulogium in the Scotch Assembly of 1647, saying, among other things, "May I be permitted to conclude with my earnest wish that that glorious soul of worthy memory, who is now crowned with the reward of his labors for God and for us, may be fragrant among us so long as pure and free Assemblies remain in this land, which I hope will be till the coming of the Lord."

In a land but little known during his lifetime the memory of Alexander Henderson is to-day gratefully remembered and lovingly acknowledged. His hope for the unity of the Churches of God is not yet fully realized, but the liberty for which he strove and the faith for which he contended, have flourished greatly in this continent west of the Atlantic! The men of the Revolution of 1776, almost without exception, were believers in the principles of Westminster, and the churches which they founded and maintained were in full harmony with those great Standards. In this land, further, the popular government which Henderson loved, and which finds its roots in the Calvinistic system, has come to full development. Do you ask for one monument of Henderson and his colaborers, look upon this Republic, free, united, prosperous. Do you ask for another, look upon the Presbyterian Churches of this land, loyal to the core, despite all oppositions, to the truth of God. May the Presbyterians of this land be as true as the fathers to the Calvinistic system, recognizing always, as the men of Westminster recognized, these great truths:

1. That the glory of the Presbyterian Churches has been, is, and will be, steadfast adherence to the system of doctrine which they believe to be contained in the Holy Scriptures, and undeviating loyalty to Christ as the sole Prophet, Priest, and King of his Church.

2. That the Word of God is the supreme law of man, and that an open Bible means not only the rule

of righteousness in every life, but also a free Church and a free State in every land.

3. That evangelical religion is both the source and strength of true liberty and progress. The truth of God is in order to goodness, and the only hope for the redemption, secular and spiritual, of this sin-cursed world, is found in that Gospel by which men "are born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, which liveth and abideth for ever."

Thus realizing duty, thus compassed about with the great cloud of witnesses, let us in this later age of the world be true to all the glory of the past and all the hopes of the future. Let us press

> "On! straight onward, for the right!
> On! let all the soul within you
> For the truth's sake go abroad;
> On! let every nerve and sinew
> Tell on ages, tell for God."

THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS OF THE TIMES OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

BY THE

REV. SAMUEL J. NICCOLLS, D. D., LL. D.

THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS OF THE TIMES OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

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MODERATOR, FATHERS, AND BRETHREN:

AT first reading, one might readily suppose the Westminster Standards to be the product of quiet times, the labor of cloistered theologians who, removed from the distractions of life and unaffected by the passions of men, carefully elaborated their opinions. Logical and symmetrical in form, written in a clear passionless style, and with the single exception of the reference to the papacy, free from all terms or phrases that would indicate controversy or condemnation of opposing views, they give no indication that they were framed in tumultuous times, when the feelings of men were excited to the highest degree. Like pure gold that has passed through the furnace, the smell of fire is not on them. But he who would attempt to account for them by simply referring to the Act of Parliament that called into existence the Westminster Assembly of divines, has a very imperfect and superficial conception of their origin.

He fails to take into account the great forces that have worked in history, of which they are in part the expression. Two hundred and fifty years backward from to-day takes us to a critical period in English history. The leaven of great truths, fermenting for years among the people, had at last wrought its work, and was now bubbling, and swelling, and breaking forth on the surface of society with irresistible force. It is true that when on the 3d of November, 1640, Parliament, the historic Long Parliament, assembled, it was with the promise and hope of peace.

The speaker of the House of Commons in glowing terms congratulated the king on the prosperity of his realm and the glory of his throne. Gathered around him were the Lords Temporal, apparelled after their order, and the scarlet-robed barons; with them clothed in lawn and rochet were the Lords Spiritual, the representatives of the ancient Church of England. All were fervent in their expressions of loyalty, and the stately ceremonials of the occasion gave no indication of the suppressed feeling that was soon to burst forth in a tempest of wrath, overwhelming for a time both throne and church. A crisis was at hand destined by its effects to influence not only the future history of England but of the world. Two parties were there facing each other, ready to join in a life-and-death struggle. One was composed of the men of the past, the representatives of the ancient order, the supporters of the divine right of kings, the up-

holders of hierarchy. The other consisted of the men of the future, the forerunners of liberty, the pioneers of democracy, whose mission it was to make the crooked places straight and the rough places plain, that a highway might be prepared along which in future ages the people would march to their destiny in peace and safety. The causes which led to the then existing condition of affairs are not difficult to discover. Among them must be placed the revolt against the authority of Rome, begun in the preceding century by Henry VIII. That revolt was more political than religious in its character; it was a declaration of independence upon the part of the English people from an oppressive foreign despotism. It was in no true sense a reformation of the Church from its error and superstition; but it was a step fraught with important consequences for the future liberties of the people. Associated with it was a more potent cause, the doctrines of the Reformation that was then agitating Europe. These doctrines, briefly summarized, were three: The right of private judgment or liberty of conscience; the supreme authority of holy Scripture; and justification by faith alone. They were the cardinal doctrines of Protestantism. It is not material now to state how they entered into England; it is enough to know that they were received at first by a few, but gradually acquired a larger dominion. Their presence and working can readily be seen, now in political dissensions, now in doctrinal discussions,

and again in disputes concerning rites and ceremonies. Their growth can be traced by martyrdoms, imprisonments, and persecutions. Those who advocated them did so at the peril of their lives.

The prison, the scaffold, and the burning stake were then, as they ever have been, the milestones marking progress in the march of civil and religious liberty. It was not, however, until the close of the reign of Elizabeth that Protestantism was firmly established in England, and accepted by the majority of the people. But even then the condition of the National Church was far from satisfactory. It still bore the marks of its old enslavement to Rome. There were those in it who demanded a larger and clearer application of the doctrines of the Reformation. They desired to see the Church of their fathers set free from the bondage of ecclesiastical tyranny and brought into close conformity to the Scriptures, both in doctrine and government. Many of these when driven abroad by persecution had found a refuge in Geneva and Holland, and in these great schools of liberty had been instructed more fully in the Calvinistic doctrines and the Presbyterian polity. They returned earnest propagandists of these new views. These, with others like minded with them, constituted the Puritan element of the Church of England. They were not separatists. They did not purpose to establish an independent church, but their consciences forbade them to conform to certain

usages which seemed to them contrary to the truth of the gospel. Ceremonial worship or a simple service, altars or communion tables, kneeling or sitting at the reception of the Holy Communion, white surplices or black gowns were to them burning questions. However trivial they may seem to us, they were then questions involving vital doctrines. The contention of the Puritans was that they should be free from the commandments and traditions of men, and that the ritual of the Church should be purged from all papistical ceremonies and services and restored to the simplicity of the Apostolic Church. So it was, when upon the death of Elizabeth, James I. came to the throne, the hopes of the Puritan party were greatly revived. Was he not a member of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland? Had he not given his kingly word to maintain its liberties? Had he not spoken of the English Prayer-book as "an evil said mass in English, wanting nothing of the mass but the liftings?" No wonder that the millenary petition signed by a thousand clergymen of the Church of England asking for a revision of the ritual for public worship and for a reform in government, was presented to him with confidence and hope. The historic conference at Hampton Court, so fatal in its results, effectually destroyed this hope. James, whom Henry IV. of France called "the wisest fool in Christendom," seemed to have changed his principles, if he ever had any, in leaving the climate of Edin-

burgh for that of London. The conference ended with the king's declaration, "I will make them conform or else I will harrie them out of the land, or else do worse, hang them, that is all." It was a declaration of war upon the part of the throne, a fatal policy for the ill-starred house of the Stuarts. It is needless now to state what followed. The heroic sacrifices of the non-conforming ministers, the growing arrogance of the bishops, the inquisitorial proceedings of the Star Chamber and High Commission, the conflicts between Parliament and the throne, and the despotic assumptions of the king are well-known matters of history. The determination of the throne and the hierarchy to enforce conformity resulted in increasing and strengthening the party of liberty. As with Israel in Egypt "the more they afflicted them the more they multiplied and grew." Puritanism was not originally opposed to prelacy as a form of church government; the Puritans would have accepted it in a modified form; nor were they opposed to a liturgy as such. But the intolerance of the bishops, their preference for Roman Catholic rites and ceremonies, and their close alliance with despotism in civil government widened the breach between the parties. James's attempt to establish Episcopacy in the Church of Scotland aroused the sturdy Presbyterians of that country to the verge of rebellion, and led to a closer sympathy between them and the suffering Puritans of England.

There was also another cause which contributed largely to the growth of the Puritan party, and secured for it finally the sympathy and co-operation of the masses of the people. It was the encroachments of the throne upon their civil liberties—the attempt to rob them of their constitutional rights. Indeed, such was the condition of affairs at this time that it is impossible to draw a definite boundary-line between the great political and religious questions at issue. Each involved the other. The king was by law the head of the church as well as of the state; and in both of these positions he claimed despotic powers for himself. James was a fanatical believer in the doctrine of absolute monarchy. He looked upon himself as a second providence on earth, the fountain of all power, at liberty to make or unmake his subjects according to his own pleasure, and accountable to none but God for his actions. The people had no rights, but only privileges such as the throne might choose to grant. To doubt the correctness of these notions was in his judgment blasphemy and treason. Naturally, his attempt to govern in accordance with these opinions led to a conflict with the people, who were proud of their ancient liberties and chartered rights. The outlook for the reformation of the church and for the interests of civil liberty at the time of the death of James I., which took place April 27, 1625, was most gloomy and depressing. There was prevailing discontent with the govern-

ment and a growing apprehension that the Anglican Church would again come under the control of the papacy. Nor was this condition improved by the accession of Charles I. to the throne. An abler man than his father, he had inherited his extravagant notions of kingly prerogatives; but what with James was a theory which he was too cowardly to press to logical results, was with his son a principle on which he was ready to risk his throne and life. Obstinate and determined in his purposes, yet treacherous and unprincipled in his methods of accomplishing them, he sought to establish in England, in defiance of its Parliament and Constitution, a despotism like that which Richelieu fastened on France. Petitions of rights scornfully rejected, taxes levied without authority, forced loans, Parliament after Parliament defied and dissolved because it refused to submit to the royal dictation, its patriotic members fined and imprisoned, showed that Charles at least had the courage of his convictions. At last came the eleven years in which the king reigned without a parliament, a period in which his plans and purposes were so fully developed that the conflict between the throne asserting its despotic prerogatives and the commonwealth fighting for its liberties could no longer be avoided. As tyranny always does, Charles himself prepared the way for the convulsions that overturned his throne. Two historic figures come in view in connection with the king; one is Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Straf-

ford, his most trusted counsellor and minister in political and military affairs; the other, Archbishop Laud, Primate of the Church. Both were men of extraordinary ability and energy, both equally devoted to the cause of absolutism, and both fated to expiate their folly on the scaffold.

What Strafford attempted to do with his policy of "Thorough" in the State, Laud attempted to do in the Church. Both succeeded in intensifying the opposition and in increasing the number and determination of the friends of civil and religious liberty. Laud, by his foolish attempt to force Episcopacy and a Romanized ritual upon the Church of Scotland, aroused that kingdom to take arms in defense of its liberties. The insane demand of tyranny and bigotry was answered by the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in Greyfriars' church-yard. Presbyterian Scotland rallied around the blue banner of the covenant in defense of the crown rights of King Jesus and the liberties of his Church. Equally irritating were Laud's attempts to enforce conformity to his mandates in England. He was fond of gorgeous ceremonials, cared little for preaching, believed in sacramentarianism, was an Arminian in his theology, hated dissent and non-conformity with a perfect hatred, and claimed for the bishops the reverence and submission due to a superior and a divinely appointed order in the Church. In short, as Macaulay testifies, "of all the Anglican bishops,

he had departed farthest from the Reformation and drawn nearest to Rome." Under his direction every part of the realm was investigated, and all Dissenters and Non-conformists visited with severe punishment. The case of Dr. Alexander Leighton, father of the future archbishop, tried and condemned by the infamous Star Chamber process, illustrates his method of procedure. Dr. Leighton had written a pamphlet in favor of Presbyterianism and against prelacy. For this offense he was imprisoned and degraded from holy orders. Escaping from prison he was retaken, publicly whipped, exposed to the pillory, one ear cut off, his nose slit, and his cheek branded with the letters S. S., meaning "a stirrer up of sedition." After this he was sent to prison for ten years. It is easy to see how such actions increased popular feeling against the Church, and led to corresponding extremes on the part of the Puritans. Some, indeed, despairing of better times and anxious to escape from the intolerable tyranny, left England to find a refuge and freedom of conscience in the colonies of the New World.

The great mass of the Puritans stood doggedly in their lot, and grew more determined and extreme in their antagonism. Always caring more for the spirit of worship than about its forms, they now came to hate religious ceremonies. They were as zealous against conformity as the prelatical party were for it. Their ministers made it a matter of conscience to wear the black gown instead of the surplice, and to

omit certain portions of the liturgy. The people would not give the responses; they would sit when they ought to stand, and stand when the ritual required them to kneel, or remain erect when they should bow. Honest convictions, patriotism, fanaticism, resentment, hatred of despotism, and religious zeal were all mingled together in one stream of feeling, that would soon grow into the violence of a torrent.

Through the vigorous efforts of Strafford and Laud the government of England was now as despotic in method and action as that of France under Louis XIV. But it lacked an element of permanence—an army. The necessity for money and an army to supdue the outbreak in Presbyterian Scotland compelled Charles to convoke another parliament. Accordingly in November, 1640, there met that renowned Parliament which as Macaulay says, "In spite of its errors and disasters, is justly entitled to the reverence and gratitude of all who in any part of the world enjoy the blessings of constitutional government." It fairly represented the great heart of the English people, irritated and angry, yet true to righteousness, and determined to stand by the liberties of the nation. This is not the time, even if it were possible, to relate in detail its proceedings. Enough to state that its first step was to remove crying abuses, sweep away Star Chamber and High Commission, bring the instruments of tyranny to justice, and restrict the

powers of the king. At the same time its attention was turned to ecclesiastical affairs. Religious liberty, or relief from the despotism of prelacy, was one of the crying needs of the hour. Men could not forget what they had suffered for conscience sake under the tyrannical and inquisitorial proceedings of Laud. The Primate was imprisoned in the Tower, and measures were proposed for the revision of the liturgy of the Church. It is idle to speculate as to what might have taken place had moderate counsels prevailed at this juncture. It is sufficient to say that the folly or panic of the bishops and the obstinacy and perfidy of the king, wrought together with Puritan zeal and fanaticism to hasten the end. Never were more conscientious or abler representatives of the people gathered together than were to be found in this Parliament. That they committed excesses, which cooler judgment cannot justify, is true. But what they in the main demanded in behalf of civil and religious liberty was reasonable, and is now accepted by all as just. Step by step they were led to adopt measures which they had not intended at first. They were, without knowing it, in the swift current of a revolution. In 1642 Charles, infuriated by the action of Parliament, left London and shortly after raised the royal standard to rally his followers in defense of the throne. Civil war had come with all its horrors and distractions. England, from one end to the other, was filled with alarm and confusion. There was

much marching and countermarching, much fighting and praying and fasting and preaching and singing of Psalms. Prince Rupert and his fiery troopers riding up and down the land, Essex with his sturdy militia, and Cromwell with his Psalm-singing Ironsides, furnish the main figures in the war-scenes. In the meantime Parliament continued its sessions, ever growing more radical in its measures. In 1643 a bill was introduced and passed for the utter abolition of Episcopacy. Parliament had reached this conclusion, "That this government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, arch-deacons and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon the hierarchy, is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to the reformation and growth of religion, very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom and that we are resolved that the same should be taken away." This was speedily followed in the same year by an ordinance commanding that an assembly of divines should be convened at Westminster, "For the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrines of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations, as should be found most agreeable to the word of God, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed churches abroad." So

began the famous Westminster Assembly. It was called, not to theoretical discussions, but to an intensely practical work. The old form of the national church had been set aside, a new one must be speedily constructed. The Assembly, in its work, was to listen not to the voice of tradition, or to the commands of hierarchies, or to human wisdom, but solely to the Word of God. It is not easy to exaggerate the critical and exciting character of the years during which it held its sessions. Upon the removal of the restraints of despotism, new views and doctrines with regard to both civil and religious affairs were earnestly promulgated. There were the Levellers, the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Socinians, the Antinomians, the Quakers, the Erastians, and the Independents, the Radicals of that day, as well as Presbyterians and Episcopalians. The opening sermon of the Assembly from the text, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you," and its frequent days of fasting and prayer show that it appreciated the seriousness of its position and felt the evil of the times. During these same years public feeling was wrought up to the highest pitch by the events of the Civil War. There were alternations of hope and despair, as victory or defeat attended the forces of Parliament. There were riots, incipient insurrections, contentions between factions and insurgents, defections, and bloody executions. There were battles such as Marston Moor and Naseby. At last the Roy-

alists were utterly defeated, the king imprisoned, tried, and executed; the monarchy abolished and the commonwealth triumphantly established by military power. In short, the Assembly held its sessions in the midst of a great revolution; but it was a revolution with a conscience. No reader of history can fail to notice the contrast between it and another that took place a little more than a century later in France. It also was a fierce protest against a crushing despotism; a frantic uprising of the outraged people against their robber ruler. It, too, for a time overturned the throne and the established church. But what a difference between the French National Assembly and the English Long Parliament; between the so-called worship of reason and the Westminster Confession and Directory for worship; between Jacobins and Puritans. The men who wrote in the declaration of their faith that cardinal doctrine of liberty, "God alone is Lord of the conscience," as a witness against all tyranny, also held the deeper and fundamental truth that God is Lord of the conscience, and that true liberty is obedience to him. It does not belong to me to vindicate the agreement of the work of the Assembly with the teachings of Holy Scripture; but certain it is that it wrote the great religious creed of democracy. Its doctrines and its polity are vitally allied to both civil and ecclesiastical liberty. It is a fact of history that the men who have held that Confession have ever been the foes of despotism

and the friends of freedom. Whatever may be the future of the Confession, one thing we can safely say, it will never be the creed of a despotic government, of a priest-ridden church, or of an enslaved people.

It would be a false and misleading view of the civil and religious condition of the times of the Westminster Assembly to attribute all the virtue, patriotism, and purity of principle of that day to the Puritans, and all the intolerance, irreligion, and wickedness to the Royalists. He would be a rash man who would attempt to justify all the acts of the Parliamentary party. Revolutions like earthquakes are not careful to respect the Ten Commandments. The men of that day who rose up in behalf of civil and religious liberty, saw more clearly the evils of the despotism they hated, than they did the right application of their own principles. They saw as did the half-healed blind man when he beheld "men" as trees "walking." They had not yet purged themselves of that religious intolerance which they condemned in others. Like the fiery sons of Zebedee, they were ready to call down fire from heaven upon those who did not share their faith. Parliament was as ready to demand and enforce conformity to the new Directory for Worship as the Prelatists had been in behalf of the "Book of Prayer." True, some souls with clearer vision held such sentiments as Dr. Cudworth uttered in his sermon before the House of Commons: "The golden beams of truth and the silken cords of love

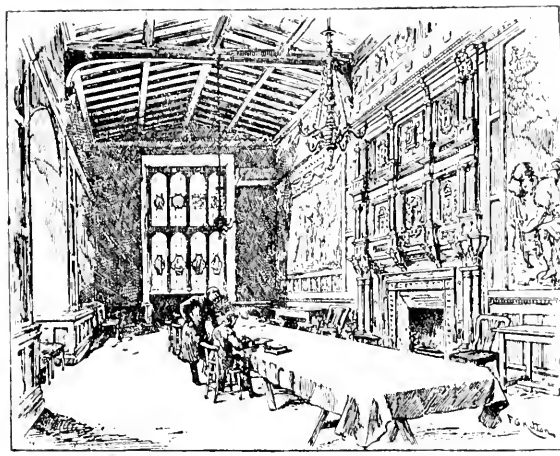
twisted together will draw men on with a sweet violence, whether they will or no. Let us take heed that we do not sometimes call that zeal for God and his Gospel which is nothing else but our own temptations and stormy passions. True zeal is a sweet, heavenly, and gentle flame, which makes us active for God, but always within the sphere of love. It never calls for fire from heaven to consume those that differ a little from us in their apprehensions. It is like that kind of lightning which the philosophers speak of, which melts the sword within, but singeth not the scabbard. It strives to save the soul, but hurteth not the body." But more believed in the necessity and efficacy of Acts of Parliament, in order to keep men within the bounds of true religion and to suppress dissent. Accordingly, the original chapter on the Civil Magistrate, which in later times has been amended, expressed the prevailing views of that age. We can readily see their defects, but we cannot cast a stone at these beginners in the school of freedom. Religious tolerance is a hard lesson to learn, and it is questionable if even in our own times we fully understand it or are ready in all things to apply it.

In another way also the Westminster Standards bear the mark of the times in which they were written. They speak with the accent of conviction. There is no trace of doubt or hesitancy in them. They express the faith, not of doubters or critical

investigators, at best uncertain of their conclusions, but of martyrs and confessors of whom the world was not worthy. That was an age of intense convictions; truth was not an abstraction, but a solemn reality affecting the daily conduct of life. The doctrines and principles recorded in the Confession had been tested and purified in the fires of controversy and forged into shape by master hands. Call that age rude, coarse, and violent, if you will, and so it was in some respects; but out of it has come a statement of high spiritual doctrine that still remains with us, like some pure spirit in paradise, purified by its sufferings and delivered from the weaknesses and infirmities of the mortal body in which it once dwelt.

We are prone to boast of the marvellous progress and intellectual activity of this nineteenth century, and of the inheritance it is ready to transmit to the new one now dawning. But the period of which I speak will not suffer in comparison with it. Take as a central point the year 1620, in which Old Colony was founded on the shores of New England, and with a radius thirty years long describe a circle of time. Its circumference will hold a period that could easily be embraced within the memory of one man living in that age. Yet within it are men, and women, and events, that rank in historic importance with the most notable in our own century. On that stage of time may be seen a goodly company of the chief and ever to be remembered actors in the great drama of his-

tory. There are Queen Elizabeth, Cromwell, Pym, and Hampden among rulers and patriots; Spenser, Shakespeare, Benjamin Johnson, John Milton, Dryden, and George Herbert among the poets; Hobbs, Lord Bacon, Locke, and Sir Isaac Newton among the philosophers; Thos. Fuller, Lord Clarendon, Burton, and Isaac Walton among the writers; Richard Hooker, Ralph Cudworth, Tillotson, Barrows, John Howe, John Bunyan, John Owens, Richard Baxter, Jeremy Taylor, and Bishop Ussher among the preachers and theologians. It was an era of great men. When the time comes that we can discard as inferior productions "The Faery Queen," "Macbeth," "Paradise Lost," "Pilgrim's Progress," the works of Bacon and Locke, and the writings of the Puritan theologians, because they belong to the seventeenth century, then, but not till then, can we brand the Confession of Faith as inferior because it belongs to the same age. What changes and convulsions may be before us I am not wise enough to foretell; but of this, in the light of history, I am confident: should ever the time come when the liberties of the people are assailed, either on the one side by civil and ecclesiastical despotism, or on the other by anarchy and license, they will find no clearer declaration of their sacred rights, and no better rock on which to plant their feet in their defense, than the Westminster Confession of Faith.



Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey.

THE Assembly met here after leaving Henry VII's Chapel towards the end of 1643. Principal BAILLIE in his Letters describes the Chamber as it was occupied by the Assembly. It is a fair room, well hung, wider at the end nearer the door, and on both sides are stages of seats with room for 100 or 120 persons. At the further end is a chair set on a frame a foot from the floor, for the Prolocutor, Dr. TWISSE. Before it, on the floor, are two chairs for the Assessors, Dr. BURGES and Mr. WHYTE. From these chairs through the length of the room stands a table at which the Scribes, Mr. BYFIELD and Mr. ROBOROUGH, sit. Along the table at Dr. TWISSE's right hand are three or four ranks of seats; the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland occupy the lowest rank, and behind them are the members of the House of Commons. After a break the seats are continued beyond on the same side of the table and along its end, and from the fireplace to the end of the table at Dr. TWISSE's left hand. All these are occupied by the Divines. From the fireplace to the door, where there are no seats, chairs are set for the use of the Lords who were appointed to sit in the Assembly. In this room the great works of the Assembly were produced.

THE STORY OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

BY THE

REV. GEORGE NORCROSS, D. D.,

PASTOR OF THE SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

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ONE hundred years had passed away since England had broken with the pope. The leaven of God's pure Word had done its work. The nation was no longer satisfied with partial reforms.

Of late the superstition, bigotry, and intolerance of Laud and his followers urging on the despotic spirit of the king had made the situation intolerable. The patience of the English people was completely exhausted. The patriotism of the nation was thoroughly aroused. It was evident to every man of Puritan instincts that prelacy must be abolished and the royal prerogative limited, or not a vestige of civil and religious liberty would be left to the English people.

You have already heard to-day how they made the noble choice, how they elected a parliament inspired

with the best impulses of the English people for reform, how they passed an act abolishing prelacy and thereby leveled to the ground "the stately and pompous fabric of Episcopacy," how they summoned an Assembly of Divines for the reformation of the Church, and invited the co-operation of Scotland in a work that might lead to uniformity in religion between the two kingdoms and thereby tend to secure the religious liberty of both.

Actuated by that spirit of dissimulation which was so natural to the king, he had at first pretended to favor a conference of leading divines for the consideration of reforms. His subsequent conduct showed the hollowness of his professions. After many fruitless efforts to secure his co-operation the Parliament decided to act without him.

The English people were bent on radical reforms both in Church and State. Even the conservative House of Lords was deeply imbued with the Puritan tendency of the times. It is but fair to state that this whole movement began within the English Church itself.

We are not to think of the Puritans as a sect of dissenters; they were in fact the evangelical clergy of the Church of England, with their friends among the laity. These Westminster divines with scarce an exception were all in Episcopal orders, educated in their own universities, and most of them graduates. If they were sick of the hierarchy and "weary of

the skeleton of a Mass-Book," as Milton declared, it was because they had caught sight of a better way in the careful study of apostolic usage.

I have been asked to tell the story of the Westminster Assembly. This naturally begins with the selection of the men who were to assist the Parliament in so grave a task as the reformation of the Church. The first choice of members for the Assembly showed the fairness and impartiality of Parliament. Their selection included men of all shades of opinion on the burning questions of the hour, except the advocates of Laud's Romanizing methods.

In the original ordinance four bishops were named, and of the others called at the same time five became bishops afterward. The list of names in the original Ordinance amounts to 151 in all, namely, 10 Lords and 20 Commoners, as lay-assessors, and 121 divines. But of these only 69 appeared the first day, and generally the attendance seems to have ranged between 60 and 80. About 25 declined attending because the king forbade their meeting for the purposes mentioned in the parliamentary ordinance, and thus the Episcopal party was not as well represented in the Assembly as the Parliament had intended.

The Assembly of Divines met in Westminster Abbey on the first day of July, 1643. It was opened with a sermon by the prolocutor, Rev. Wm. Twisse, D. D., from the text, "I will not leave you comfort-

less." The Assembly was then organized in the chapel of Henry VII., where its first sessions were held, but finding the place uncomfortably cold as the season advanced, the Assembly removed to the Jerusalem Chamber, a room of peculiar historic interest, "where," as Dean Stanley avers, "twice over the majestic language of the English Bible has been revised." Here the Assembly wrought patiently until its great work was accomplished.

This meeting of divines was originally called to reform the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England and to vindicate and clear its doctrines "from all false aspersions and misconstructions." The real meaning of this last phrase was to so interpret or hedge the Thirty-nine Articles, as to render them incapable of the Romish gloss, which Laud in that day and Pusey and his associates in our own have imposed upon them. The indefiniteness of statement which is sometimes vaunted as an excellence in the Thirty-nine Articles was evidently not so regarded by the leading spirits of that age.

But the Civil War was making history fast, and the mission of the Assembly was soon extended and elevated into the preparation of a common Confession of Faith, Directory for Worship, Form of Government, and Public Catechism for the churches of the three kingdoms. This ideal of what was requisite for a thoroughly reformed church seems to have been

first suggested by the General Assembly of the Scotch Church.

In the conflict which the Parliament was waging against King Charles I. victory at first perched on the banners of the royal cause. Chastened by these reverses, the Parliament sought a closer alliance with the people and the Kirk of Scotland. Commissioners from the English Parliament and from the Westminster Assembly, were sent to Edinburgh to make friendly overtures and seek a closer alliance. The pathetic account which they gave of affairs in the English Church touched all hearts and is said to have drawn tears from the eyes of the sympathetic Scots.

The intention of the English commissioners to Scotland was only to effect a civil league, but the Scotch leaders, knowing how much religion was involved in the quarrel, would hear of nothing short of a struggle for the purification of the Church and the union of the three kingdoms in a common faith. The result was the "Solemn League and Covenant," which became a religious and political bond between the two kingdoms and a potent factor in all the subsequent history of the times.

The Solemn League and Covenant bound all who accepted its terms to sincerely and constantly seek the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; the reformation of religion in the

kingdoms of England and Ireland "according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches;" and to an effort to bring the churches of the three kingdoms into uniformity "in religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship, and Catechising." The Covenanters also pledged themselves to the extirpation of popery and prelacy.

As a result of this union with the people and Kirk of Scotland, the Scottish Commissioners came to the Assembly, and though they did not accept a voting power in its deliberations, it is admitted by all that they exerted a very commanding influence on its final decisions.

The most conspicuous character among them was Alexander Henderson, the author of the Solemn League and Covenant, and confessedly the greatest man in the Church of Scotland since the days of John Knox. Beside him stood Samuel Rutherfurd, both learned and saintly, one of the most impressive preachers of his time, who was twice invited to a theological chair in Holland. With them came George Gillespie, the darling of Scotland, the prince of disputants, who "with the fire of youth had the wisdom of age," and Robert Baillie, whose graphic "Letters" remain to this day the most vivid picture of the Assembly and its times in our possession. With these ministers were associated as ruling elders the venerable and eloquent Johnstone of Warriston and the youthful

but courteous Lord Maitland, afterward the Earl of Lauderdale. Others were appointed who seem never to have taken their seats, but these six went to London and were duly accredited by act of Parliament and given seats in the Assembly.

After more than a hundred years of American freedom, it may seem strange to many of us that the great Assembly of Westminster was only the creature of the Parliament. It was merely asked to give "humble advice" to the popular power that had called it into existence. It was denounced, repudiated, and threatened by the king, but there it expected nothing. From the dominant Puritan party which had elected the Long Parliament, and from that patriotic body itself, the Assembly had the right to expect at least courtesy and reverence; but the event proved that having grasped the unscriptural powers of the king as head of the Church, the Parliament was slow to yield the point of its own infallibility.

It is difficult for us to understand the religious ferment of the time. It was a period of spiritual revival, and the new wine of truth burst the old bottles of custom. The public mind had been greatly exasperated by the spiritual despotism of Laud, who had made himself hateful by his cruelties and ridiculous by his apings of popery. Unfortunately the reformation in England during the former century had been conducted by the court

and the hierarchy. Its foundations had been laid along the lines of political expediency rather than scriptural teaching. But the light of the written Word had fallen on the conscience of the Church, and it was ill at ease.

For long years the self-willed king had tried to rule without a parliament, but finally he had come to the end of his tether in that direction. He had reluctantly summoned a parliament, and that body proved to be "the most religious political assembly that ever met in or out of England." The popular will as expressed in the vote of the Long Parliament declared that the Church of England must be reformed.

It should never be forgotten that the Puritan movement was in the Church itself. The Westminster divines with a few exceptions had received Episcopal ordination, had been trained in the use of the Prayer Book, had submitted to the domination of the State in spiritual matters, had been taught that the king was the head of the Church, and that the highest duty of the subject was passive obedience. But the day of reckoning had come; the people proposed that all these high claims should be brought to the test of God's Word. Whatever could bear that test might stand, but all the rest must be brought into conformity with the divine pattern which is revealed in the holy oracles of God.

It was in this spirit that every member of the

Assembly was required to make the following vow or protestation before he could sit in the Assembly:

"I do seriously promise and vow, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God; nor in point of discipline, but what I shall conceive to conduce most to the glory of God and the good and peace of his Church."

This vow, which had almost the sanctity of an oath, "was appointed to be read afresh every Monday morning that its solemn influence might be constantly felt."

And here we might well make a study of the leading men in the Assembly, but this has been assigned to another speaker.

The first work laid to their hand by Parliament was the revision of the Thirty-nine Articles. While the notes of members and the minutes of the Assembly give us only a meager outline of the range of debate, we know that many questions raised were discussed with great minuteness and critical acumen, but with that prolixity which afterward so wearied the patience of the Scotch Commissioners, who confessed the ability of the speakers, but chafed under the "longsomeness" of their methods.

It was during these debates that the Scotch Commissioners arrived and took their seats. Immediately

after this, namely, on September 25, 1643, the Solemn League and Covenant was taken with all solemnity by both Houses of Parliament and the Assembly, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, a little church which still stands almost under the shadow of the great Abbey. Lightfoot gives a very graphic account of the scene in his "Journal." The oath to the Covenant was taken with uplifted hands, after which all went into the chancel and subscribed their names to this immortal document.

But to resume with the work of the Assembly: before the 12th of October the Assembly had revised fifteen of the Articles and were proceeding with the sixteenth, when they were abruptly ordered by Parliament to take in hand the Government and Liturgy of the Church. These early debates on the great fundamentals of religion did little more than discover the spirit of the Assembly, show who were the talking members, and reveal the herculean task which the theological spirit of the times had laid upon these venerable fathers.

With the consideration of Government and Worship began what has been called "the war of the giants." On the subject of Doctrine the Assembly was practically a unit. These godly divines were all Calvinists. If there was an Arminian among them, he neither peeped nor muttered. It was the theocentric doctrine of Paul, Augustine, Wycliffe, and Calvin, which inspired the people of England in all

the days of their noble struggle for civil and religious liberty.

The Church of England was in all its best elements as intensely Calvinistic as the Presbyterians of Scotland or the Huguenots of the Continent. Therefore the Assembly had not been called together to formulate a creed. Even the most zealous of the Puritans accepted the system taught in the Thirty-nine Articles. They were asked to vindicate and clear the same "from all false aspersions and misconstructions." This they would have done, gladly, but "the logic of events" finally swept them forward into a much larger undertaking. They were destined to produce a system of doctrine, polity, and worship which after two hundred and fifty years of turmoil and criticism still needs but little revision.

It was, however, when they approached the subject of Church Government that differences of opinion became emphatic. This diversity ran all the way from Episcopacy on the one hand to Independency on the other. Nine-tenths of the whole body were at heart Presbyterians, many were willing to go the whole length of a *jure divino* claim for Presbytery, but a large minority only insisted that the system is scriptural and expedient, while they were willing to say that neither papacy, prelacy, nor independency is to be found in the Bible.

With singular unanimity the Reformers had reached the conclusion that Presbytery was the govern-

ment established by the apostles in the New Testament Church. The overwhelming majority of the Westminster fathers under the sanction of an oath professed the same conclusion. But when did all the Church see eye to eye on such a question?

It has been customary to describe the Westminster Assembly as made up of three parties, the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Erastians.

The Presbyterians were in the majority and gained strength as the discussion advanced. Their scheme is based on the New Testament principle that bishops and presbyters are identical, and that the Church is a unit, and has the right of self-government by a series of representative judicatories composed of clerical and lay members. The system is republican in spirit, avoiding the perils of democracy on the one hand, and the evils of oligarchy on the other. It had been adopted in the Reformed Churches on the Continent where it was possible, and had been worked for nearly a hundred years in Scotland, where it had recently enjoyed a signal triumph.

For twelve years England had been governed without a parliament. The people now proposed to be heard. Men were walking the streets of London with noses slit and ears cropped, the marks of the paternal interest of Archbishop Laud in the thorough discipline of his spiritual children. The people had made up their minds to be done forever with prelatical pretensions. Even before the Assembly met the

bishops had been turned out of the House of Lords, a measure to which the king had given his reluctant consent. The English people naturally turned to the other Reformed Churches for their model, and these Churches were confessedly Presbyterian.

In Scotland the Presbyterian Church had shown itself the friend of the people, and had presented a bold front to the despotic spirit of the king and the half-popish system of the cruel and bigoted Laud. A people who were smarting under the tyranny of the Star Chamber and Bishop's Courts of High Commission, were naturally favorable to a system in which the people had a voice. The Assembly proved to be overwhelmingly Presbyterian.

A second party was the Independents. These were few in number, but ably led by Dr. Thomas Godwin and the Rev. Philip Nye. They were called "the five dissenting brethren" by the Presbyterians, from the plausible "Apologetical Narration" which they offered to Parliament, after they had made a long and factious opposition to the majority of the Assembly.

Some of these brethren had been driven to Holland by the spiritual despotism of Laud, and their experience while in exile with single congregations of their expatriated countrymen, led them to attach undue importance to an independent church, and they were not in sympathy with the wider plans of those who sought for national uniformity.

Though never numbering more than twelve mem-

bers, the Independents were able to retard the final decision of the Assembly, carry on an intrigue with Cromwell and the army, foster the growth of fanatical sectaries in the country, and finally defeat the practical adoption of Presbytery in England. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the words of Dr. Schaff: "Independency . . . is preferred by the English mind because it comes nearer to Episcopacy, in making each pastor a bishop in his own congregation."

It is often claimed by their descendants that the Independents were the first to advocate toleration. But to this it may be replied that they were in the minority, and were only asking to be let alone and to go on with their own divisive schemes, and that when they established their system in New England they made it very uncomfortable for the Quakers, Baptists, and others who differed with them. The sweet spirit of toleration was not very well understood in that age by any party; and no one who takes the trouble to study the long and weary debates of the Assembly will conclude that the Independents had a monopoly of the meekness and charity there exhibited.

A third party in the Assembly was the Erastian, so called from Erastus, a physician of Heidelberg, and later of Basel, who wrote a book which was published after his death, in which he denied the right of church officers to excommunicate. These men dis-

sented from the grand proposition of the Assembly, that, "The Lord Jesus, as King and Head of His Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church-officers, distinct from the Civil Magistrate." On the contrary, they wished to make the Church only a department of the State, and maintained that all Church government ought to be in the hands of the civil rulers. They denied that any particular form of Church government was prescribed in the New Testament, and claimed for the State the right to establish such form as might seem most expedient.

Only two ministers, Dr. Lightfoot and Mr. Coleman, were decidedly Erastians, but a considerable number of the lay-assessors, chiefly lawyers, were advocates of this secular policy. Insignificant as this party was in point of numbers, it derived importance from the reputation for Hebrew and rabbinical learning enjoyed by some of its members—Lightfoot, Coleman, and "the learned Selden"—and still more from the powerful support the party received from Parliament, most of whom, according to Baillie, were "downright Erastians." "The pope and the king," says this lively chronicler, "were never more earnest for the headship of the Church than the plurality of this Parliament."

The evils of spiritual despotism were so many and so flagrant in that age, that it is not strange many sought the remedy in the subjection of the Church

to the State. This was the practical solution of all their difficulties at the time of the Restoration, when Charles II. was allowed to place his licentious foot on the neck of the prostrate Church. But such a settlement never lasts, and the English Church of this century has been passing through the convulsions of revolution, simply because her sons to-day are not willing to abide by the Erastian principles which satisfied their fathers in the middle of the 17th century. The whole Anglo-Catholic movement of our times began in a protest against the subjection of the Church of Christ to the domination of Cæsar. And here a loyal Presbyterian could join hands with John Henry Newman and the Oxford school; but we would soon have to part company when they start toward Rome to find spiritual independence. It is poor policy to try to escape from one usurpation by falling into another and a worse one.

Time will not permit a full account of the several steps which led to the adoption of the "Form of Government" as it finally passed the Assembly. Its Presbyterian principles had to run the gauntlet between the Independents and the Erastians. The debates were long and tough. Every premise was measured and every word in definition was weighed; every argument was sifted and every proof-text was traced back through the versions to the original Scriptures. There were honest difficulties to be met and captious objections to be answered. But finally

the system was painfully wrought out and the proof-texts selected and the Form of Church Government and Directory for Ordination was laid before Parliament. As a whole, it never was adopted by the civil authority of England, but on February 10, 1645, it was accepted and adopted by the General Assembly of the Scotch Church.

Another subject submitted to the Assembly at the same time was that of "Liturgy." The "Directory for Public Worship" was the first of the formularies which the Westminster fathers prepared and completed according to the terms of their Solemn League and Covenant. The promptness with which this work was accomplished points significantly to the fact that here the Westminster divines were far more united than on the subject of church government.

Whatever may have been the theoretical views of these men as to the lawfulness of an optional liturgy leaving room for free prayer, all were prepared in the interest of peace and Christian Union "to lay aside the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God," and adopt a simple Directory as a guide and help to the minister in the various parts of public worship.

The privilege of free prayer was greatly appreciated at this time, and wonderful gifts in that direction were soon discovered among the members. We smile at the mention of prayers one or two hours

long, but we should remember that these men were exulting in a new-found liberty, and rejoicing that they were no longer "under tutors and governors" when approaching "the throne of grace."

And so, though there were keen debates about certain details—as to what profession of faith should be exacted from a parent when presenting his child for baptism; as to the qualifications to be required of those admitted to the sealing ordinances of the Church, and as to the exact position to be taken in the act of observing the Lord's Supper; yet the work of preparing the Directory for Worship went on with far greater harmony than that of settling the Form of Church Government, or agreeing as to the principles and methods of Ordination.

That the Prayer Book was to be laid aside was evidently a foregone conclusion from the beginning. The Preface to the Directory, which is still retained in the standards of the Scotch and Irish Churches, but has been revised out of our American Book, argues stoutly against the use of a liturgy.

That Preface begins by conceding that "in the beginning of the blessed reformation our wise and pious ancestors" had done much to correct many things which "by the Word" they had "discovered to be vain, erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous in the public worship of God." It goes on to recite some of the benefits which had come to the Church in the Book of Common Prayer—that "the mass and the

rest of the Latin service" had been removed, that "the public worship was celebrated in our own tongue," and that many of the common people had received the benefit of "hearing the Scriptures read in their own language." It confesses that these things had caused "many godly and learned men to rejoice much in the Book of Common Prayer."

But if all this is heartily admitted, it is only to prepare the way for the strong indictment against "the Service Book" which follows. The Westminster fathers testify that "long and sad experience hath made it manifest that the liturgy used in the Church of England (notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it) hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed churches abroad." They go on to assert that the Prayer Book contains "many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies," that its glorification by "the prelates and their faction" had been a "great hindrance to the preaching of the Word," that of late in some places, it had pushed preaching out as "unnecessary, or, at best, as far inferior to the reading of common prayer," and that joining in this service had been made "no better than an idol by many ignorant and superstitious people."

All this was bad enough, but the gravest objection was against the system itself. They testified "that the liturgy hath been a great means . . . to make and increase an idle and unedifying ministry, which

contented itself with set forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer, with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his servants whom he calls to that office."

In summing up their argument against the Prayer Book, they declare that "upon these and many the like weighty considerations in reference to the whole book in general, and because of diverse particulars contained in it . . . we have . . . resolved to lay aside the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God, and have agreed upon this following Directory for all the parts of public worship."

This radical reformation has controlled the churches accepting the Westminster Standards ever since. From that day to this the Presbyterian Church has been non-liturgical. At the time of the Restoration, the Presbyterian party seemed to be willing, for the sake of peace, to make some concessions to the lovers of the Prayer Book; but when they were compelled to go out from the Established Church, the Non-Conformists did not make a revised Prayer Book for themselves. On the contrary, they remained true to the position of the Westminster Assembly, and practised the liberty of free prayer. The same is true of the American Church. Here and there a voice may have been raised in deprecation of a careless and perfunctory service of prayer in Presbyterian

worship; here and there a formalist may have proposed a return to liturgical methods, but the Church has remained firm. The apostolic doctrine that the people of God are "a royal priesthood" full of the Holy Ghost and of power to do their own praying, has remained our birthright as Presbyterians to this day.

Perhaps before leaving this subject of worship a word should be said concerning the metrical version of the Psalms, which as "altered and amended" was recommended "to be publicly sung."

Mr. Francis Rous was a member of Parliament and a lay-assessor in the Assembly. His metrical version of the Psalter was referred to the Assembly for examination and approval. It was carefully read in the public sessions of the body, and after receiving some emendations, was recommended as "useful and profitable to the Church." The House of Commons in consequence resolved "that this Book of Psalms set forth by Mr. Rous, and perused by the Assembly of Divines, be forthwith printed."

As is well known, this version became very dear to the Churches of Scotland, and a badge of orthodoxy to many of their successors in America. It is now almost wholly supplanted in the Churches of this country, but people are still living who love and cherish the rugged strength of Rous's version.

The last subject of general importance on which the labors of the Assembly were expended was a "Public Catechism." There had been no end of

private catechisms, for the careful indoctrination of the young was a thought familiar and grateful to the Puritan mind.

All the reformers had shown their sense of its importance either by writing catechisms or making a diligent use of those composed by others. It is not generally known how much thought and effort had been expended already in England on the subject of catechetical instruction. Dr. Mitchell, who has made a study of the Westminster Assembly and its times, declares as to the "floods" of catechisms already published by the Puritans, that their name was legion.

The subject of a catechism was one of the first to receive the attention of the Assembly, and as this part of their work was the last to be finished, it is but fair to conclude that the task was found to be one of considerable difficulty. But it can be justly said, in view of the result, that here the Westminster divines attained their greatest triumph. The Shorter Catechism, which was finished last, is the consummate flower of all their labors.

The whole subject seems to have been first considered by a committee of which the "gracious and learned little Palmer," as Baillie calls him, was the chairman. This Herbert Palmer had the reputation of being "the best catechist in England." He was the author of a catechism which had gone through several editions, and he had a peculiar method of

his own to which he was much attached, and which seems to have won the approval of the Scotch Commissioners, though it met with opposition in the Assembly. Months and years were spent at the task, but still the result was unsatisfactory. If ever George Gillespie was asked to pray for light and help in the definition of God, as a well-known tradition reports, it must have been during these labors; for he was in his grave when the Shorter Catechism was composed. Finally, when the work seemed almost accomplished, the Assembly fell into such "endless janglings about both the method and the matter," says Baillie, "that all think it will be longsome work."

The expedient of composing two catechisms was a thought which dawned slowly on the minds of the Assembly. In a letter of the Scotch Commissioners to their own Church which bears evidence of being from the hand of Rutherfurd, they say: "The Assembly of Divines, after they had made some progress in the catechism which was brought in to them from their committee, and having found it very difficult to satisfy themselves or the world with one form of catechism, or to dress up milk and meat both in one dish, have, after second thoughts, recommitted the work, that two forms of catechism may be prepared, one more exact and comprehensive; another more easie and short for new beginners." And so it was arranged that we have become the heirs of a Larger and a Shorter Catechism.

The definitions of the Larger Catechism are in a great measure abridged from the Confession of Faith, though traces of matter derived from other sources may be found in it. This monumental work was finished October 15, 1647, and shortly after was carried up to the two Houses by the prolocutor and the whole Assembly, when they were formally thanked "for their great labor and pains in compiling this Long Catechism."

The Shorter Catechism was not composed till after the Larger one had been virtually completed. On the 5th of August, 1647, it was resolved that the Shorter Catechism should be taken in hand "by a committee now to be chosen." Mr. Herbert Palmer was made the convener of this committee, of which the prolocutor was nominally the chairman.

As the work on this, "the ripest fruit of the Assembly's thought and experience," was mainly done in committee, we cannot trace the various steps by which it was brought to its present perfection. But this we do know, that Mr. Palmer died soon after the appointment of the committee, that Henderson and Gillespie had both gone home to Scotland and there passed to their reward, and that Baillie also had returned and was busy with his professorship in Glasgow. Only Rutherfurd remained, and he was longing to be released, as he "did not think the elaboration of this catechism of sufficient importance to detain him from his college and his flock at St.

Andrews." But he was persuaded to remain until it had been reported to the Assembly, when he took his final leave. Before his departure he suggested that a record be made in the "Scribe's Books," of the fact that the Assembly had enjoyed the assistance of the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland, during all the time spent in debating and perfecting the four things mentioned in the Covenant, viz., a Directory for Worship, a Confession of Faith, a Form of Church Government, and a Catechism. The suggestion was approved by the House, and the record was made in very complimentary terms.

The Shorter Catechism was finally finished and the great work of the Assembly was done, but it was not formally dissolved. On February 22, 1649, the Assembly was changed into a committee for conducting the trial and examination of ministers. Many of the members had gone home, but those who remained continued to act as a Church Court for the conduct of matters ecclesiastical, subject to the will of Parliament.

As the Parliament never did accept those parts of the Confession of Faith which condemned Erastianism, the Presbyterians were not willing to set up Presbyteries and Synods which would be shorn of all their Scriptural powers, and as neither party would yield, there was a dead-lock and it was a time of great confusion. Prelacy had been abolished by law, the Prayer Book had been laid aside by act of

Parliament, the old system was under the ban of the acting government, but Presbyteries and Synods were not organized; and finally the heavy hand of the dictator, Cromwell, cut the Gordian knot by abolishing the Parliament, and the Assembly ceased to exist when that popular branch of the government thus was set aside by a military despotism; for such the Protectorate of Cromwell was, however good it may have been for the common weal of Englishmen.

The Assembly had been lectured and bullied by the Parliament, because it would not say that the Church is merely a creature of civil government and a department of the State, but to their glory it can be affirmed, that the Westminster fathers never quailed nor betrayed the truth as they understood it. With heroic fortitude they had braved the wrath of the king and the hierarchy when at first they attended on the summons of the Parliament. With endless patience they listened to the arguments of Independents and Erastians, who combined to defeat the will of the majority. In dignified silence they endured the pettifogging taunts of Selden's "Nine Queries" respecting the *jure divino* rights of the Church. In devout reliance on divine assistance they fasted and prayed and wrought and waited for light from on high, and for the guidance of the Holy Spirit. With laborious painstaking they searched the Scriptures to find the whole counsel of God on the questions submitted to them for their "humble advice." They

did not "make haste," but being assembled in solemn session "five years, six months, and twenty-two days," they left on record as the result of their labors, the most remarkable symbols in the possession of the Christian Church.

FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES OF THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION AND CATECHISMS.

BY THE

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MODERATOR, FATHERS AND BRETHREN:

IF the Westminster standards were new to the world, my task would require me to set forth in proper order and in due proportion the several articles of faith defined in them; but after two hundred and fifty years of public proclamation, no such recital in detail can be needed—much less can it be needed before a representative body of Presbyterians. We may therefore confine our attention somewhat strictly to those doctrines which may be considered distinctive or characteristic.

We ought not, however, to allow ourselves to overlook the fact that our points of agreement with other Protestant Evangelical churches are more numerous and more valuable than the points wherein we differ from them. In a general way, it may be said that the Westminister divines aimed at embodying in

their creed pretty much all that was of an affirmative character in all the creeds of Christendom which were then formulated.

Approaching now that Calvinistic system which is embodied in our standards, I recall two mathematical figures which have been employed to illustrate how our distinctive doctrines have been brought together into a system. It was an opponent of our system, a prominent minister of a sister church, who likened our system to a circle, inasmuch as the several doctrines are held firmly together by their common relationship to the doctrine of divine sovereignty. And he added, that it is useless to try to break that circle, held together by the rigid logic by which its several parts are connected with the undeniable supremacy of God. "If you do not wish to accept it as a whole, you must simply ignore it, or cast it aside as a whole. Arrange your doctrines in your own way—make the evangelical system grow out of the love of God—or construct a system of theology that shall be Christocentric, and let the people of the world make their choice between your system, and the old, unbroken, unbreakable Calvinistic system."

Such a mode of representing our system—which I give only in substance—was very gratifying at the time, as indicating a loss of confidence on the part of an opponent in the wisdom of a direct attack upon our system. It was, moreover, generally regarded as a satisfactory general description of our system of

doctrine as having its center and bond of union in the doctrine of God's sovereignty.

But another man of prominence, speaking from within the Presbyterian fold, proposed amendment, by suggesting that our system may better be symbolized by the ellipse. The circle has a single center; the ellipse has two foci. The Westminster Calvinism regards the supremacy of God and the freedom of man as complemental truths, and is as loyal to the latter doctrine as to the former one.

Both these mathematical symbols are after all but symbols, each having its own appropriateness, and both having value as setting forth our peculiar system for general view.

From one point of view, however, it will not do to represent man's freedom as a co-ordinate with God's sovereignty, for the freedom of man is the gift of the sovereign God. Man possesses only so much freedom as God has seen fit to bestow upon him. God's supremacy is, therefore, a primary fact, and man's freedom wholly dependent on it. The one doctrine is at the center, and the other belongs to the circumference.

But from another point of view, we may treat the two doctrines as side by side. Since God has given freedom, it is now as truly a fact to be reckoned with as the divine sovereignty. No interpretation can properly be put upon the one that logically compels us to ignore or tone down the other fact. God him-

self respects his own gift, and never exercises his sovereign power in any way to break down that freedom. The Confession of Faith expressly teaches that God's sovereignty is not of a kind to "offer any violence to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established." Within the realm of theological thought there is no fact more remarkable than the respect which the sovereign God has ever shown to man's limited freedom. It is indeed a limited freedom (commensurate at least with human responsibility), but within this God-given limit man himself is a sovereign. God has so far respected his own gift to man that he would not prevent the introduction of sin in our world; nor will he interpose to cast it out by any exercise of power inconsistent with man's freedom; and men who prefer to sin may even do so eternally.

Whilst, therefore, it is certainly Calvinistic to put the doctrine of divine sovereignty at the center as the ultimate source of everything else that we value, it is just as good Calvinism to put alongside of it the doctrine of human freedom, when once we have accounted for it as God's gift, and determined its limitations as God has ordained them; and it is our right—indeed, it is our duty—to insist upon it that all interpretations and applications of Calvinistic doctrines, by friend or foe, shall recognize the fact that the two are now co-ordinate. Considered meta-

physically, or in their origin, God's sovereignty is primal; man's freedom derived and limited. Considered phenomenally, with reference to the existing order, one fact is just as stubborn as the other, and neither one can be ignored without misconception resulting.

After this general view of our system of doctrine, let us consider its principal details. I think it can be shown that every distinctive doctrine of our system grows out of the endeavor of the Westminster Assembly to present the character of God to the intelligent world as the one complete and perfect being.

As far as the elements properly belonging to the idea of sovereignty are concerned, there is entire agreement among all theists. That God is the ultimate source of all authority, that he is independent in the exercise of his authority and power, and that there is no being to whom he is accountable for the ultimate issue of his acts, cannot be doubted by any one who believes in his existence and attaches any meaning to the term God. But in much of our theological discussion of God's sovereignty, and in much of the popular conception as to what we do believe, there can be no doubt that undue prominence has been given to the will of God. It has been very common to speak of the sovereign will of God, and so to magnify the mere element of will, the sheer power or authority, as to create feelings of repugnance on the

part of many who reject our creed, and induce in those who still accept it a kind of fatalistic submission to the inevitable. Under this false emphasis the will of God has taken on the aspect of wilfulness, and the independence of God has been distorted into an indifference as to what may be the effect of his decrees upon his creatures. The true doctrine, which attributes sovereignty to God's person, considered in its entirety, thus becomes narrowed to a doctrine ascribing sovereignty to a personified power, and throws open the way to the fear or belief that this power is often arbitrarily or capriciously exercised. It is possible to submit to the will of God, considered as mere power or authority; but if we are to acquiesce in that will, it will have to appear either to our reason or our faith as more than authority, as an expression of wisdom and goodness.

The false conception of Calvinism, which has grown up in the minds of so many Christian people, and even in the case of many who have been trained in Presbyterian families, is largely due to a defective psychology belonging to the past centuries and only now passing away. It is the psychology which has distinguished somewhat too sharply between the faculties of intellect, sensibility, and will. It is true, indeed, that the older psychologists held firmly to the unity and simplicity of the soul, and did not intend to represent the faculties as distinct organs of mind; but the three so-called faculties were treated

separately and the operations of each described with little or no reference to those of the other faculties, so that it is not very strange that there should be an almost irresistible tendency to think of each faculty as independent in its activity. Free will has become almost a household term, and even in theological discussion is often so employed as to suggest a measure of independence of intellect and emotion quite inconsistent with the facts of consciousness. In the later psychology, knowing, feeling, and willing are only functions of the soul: nor are they separate and independent functions. They are interdependent. If any real state of mind when active be considered, all three of these functions will invariably be represented; and our only way of distinguishing one state of mind from another is by the fact that one function seems to be more prominent than the others. Thus in the ideal student's mind knowing is predominant, but his intense study is due to the activity of his will, and this activity is due to the power of his emotional nature stimulated by the free play of his intellectual powers. In the ideal business man will may be predominant, but his activity and persistence in the prosecution of his business are due to the fact that his heart is in the work, and has set both intellect and will to work. Will, in its normal state, is never alone, never free from the influence of the character of him who exerts it. Willing is the function of personality, and with full knowledge on our part always indicates the

character of him whose willing it is, and indicates that character because it is determined by it.

With these modern distinctions in view, we may object to the application of the term sovereign to the will of God, on the ground that it is the person of God which is sovereign. His will cannot fail to manifest his character, for what God knows and how God feels, must be thought of as lying back of and determining all the choices, purposes, and activities of his will. It is the sovereignty and supremacy of God, the perfect being, the complete person, combining harmoniously in his person all the excellencies and perfections which can be conceived as belonging to personality, which Calvinism makes central in its teachings, and no mere almightiness and authority.

I know there are a few phrases in our Confession which seem to lend support to the false view I have been criticizing, but they are to be interpreted in the light of the fact that our Confession invariably traces God's decrees and acts, not merely to his will, but to some element of his character, to his goodness, to his love, to his justice, to his grace. These are all impulses of his perfect nature, which draw him on to gratify them and thus give rise to his eternal decrees and his works in time.

It is our contention that analysis of the perfect character of God will give us the basis of every distinctive doctrine of our Calvinistic system. Is God a rational being? Is he completely rational; has rea-

son in him reached its highest conceivable perfection? Then he must be thought of by us as looking ahead, planning the future, foreseeing every possible contingency. He must work according to plan. He must have some sufficient end in view. And his plan must embrace every detail; there can be no after-thoughts, no unforeseen contingencies arising to necessitate repair or change of purpose. We cannot conceive of the ruler of this universe, who is perfect as a ruler, being surprised by the occurrence of some unforeseen events. But this is universal predestination, a doctrine designed to set forth the completeness in all respects with which God governs his world and directs the course of its progress.

Is there in God a combination of varied powers? Is his character broad enough to include every trait of personality which we find entering into human personality, with the proviso that each trait in God's personality has reached its highest stage of perfection? Surely no one can withhold an affirmative answer to these questions. Then it must be held to be extremely probable that there will be some variety of mode in God's dealing with men.

As he is righteous, there can be no doubt of his dealing justly with all, holy and sinful alike. But as God is good, kind, loving, these impulses must also move him to go beyond the demands of justice, where the law of righteousness does not forbid. And as God is gracious, it is not strange that he should seek

and find a way of helping and benefiting the unworthy. Since then our Calvinism has ever emphasized the evangelical doctrine that all men are to be dealt with either according to the principles of law or according to the principles of grace; and that each adult must make his own choice as to whether his merits and demerits shall be considered, or wholly disregarded in order that he may rely on grace alone; we have but carried our conception of God's character into our interpretation of his Word and our evangelistic work.

It may be going too far to say that our church has been more loyal than others to the doctrine of the Atonement. But certainly Westminster Calvinism has wavered less under the assaults of rationalism on this doctrine than many others. The stiffest modes of stating the doctrine have found defenders in our church, and zeal for this fundamental truth may have carried some theologians too far. But the powerful hold the doctrine has maintained upon men loyal to the Westminister Confession has been due, not only to the clearness and earnestness with which the doctrine is set forth in the Scriptures, but also to its close connection in our minds with the character of God as we conceive it. Believing as we do that God is perfectly righteous, we cannot think of him as otherwise than infinitely more earnest than we can be in his approval of all right-doing and his disapproval of all wrong-doing. Nor can we conceive

of him as failing in any degree to express his approval and his disapproval in his treatment of the good or the evil agents. Therefore it is simply inconceivable to us, when we fix our thought on the perfect character of God, that he should ever forgive a single sin without an adequate expression of his disapproval of it. This expression we find in the death of Jesus Christ, and nowhere else can we even look for it.

But as this expression would be useless if sinful men did not voluntarily seek forgiveness under it, fairness to Christ demanded that a great multitude of human beings should somehow be induced to put themselves under the operations of God's grace. But this is the doctrine of election. It grows out of the conviction that God is both righteous and loving, the former impelling him to secure to Jesus a sufficient reward, and the latter impelling him to secure the blessings of the Atonement to a great multitude, whom no man can number. It is the unmistakable fact that God brings more gracious influences to bear on some men than on others to lead them to accept Christ as their personal Saviour, which lies at the basis of, and receives explanation in, the doctrine of election.

If now we combine with God's love his respect for human freedom, we lay the foundation for the correlative doctrine of preterition. I know how easy it is to present these correlative doctrines so as to create

an impression that God's ways with men are not equal. It may even be difficult for many who accept the doctrines because they are taught in the Scriptures, to keep out of the mind the suspicion that God is partial in a way we do not tolerate in our fellow-men. And I confess I know of no way to find relief from a suspicion no one of us cares to entertain, except by putting the doctrine of human freedom alongside that of divine sovereignty, and insisting that it be given due weight. If electing grace is not of a character to abridge freedom, and it certainly is not, then preterition may be connected with God's respect for his own gift, and this conclusion follows: the elect are willing to be saved by grace, and the non-elect are either unwilling to be saved from sin or are not willing to be saved by grace. The line that divides the adult world into the two classes of elect and non-elect, corresponds exactly to the line that divides that same world into the willing and the unwilling. If we are pressed to explain how it comes about that some are willing and others are unwilling, we may reply that each individual case may furnish its own reasons, which do not admit of generalization. Individual experiences differ both before and after acceptance of Christ, and each man may give some account of his own choices. Or we may fall back upon a strictly Christian and philosophical agnosticism. We cannot lift ourselves outside of our created universe and take our stand beside God's throne and explain, as from

God's point of view, the details of his government of free, intelligent beings. It is enough for us to know that for every act of his a sufficient reason can be found in his own perfections, and it is folly and sin for us to scale down the loftiest conception of his character we can form or entertain, in order to make our earthly life somewhat freer from mystery.

It is sometimes objected to our Confession that it does not give sufficient prominence to the love of God. And it has been questioned whether a thoroughgoing Calvinist can love the God he pictures to his mind. I shall not reply to this question by citing the multitudes, who, by patient endurance of persecutions, and perseverance in missionary and philanthropic labor, have given practical proofs of their love of God. It cannot be doubted that these martyrs and missionaries of the past, nerved themselves to endurance and fidelity by their hearty acceptance of our fundamental doctrines. There may be more need to show the intimate, but not very apparent, connection which exists between the Westminster conception of God and a practical and deep-seated love of God. You cannot induce men to love God by giving them verbal descriptions of his love, however poetic your phraseology may be. There is a way of talking about God's love that is for most men too sentimental to be effective. It is not mere love which men crave, and men do not value it because of its intensity. All love owes its value to the personality

which lies back of it. No one cares for the love of any being whom he does not respect. True love may be generally defined as an impulse to use one's powers for the benefit of another person. So far as this is a proper definition, it makes apparent that the value of any love will be determined by the personal powers which are devoted to our benefit, and the motive and character of the person who is thus willing to employ his powers in our behalf. We actually turn away from the proffered love of mean and low and vicious natures. We prefer the hatred of the devil to his love, however intense it might be. The value therefore of the simple proclamation that God loves us lies in the fact that it is God, whose powers are perfect and whose character is attractive, who is declared to love. It is not necessary that a confession dwell upon the love, if it sets before us clearly and fully the excellencies and perfections of his character. Let there be chapters which set before us his wisdom, power, righteousness, providence, and provisions for the salvation of sinners, if there be but a single clause—"God is love"—it is enough. Short as the declaration is, it carries the mind back to all the revelation of his personality and thus makes the love assume larger and larger proportions. There may not be much of the poetic, the passionate, the sentimental in the love kindled in the soul by a sympathetic study of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, but it will be intelligent, permanent, prac-

tical, and a constantly acting and constraining force in our daily life.

It is true the Westminster Confession emphasizes the condition of man, possibly to such an extent as to constitute a distinctive feature. More than any other creed has it elaborated human sinfulness and reduced human ability to its zero point. It has even seemed to some to deny all ethical value to truthfulness, honesty, and kindness when practised by the unregenerate. So far as this is characteristic, it may seem to be an exception to the general statement, that our distinctive features grow out of our analysis of God's character. But after all, it is reasonably clear that this dark, black picture of human nature, has resulted from bringing man into judgment where the standard is not a human ideal of morality, but the perfect righteousness of God himself. The worthlessness of human deeds is not based on their valuation for purposes of this life, but considered as human efforts to attain salvation. And the primary purpose of this humbling view of man is to magnify the grace of God, to make it clear that his salvation is in no degree based on his own merit, and to emphasize his complete indebtedness to God.

From the fact that acceptance of our standards is exacted only of our ministers and elders, and this not in all its words and phrases, but as a system of doctrines, it may fairly be inferred that the main purpose is to secure a certain content in all preaching

and teaching. The underlying assumption seems to be that if this system of doctrine is faithfully preached, its direct tendency will be to bring God and man together upon terms most favorable to promote God's glory, and to secure in man the development of the highest type of Christian character. In order to this, man must be brought as a humble suppliant before God, ready to receive grace, because realizing most deeply his need of it. But mere humility and receptivity will not make a strong, active, persevering saint. All-powerful faith and hope and love must be planted and nourished in the soul, and these results can come only from intelligent convictions concerning the character of God. Upon God rather than upon his own soul must man's attentive gaze be fixed. What we think of ourselves depends primarily on what we think of God. Self-knowledge that is valuable can come to us only as we bring ourselves in contrast with God. And growth in Christian nobility and effective service of our generation, according to the will of God, are nourished by our increasing knowledge of God. Believing as I do that the Westminster system of doctrine is the outgrowth of an earnest and intelligent attempt to analyze for the world the characteristics of the Most Perfect Being, I cannot but long for a revival to some extent of doctrinal preaching that shall follow the general type of theological thinking set before us in our standards. More modern phraseology and more modern concep-

tions may be desirable, but close adherence to the essential thoughts of our Confession can scarcely fail to give to our Sabbath-day hearers a grander, nobler, truer, and more scriptural conception of God, than many of them are now forming under a style of preaching that is better adapted to give a conception of the character of modern leaders and events.

THE WESTMINSTER POLITY AND WORSHIP.

BY THE

REV. ROBERT F. COYLE, D. D.

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MODERATOR, FATHERS, AND BRETHREN:

THE forces that make history are usually not conspicuous. The mightiest things are not those which appeal to the eye of sense. In this great world-drama there are actors behind the scenes far more potent than those that stand close up against the foot-lights. However insignificant they may have seemed in their time, and however small may be the space allotted to them by the mere secular historian, we now know that the battles fought in the Jerusalem Chamber were more significant than Naseby or Marston Moor. The business which the Westminster Assembly was set to do was to grapple with principles, by whose resistless force Cromwell and his Ironsides were pushed into immortal prominence. It was these principles and what it did with them, that made the Westminster Assembly the most important event of the 17th century.

The subject assigned to me has to do with the main purpose for which the Assembly was convened. That

purpose was to prepare such a form of church polity and worship as might bring about religious uniformity in the three kingdoms. This according to the order of Parliament, was to take the place of "church government by archbishops, bishops and their chancellors, commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon the hierarchy, which is resolved to be taken away."

I am sure I shall best serve the interests of this day and hour, not by exploiting the superiority of the Westminster polity and worship, nor by going minutely into their history, but by emphasizing the great principles for which the Westminster divines contended in formulating a system of government and worship for the Church. Regnant in their thought, first, last, and midst, was the cardinal principle of the alone Headship of Jesus Christ. It colored all their discussions and directed them to all their conclusions. As the sovereignty of God was the formative principle in their theology, so the sovereignty of God, the Son, was the shaping principle in their system of government and worship. The key in each case was the same. When they passed from doctrine to polity, or from polity to doctrine, or from both to worship, there was no break in the harmony.

They found their authority in the Word of God. What the Bible said was final. They were guided by the Book; and in obedience neither to tradition,

nor to the light of the inner consciousness, would they go beyond the record. They conceived that their business was not to adjust the Bible to man, nor to cut and clip the Book to fit human prejudice and accommodate human conceit, but to faithfully adjust man to the Bible. From their point of view it was not for them to amend the chart, but to steer their course according to its directions, reach what port they might.

Accordingly, with a clearness never to be misunderstood, with a conviction that could not be shaken, with a heart for any fate, they declared that "Christ, who is Prophet, King, and Head of the Church, hath fulness of power, and containeth all other offices, by way of eminency in himself."

Again, in briefer phrase, they affirmed that "the Lord Jesus Christ is the only King, the only Head in Zion." There they stood, firm as a rock on a storm-beaten shore. From that position nothing could dislodge them. No Erastian modification whatsoever could be allowed. The crown rights of Jesus Christ were not to be seized, or in any large or small degree shared by another. There was room for but one on the throne of Zion. To him civil and ecclesiastical rulers alike must give place. By logic as unanswerable as the Bible, and by arguments that left the Erastian brethren not a leg to stand upon, they upheld the kingship of Jesus, "brought forth the royal diadem, and crowned him Lord of all."

This kingship of our Lord, in all matters ecclesiastical, seems simple enough to us to-day, living under the free skies of America—so simple that it is apt to be passed over rather lightly. How could a truth so self-evident ever have been disputed? But it was no simple thing two hundred and fifty years ago. It raised momentous issues. To stand for the unqualified sovereignty of Christ over his Church, as those men stood at that time, was radical and revolutionary. It involved the overthrow of many a cherished idol and a new-making of society. Only strong, brave, heroic men would have dared to announce and defend such a principle there and then. After the Restoration, when the tide had turned and sought to sweep them again upon the coasts of prelacy, rather than conform and bow the knee to Baal, they proved their earnestness and courage by the clear testimony of suffering.

The avowal of this principle was a challenge both to Cæsar and Rome, both to politician and prelate, a notice served upon them to quit-claim the sovereignty of the Church of God. Both were usurpers; both were exercising lordship where they had no right; and this fearless stand for the sole Headship of Christ was a writ of ejectment. Elder Lord Warriston put it with telling terseness when he said before the Assembly "that Christ lives and reigns alone, over, and in his Church, and will have all done therein according to his word and

will, and that he has given no supreme headship over his Church to any pope, king, or parliament whatsoever." There spoke the spirit of the Covenanters. That ringing utterance, vigorous and fresh as a blast from his own northern hills, could not be mistaken. He meant to be understood, and he was. This cardinal doctrine, so constantly insisted upon, was the great mother-lode of the range. Out of the rich ore it yielded was minted the following, whose image and superscription Presbyterians know so well: "the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hands of church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate." That looks very innocent now as it stands in our Confession of Faith, at the head of the chapter on Church Censures. But nothing else so stirred and aroused the Assembly. It was the Church's Magna Charta, a Declaration of Independence that contained in it the seed-stuff of other declarations further on. It affirmed the autonomy of the Church, and so brought on the tug of war.

Admitting that Christ is King in Zion, has he appointed a government therein? That was first to be settled. The appeal was to the Word of God, and the question was answered in the affirmative. But then came the further question, What is that Government? And in answering it, all the powers of the gifted leaders of the three classes that composed the Assembly were brought into play. One would like

to have heard them. No pygmies contended there. It was a battle of Titans. The High Church Presbyterians of the Cartwright School, backed by the Scotch Commissioners, argued with splendid ability and genius for the Presbyterian form of government and the divine rights of Presbytery. They resorted to no quibbles, or sophistries, or intrigues, inside or outside of the Chamber, to gain their ends. They drew their weapons from the Word of God, and wielded them with a skill and mastery which the opposition, with Parliament on their side, could not overcome.

The Independents fought them at every step; fought them on the question of Ruling Elders, on the Subordination of Church Courts, on the Power of Ordination, on the Jurisdiction of the Presbyteries and Synods—fought them all along the line. In the matter of excluding or suspending scandalous persons from the Lord's table, however, their chief opponents were the Erastians. With slight concessions here and there the Presbyterians triumphed; and I think the fair-minded reader must conclude that their victory was due, not to their voting majority in the Assembly, but to the force of their arguments and the impregnable strength of their position. They stood on the Word of God, and they who stand on that rock are not easily moved.

But by far the hottest contest in that historic debate raged around the last clause of the proposition, "distinct from the civil magistrate." On this point

the heavy guns were trained. Selden, Lightfoot, and Coleman attacked it with all the force of their ponderous Hebrew learning. These were the Erastian leaders in the Assembly, and they brought the whole weight of their vast scholarship to bear against the proposition. In their rebound from prelatical tyranny, which was natural enough, they swung away over to the other extreme. The genius of Presbyterianism leads always in the middle of the road, and so avoids Scylla on the one hand and Charybdis on the other. But that genius these great leaders had not caught. The idea of any sort of spiritual jurisdiction was intolerable to them. Of that they had had a surfeit. They were afraid of it. Hence they contended hotly and eloquently, and with all the wealth of their prodigious learning, for the ecclesiastical supremacy of Cæsar. They fought for a blended polity, one that would make the Church only a department of the State, with the power of the keys in the hands of the civil magistrate. Convinced that the result of a government within a government, such as the Presbyterians proposed, would be a continual spiritual lordship over the conscience, they combated it with might and main. The thought was abhorrent. That a political tyranny over the conscience might be quite as bad if not worse than any tyranny of an ecclesiastical sort, was something they seem not to have considered.

So the battled raged; and in that great conflict

the Erastian leaders found foemen worthy of their steel. Memorable especially was that day when the Jerusalem Chamber was thronged to hear Selden on Excommunication. It was one of the greatest efforts of his life. He fairly dazed the spectators and the Assembly with his astonishing learning. Excommunication he held to be a purely civil function, to be administered alone by the civil magistrate; and to prove his position he amazed his hearers with his surprising display of rabbinical lore. Two members undertook to reply, Herle and Marshall; but their speeches fell flat. Then Samuel Rutherford turned eagerly and appealingly to young Gillespie, and said, "Rise, George, rise up, man, and defend the right of the Lord Jesus Christ to govern by his own laws the Church he has purchased with his blood." George rose, calm, steady, and confident. It was a tremendous hour and a tremendous undertaking for a young man of thirty-one to answer Selden. But the stripling knew what he had in his sling. He answered Selden so effectually, so crushingly, that the giant was silenced. He is reported to have said, "That young man has by a single speech swept away the learning and labor of ten years of my life."

But let us not lose sight of the fact that behind all the Presbyterians contended for, the principle to which they clung with characteristic tenacity was the Headship of Jesus Christ. Though they did not succeed in cutting off Erastianism entirely, and only partially

won the fight, yet they were so far victorious that the polity finally adopted by them meant the ultimate and absolute divorce of Church and State.

For, mark you, embedded in that polity, and growing out of its cardinal principle of the Headship of Christ, as the branch grows out of the tree, was the doctrine that "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in anything contrary to his Word, or beside it in matters of faith and worship." Pope, prelate, and magistrate alike were cut off by that principle from all interference with the rights of the individual in his relations to God. No one claims that the Westminster divines were free from intolerance. It is frankly admitted that they partook of the spirit of the times in which they lived. Everywhere in that day there was a disposition to persecute and repress. Cromwell, speaking to the House of Commons, said, "Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itching; nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their fingers upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there." Even the Protector himself did some pinching of this sort. To men of intense earnestness in any age the easy-going Laodicean quality of half-heartedness is abominable; and it was particularly so to the men who figured and fought in the mighty liberating movements of the 17th century.

Great ideas at first are like streams far up the

mountain slopes. It takes time for them to work their way down into the valleys, around ledge, and crag, and cliff, until they spread out over the plain and cover it with waving harvests. However much the Westminster divines may have failed to practice the toleration involved in the sacred truth, that "God alone is Lord of the conscience," let us give them full credit for affirming the doctrine itself. The men who asserted that principle in all its plenitude and set it down in enduring form were among the greatest benefactors of mankind. Conscience must not be coerced by any civil or religious power. Absolutism must stand aside. There is but one Sovereign over the Church and one Sovereign over the soul. All honor to the men who said that, and who say it still.

No church with that doctrine upon its banners can ever be enslaved. No people with that fertilizing principle in their hearts can ever submit to despotism, political or religious. Thrilling and sublime for evermore was the effect of it after the Restoration, when prelacy was again in the saddle, booted and spurred. Rather than yield their rights of conscience, 2000 English Presbyterian ministers, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1660, showed the stuff they were made of by leaving their churches, their support, their homes, their weeping flocks, and becoming strangers and wanderers in their native land. It was this doctrine that put into the Presbyterians of

Scotland the strength and stability of their own granite hills. Claverhouse and his dragoons were powerless to trample out the fire it kindled. They might as well have hurled their wrath at Ben Nevis. That fire flamed forth brighter and brighter. See the effects of it there in Edinburgh, just two centuries after the calling of the Assembly! It inspired 470 of the Lord's freemen, headed by the immortal Chalmers, to cut all connection with the State, to give up their churches, their manses, their stipends, and go forth into the liberty of the sons of God. The spirit of Knox, and Henderson, and Rutherford, and Gillepsie—the spirit of freedom, of independence, and above all, of loyalty to the great Head of the Church, burnt in them, and sent its light, and warmth, and power out over the Scottish hills and on to the ends of the earth. Happy will it be for our denomination if this day shall kindle something more of that spirit in us, and send us to our homes and our people to pass it along.

Be it observed, moreover, that this principle of the sole sovereignty of Jesus Christ was uppermost in the mind of the Assembly when it formed the Directory of Worship. All human inventions, all ritualistic addenda, all ceremonial pomp and pageantry, everything not warranted by the Word of God must be abolished. Over the Rock of Salvation had grown accretions of priestly forms, and liturgical superfluities, and prelatical rubbish without end—piled up

until the Rock was hidden from view. That rubbish must be brushed away so that the Rock might appear in all its glory, and draw the sinner to the refuge of its riven sides. The Church was so filled with ecclesiastical bric-a-brac that the Church's Lord could not be seen. Under the mass of rubrics, and rites, and formularies imposed by prelacy, spirituality lay stifled, choked, dead. The burden had become intolerable. Jenny Geddes' bold fling of a stool at the priest's head, in old St. Giles' church, showed what stirring events were in the wind. "All Edinburgh, all Scotland, and behind that, all England and Ireland," says Carlyle, "rose into unappeasable commotion on the flight of that stool of Jenny's." The screw had been twisted one round too far. Things had come to such a pass that in the estimation of the prelates the Service Book was everything, the Word of God nothing. Man-made liturgies encouraged an idle and unedifying ministry. Forms were made ready to their hands, which they followed with lazy and droning stupidity. The people were fed on chaff blown into their faces from the prelatical mill, and the wretched fare maddened them.

Such, briefly, were the conditions that prevailed when the Westminster divines set themselves to prepare a Directory of Worship. It was soon done and adopted with great unanimity. As it came from their hands, and as it stands to-day, it is charac-

terized by strength, simplicity, spirituality, scripturalness, and, above all, by the supremacy it gives to the Lord Jesus.* While the Directory insists upon order and dignity in the conduct of divine service, it encourages freedom, and leaves abundant room for the play of individuality. To neither set forms on the one hand, nor to unstudied effusions on the other does it give any countenance. It is intended not to be mandatory, but suggestive; not to lay down fixed rules, but to supply help and furniture; not to be inflexible and unadaptable, but simple and elastic, suited to all emergencies and all classes and conditions; not to spare the minister and relieve him from exertion, but to stimulate him to efforts worthy of his high calling.

But particularly noticeable in it is the pre-eminence it gives to the Son of God. Wherever the light falls, it is seen to proceed from that radiant center. If the Directory emphasizes the preaching of the Word, it is because it is the King's law. If it sets the Bible in the front as the only rule of the kingdom, it is because it is the King's book. If it enjoins the sanctification of the Sabbath, it is because it is the King's day. If it excludes all priestly and idolatrous notions from the sacraments, it is because they were instituted by the King, and become efficacious

* And these qualities our Church, if she is wise and true to her grand history, will zealously conserve; she will set herself like a wall against all tendencies toward ritualism.

only by the King's blessing and the working of the King's spirit.

Westminster divines built upon the fundamental fact that Christ is not only the Church's Lord, but the Church's Life. Through all the system of polity and worship which they adopted, determining its spirit and character, runs the cardinal principle of the Headship of Jesus. And out of this flow the great subordinate principles upon which I have touched.

These principles are not dead. Principles that involve the glory of the Son of God, the independence of the Church, the infallibility of his Word, the freedom of conscience, the spirituality of worship, can never die. They are the most living issues of this present hour. To-day they need ringing out more faithfully than ever. It is not for me to preach to this Assembly; but in a closing word, I may be allowed to declare my own convictions. In doing so I strike no note of pessimism. I conjure up no unrifted shadows, but simply indicate what seems to me to be the supreme need of our Church as we stand facing the new century.

What we need to multiply conversions, to make our preaching mighty, to kindle our missionary fires, to set every Board free from the incubus of debt, to bring us together, North and South, to unite the entire Presbyterian family, and send us forth upon a new career of conquest and glory, is a revival of

loyalty to our King. What is needed is to get away from side issues, away from the catching themes of the hour, away from themes literary, and themes political, and themes social, and themes exploited by the daily press, and lift up the name of our King, and make it pre-eminent above every name. Unless this is done, agnosticism and materialism will win the day. Unless this is done, the pulpit will go into eclipse. It is great themes that make great preaching. So far as I am able to read the signs of the times, I believe it is the exalted Christ or defeat. Nothing but the enthronement of Jesus will avail to break through the thick-crusted indifference of our times. This and this only will keep irreverent fingers from mutilating the Word of God. This and this only will solve the labor problem, beat back the rum power, inspire the philanthropy that will plant churches on our frontiers, in the midst of the teeming population of our cities, and send the gospel away into the darkest and remotest fields of human life. There is no vitalizing, no aggressive, no conquering power in Christianity that does not come from the exalted Christ. If we are to win, and break down strongholds, and hasten the latter-day glory, it will only be by the charm, the music, the magic, the power of that matchless name. We shall have to lift him up as the fathers did in the days that tried men's souls. Let the sublime doctrine of the sovereignty of the crucified and risen Christ, central in our polity and

worship, be made central in our preaching, central in our living, central in all our religious activities; only let us get a new grasp of the kingship of Jesus, a new longing to put the crown on the brow that was pierced, a new hunger to lay our trophies at his feet, and then, then, will our captivity be turned as the streams in the South, and all the dry places will blossom into life, and fruitfulness, and beauty.

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY, THE MEN AND THEIR WORK.

BY THE

REV. WALLACE RADCLIFFE, D. D.,

MODERATOR.

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THE Westminster Assembly was a rebellion of the people against the bosses. It was the assertion of the independent conscience, the claim of spiritual liberty, the protest of outraged right. The grip of spiritual usurpation was closed by Henry VIII. It tightened under James. It crushed under Charles. When the tale of bricks is doubled Moses comes. The long suppressed demand forced utterance. The explosion and crash in Scotland gave shock and release. The people were heard from. The response was at last the "Assembly of godly and learned divines to be consulted with by Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the church." It was a representative assembly made up of choice men—one hundred and twenty-one divines, eleven lords, twenty commoners—representing all the counties of England, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and all shades of ecclesiasticism. It was an

effect and most suggestively an Episcopalian assembly, its few Scotch members excepted. It was equal to its task, on every side men conspicuous for learning, eloquence, and piety. Milton's lofty scorn is out of place. Call the roll of that Assembly. Here are ecclesiastics wise, tolerant, and profound, like Calamy, distinguished Orientalists like Lightfoot, Greek specialists like Gataker, dialecticians like Reynolds, and Gillespie the prince of disputants; versatile and profound scholars like Wallis of Oxford, whose eminence as a theologian was only surpassed by his attainments as a mathematician; linguists like Palmer, conspicuous preachers like Marshall and Goodwin; the élite of Scotch theology and wisdom in Rutherford, Henderson, and Baillie, "the learned Selden," lawyer, historian, theologian, archæologist, and linguist; laymen distinguished as statesmen, scholars, or jurists; scores of walking libraries, bands of armed disputants, the whole presided over by Twisse, scholar and theologian of continental fame. When such men come together, there is a reason for it, and their conclusions cannot be whistled down the wind.

The opening scene in the Abbey was solemn and impressive. But the crowning event was in the following September in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, when the Assembly and Parliament—the whole representative body of Church and State—stood up in divine worship and with uplifted hands

took oath to receive and stand by the Solemn League and Covenant—a civil treaty as well as religious bond—heroes all, to whom life was testimony and conscience dominant.

There is a sketch of the civilization of the times in the record of the transfer from Henry V., Chapel to the Jerusalem Chamber, which the gossipy chronicler says "has a good fyre which is some dainties in London." In that historic chamber—now chiefly historic because of their presence and work—this Assembly met June, 1643–Feb. 22, 1649, five and a half years. They took their time. It was a way they had, as the gossipy Ballie so often reveals. "Every proposition they harangue long and very learnedlie." "When every man has said and the replies and duplies and triplies are heard." "Their longsomeness is awful." "When all were tired it came to the question." One almost imagines he is describing some General Assembly somewhere.

There is a refreshing revelation of carnal wisdom in these high counsels when, remembering that armed men are in the field, we hear the näive confession and plea "not to meddle with haste till it please God to advance our armies which we expect will assist much our arguments."

It was an assembly of devotion—their monthly day of fasting and prayer, but one expression of the pervading spirit which pleaded the promise of the opening sermon, "I will not leave you comfortless."

It bowed to but one absolutism. It backed its propositions with Scripture. It sought and followed unhesitatingly the voice from heaven.

The work reveals the men. Their heroism, scholarship, statesmanship, spirituality, have their most brilliant revelation in the results of that Assembly.

I. THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

This was necessarily their first address. This was the center of the battle. The war cries indicate the parties—"Divine Right," "Limited Episcopacy," "Root and Branch." The divine right of episcopacy was a recent claim, first maintained by Bancroft in 1588. Erastianism was doomed to an early dismissal by such men. Church rule cannot be a whim of society nor be changed with the changing complexion of transitory politics. And experience led them to believe with James, "No bishop, no king." But there is another king, one Jesus. "God alone is Lord of the conscience." What does he say? They turned to their Greek Testaments.

Their first dispute was as to the identity of doctor and pastor in the individual congregation. They were wiser in the seventeenth than in the nineteenth century. Our Church must return to the wisdom of the fathers if in the larger communities we are to conserve our forces and advance. The diversities of gifts must be recognized and used. The suggestion of the Westminster Assembly—the doctor and pastor

—will overtake many a difficulty and give strength and efficiency to the modern Presbyterian Church.

They were not very pronounced upon the eldership. They considered it as "a poynt of high consequence," but only decided that it was scripturally warrantable but not expressly instituted. But the principles of government were not uncertain. The doctrine of the supreme authority of Scripture struck at the root of hierarchical authority. In letters of heavenly light they saw gleaming from their Bibles, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." They asserted republicanism as the architect's principle of the pattern shown in the Mount. They were not extremists. Ussher's plan retaining a formal episcopacy as a part of presbyterial or synodical government, if urged by him and others as members of that Assembly, might well have been the true and permanent reform—a moderate Presbyterianism. It was only another formula for the superintendents of the Knox government in Scotland. Their conclusions were distinct. Presbytery is the continuation of apostolic Christianity. Primitive episcopacy is presbytery. It is not silenced or estopped by synods or councils. It is historic, not traditional. It exalts the Scripture above the Church. It presses back to Christ and his word. It asserts above all the crown rights of Jesus Christ. It is significant that the draft of the church government was finished on the Fourth of July, 1645—a declaration of independence antedating by more than a cen-

tury that of the American Colonies. That principle here formulated so distinctly—liberty capable of order, order fruitful of liberty, self-government recognizing the governing self—that principle uttered in the Jerusalem Chamber, was the gun whose ball went round the world, and whose sound wakened the echoes at Bunker Hill and Gettysburg.

II. THE DIRECTORY FOR WORSHIP.

It was not imposed. The singed cat fears the fire. It was recommended. It was prepared by men familiar with liturgies. The Reformed Church used prayer-books. Knox's Book of Common Order was of use in Scotland and was never officially put aside. These men were familiar with the Book of Common Prayer, and were there not to destroy, but to purge. The Directory was a compromise. I question whether it ever occurred to any to prescribe unwritten forms. It certainly does not determine between free and written prayer. It left the churches in the sphere of Christian liberty. Their letter to the Scottish churches specifically gives liberty to use either the old—Knox's Liturgy—or the new, the Directory for Worship. Even in the discussion of the section upon the Public Prayer it was stated that they did not only set down the heads of things, but so largely that with the altering of here and there a word, a man may mould it into a prayer. The Directory certainly never contemplated the

heterogeneous and irresponsible license which in our day has come to be known as Presbyterian worship, wherein every Presbyterian minister does that which is right in his own eyes; nor that absolute tyranny which practically ordains a most unliturgical liturgy as the only freedom of worship. Its contention was against certain prescribed forms and imposed ceremonies. Jenny Geddes threw her stool not at the prayer book, but at the Romish abuses which the book sought to impose upon her. "Will ye say mass at my lug?" It asserts the liberty of worship to have its best expression in form of highest truth and beauty. It erects the pulpit as the central object in the church. It emphasizes the sermon. But the sermon is not the only element in the worship. We preach. But we also pray and sing and read the Word and make offerings and observe sacraments. It very suggestively directs that "ministers ought to be careful not to make their sermons so long as to interfere with or exclude the more important duties of prayer and praise" (Chap. vii. Sec. 4). It lays stress upon the order of topics and succession of parts of worship. It makes no demand for severe simplicity. It utters no prohibition. Its liberty embraces the liberty of using the written form as genuinely Presbyterian. The continued assertion of this liberty would have saved and strengthened our Church. The liturgical tendency of to-day is only a return to the earlier

Presbyterianism, which aimed in this Directory at a service book with freedom of extempore or written prayer which should be not a master but a guide. It is our province so to apply the principles of our book as to give a proportioned and harmonious order and expression to prayer, praise, preaching, and sacrament with such appropriate and local freedom as shall above all others illustrate and encourage the communion of the saints.

III. THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

The best thing they did was a thing they did not intend to do. They were asked to revise the Thirty-nine Articles. But revision, as our own Church found, is apt to be a delicate matter. They dropped revision and wrote the Confession. It is the only Protestant Confession of which we have details of its composition and construction. It was the culmination of the creeds. From the first creed in the confession of Peter and the Baptismal Formula, through the simplicity of the Apostles' Creed, the expansions and limitations of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan creeds, the strong and sturdy challenge of Luther's Ninety-five Theses, the comprehensive but faulty Augsburg Confession, the glowing martyr tone and color of the Scotch Confessions, the moderation and faithfulness of the Gallican Confession, the minute, controversial yet catholic statements of the Helvitic, and the sweet and scriptural yet limited Heidelberg

Confession, there were progression, definiteness, and comprehension, until out of all came the Westminster Confession, of superb logical construction, unmatched precision, unapproachable dignity, and magnificent fidelity—the ripest fruit of Reformed theology. It bears the impress of its militant times. It came out of the throes of mightiest controversy, and we hear sounding through it the tramp of hosts, the clash of arms, and shout of victory. Of course, it was Calvinistic. Their doctrine of the Church compelled it. The question of the Church has more intimate relation than is commonly thought to one's convictions upon the scheme of redemption. Rationalism will most commonly be found with the Erastian or Independent theory of the Church, Sacramentarianism with Prelacy, and Calvinism with republican Presbyterianism. And it was a necessity of the times. The Protestant world was Calvinistic. A Reformed Council in the middle of the seventeenth century could have announced nothing other than Calvinistic theology.

Its proximate source was the Irish Articles, drawn up by Archbishop Ussher, and adopted by the Irish Convocation in 1615, which form the connecting-link between the Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster Confession. Many of its objectionable phrases and sentences are evidently borrowed from this source. There is a striking similarity in the chapter on Decrees, and generally in the order of

subjects, headings of chapters, doctrine, and very language. It is also worthy of notice that much of its doctrinal statement is due to Reynolds, who is also the author of the General Thanksgiving of the Book of Common Prayer. It seems to me that the man who claims Archbishop Ussher as his father in God, and subscribes to the Thirty-nine Articles and uses devoutly every Sabbath Reynolds's Thanksgiving, should not object very strenuously to the Calvinism of the Westminster Confession.

This Confession begins right. It is framed from the standpoint of divine sovereignty. It starts with God and unfolds the entire history of the created universe as the unfolding of the eternal purpose. It is more logical, more comprehensive, and more scriptural than the modern cry of "Back to Christ." A whole chain is more than one of its strongest links. The covenant of grace is a subordinate part of the eternal purpose.

It is evangelical. It is flushed with the ardor of individual conviction. It gives clear and sufficient expression to the doctrines of the Trinity, the Person and Work of Christ, and offices of the Holy Spirit, and binds us in the communion of historic Christianity. It has no place for the new mysticism. It does not recognize Christian science falsely so called.

It is comprehensive. It proclaims itself the heir of all the doctrinal attainments of the Christian Church. Lutheranism had wrought out into dis-

tinct and enduring form the doctrine of justification by faith alone; Calvinism that of salvation by grace alone; Puritanism that of the authority of the Word alone. These they took, and giving even clearer definition and purer form, made their own the culmination and crown of all systems of theology.

It is refreshingly distinct. It was written in the day when men made definitions. They knew what Arianism and Antinomianism and Arminianism meant. Ours is the day of Ritschlianism, when we supplant definition with feeling, when the river does not believe in having any banks, and when the home of truth is supposed to be all out-doors.

It is liberal and tolerant. It was not the product of any school. It was a compromise, and compromises are moderate. It assumes the fact but does not define the mode of inspiration, so that you may believe with me in verbal inspiration, or with my neighbors in plenary inspiration, or with him beyond who avoids both words, provided you agree with all of us that the Scriptures are "the Word of God written."

It presents election, not of sovereignty but of grace, not of selfishness but for service. It preaches hope even to those incapable of being outwardly called. It teaches the highest and best doctrine of the Lord's Day. It presents the simplest, most spiritual, and satisfying doctrine of the Lord's Supper. It pronounces the broadest and most catholic definition

of the Church, embracing in its cordial recognition and fellowship affusionist and immersionist, post-millenial and premillenial, sub-, super-, and infra-lapsarian, and "all throughout the world who profess the true religion together with their children."

It has imperfections. It shows the pressing of the galling chain which bound the Church to the State. Its author was the creation of the Long Parliament and amenable to its authority. It assigns to civil government the duty of calling synods, protecting orthodoxy, and punishing heresy. It does not mention the word atonement. It pays too much attention to the deceased wife's sister. It might have had less interest in elect infants. It is too logical in reference to reprobation. It might have given larger emphasis to the Holy Spirit. But it has enriched literature with one of its noblest chapters upon the Holy Scriptures. It has endowed human liberty with its golden maxim, "God alone is Lord of the conscience." It is up-to-date—the most modern of modern creeds in that it anticipates the favorite humanitarianism in giving the humblest man a necessary place in the eternal purpose, and thus endows him with a dignity far transcending the dreams of mere human philosophy.

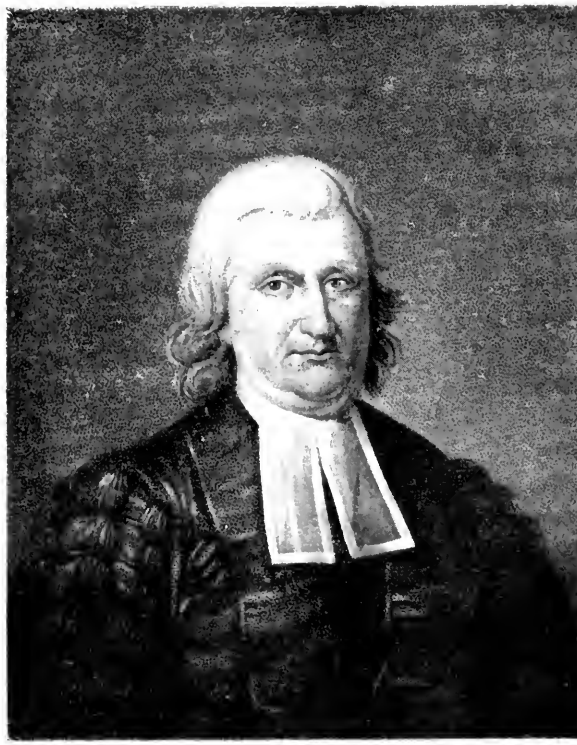
IV. THE CATECHISMS.

The Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, one for pulpit exposition, the other for the education of chil-

dren, were their closing work. The Shorter Catechism differs from most in not taking the Apostles' Creed as its basis. It is not historical nor experimental. Lacking something of warmth and simplicity, it is strictly logical, of unrivalled statement, skilful construction, and incalculable value. Omitting the questions, the answers give a well-jointed, comprehensive, brief, and satisfactory creed. Perhaps that is what we are coming to—the best and most enduring bond of unity in sight. Its one hundred and seven questions divide logically into two parts at the thirty-eighth. The first part is a system of divinity. It recognizes that true life is built upon sound doctrine. The second part affords a fit directory for every stage of the Christian life. Truth is in order to goodness. In the question, "What does God require of man?" the conscience is confronted with the inner witness. The Commandments voice duty. The "requireth" and the "forbiddeth" reveal the inability and guilt, and the awakened soul is led by faith in Jesus Christ, repentance unto life, and the means of grace—a complete circle of knowledge and experience. The soul whose life is hallowed by prayer has learned how to glorify and enjoy him. It cannot be too highly praised. It is a model of definition. Most of the answers are minie balls, some of them columbiads. It has been the moulding power in uncounted lives. It has never been revised. It cannot be amended. It must not be neglected.

It carries in its use the perpetuation and glory of the Presbyterian Church.

Their complete work was presented as "an humble advice"—an advice which if well heeded had saved Charles his head, England her Church, constitutional government her prerogative, and endowed the world with the speedier gift of free institutions, enlightened consciences, and an enlarged humanity.



Rev. John Witherspoon.

Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and First Moderator of the General Assembly.

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND THE ADOPTING ACTS OF 1729 AND 1788.

BY THE

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IN our magnificent Church we possess an ecclesiastical polity which may be denominated specific, American Presbyterianism, whilst our doctrinal creed is generic, world-wide Paulinism. Our Church is not called in denominational nomenclature The Calvinistic Church, but The Presbyterian Church.

I. In considering the theme before us we shall first treat of Colonial Presbyterianism.

The first classical assembly organized in this country was organized under the name of "The Presbytery," March 22, 1706. The first leaf of the minute book has been irrecoverably lost, and we have no evidence that the Presbytery formally adopted any written constitution. Mr. John Thompson, in 1728, advocated in Synod the adoption of the Confession of Faith of the Westminster Assembly as the Creed of the Church, the Synod, as he said, "Having never, by a conjunct act of the representatives of our Church,

made it our Confession, as we are a united body politic." And yet at a meeting of the Presbytery held in Philadelphia in 1712 there was an overture presented concerning difficulties between Rev. Mr. Wade and the people of Woodbridge, which read in part as follows: "It is overtured, that whereas, for these several years, we have endeavored to accommodate the differences between Mr. Wade and the people of Woodbridge, after some time, at his own proposal, we admitted him as a member of our Presbytery and he submitted himself willingly to our Constitution" (*Records*, p. 27). Thus six years after The Presbytery was organized they had something which The Presbytery regarded as a "Constitution," to which Mr. Wade submitted.

"The General Presbytery," as the classical assembly was sometimes called, resolved in 1716 to meet the next year as a Synod, and the body so met in Philadelphia in 1717. In 1721, the Synod said, "As we have been many years in the exercise of Presbyterian government and Church discipline, as exercised by the Presbyterians in the best Reformed Churches, as far as the nature and constitution of this country will allow, our opinion is, that if any brother have any overture to offer to be formed into an act by Synod, for the better carrying on in the matter of our government and discipline, that he may bring it in against next Synod" (*Records*, p. 68). In 1727, there is another reference (p. 86 of the *Records*) as

follows: "And as to the call and settlement of the Rev. Mr. Pemberton at New York, the Synod does declare that the rules of our Presbyterian Constitution were not observed in several respects by that congregation in the matter."

The fair presumption, therefore, is that the Westminster Standards were for several years recognized as the law governing the actions of the Presbytery and afterward of the Synod, without any formal adoption of them as the Constitution of the Colonial Church.

At that early day there was no formal subscription to the Confession of Faith required of those who were ministers in the Church. In 1728, the Synod, at a meeting held in Philadelphia, took the following action (*Records*, p. 94): "There being an overture presented to Synod in writing, having reference to the Subscribing of the Confession of Faith, etc., the Synod judging this to be a very important affair, unanimously concluded to defer the consideration of it till the next Synod; withal recommending it to the members of each Presbytery present to give timeous notice thereof to the absent members, and it is agreed that the next be a full meeting of Synod."

The next year this matter was taken up at Philadelphia, and on the 19th of September, 1729, the Adopting Act was unanimously passed by the Synod (*Records*, p. 94). After its passage we find this deliverance: "The Synod, observing that unanimity,

peace, and unity, which appeared in all their consultations and determinations relating to the affair of the Confession, did unanimously agree in giving thanks to God in solemn prayer and praises." Action was at the same time taken in regard to the Directory, which then included the Form of Government and what we now call the Directory for Worship. The Synod declared "that they judge the directory for worship, discipline, and government of the Church, commonly annexed to the Westminster Confession, to be agreeable in substance to the Word of God, and founded thereupon, and therefore do earnestly recommend the same to all their members, to be by them observed as near as circumstances will allow, and Christian prudence direct" (*Records*, p. 95).

There were Established Churches in all the Colonies except Pennsylvania, and the Synod could not adopt a polity for the Church that could be universally enforced, for Makemie was imprisoned in New York for two months for daring as a Presbyterian to preach the gospel in a Colony where there was an Established Church.

After the Adopting Act of 1729, subscription to the Standards of the Church was required of all ministers. In 1730 (*Records*, p. 98.) we find intrants were obliged "to receive and adopt the Confession and Catechisms at their admission, in the same manner and as fully as the members of the Synod did that were present" at the time of passing the Adopt-

ing Act, and this action was unanimously taken. In 1734, the Synod ordered that inquiry be made every year whether ministers received were required "to adopt the Westminster Confession and Catechisms with the Directory." This is either to be regarded as an explanation of the act recommending the Directory, or else it is a new adopting act formally requiring all ministers to adopt the Standards. The same year this action was taken: "Pursuant to act of Synod, found upon inquiry that Mr. William Tennent, junior, Mr. Andrew Archbold ordained, and Mr. Samuel Blair, licensed, did each and every one of them declare their assent and consent to the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, and Directory annexed, according to the intent of the act of Synod in that case made and provided." In 1736, the Synod made this clear and positive declaration: "That the Synod have adopted and still do adhere to the Westminster Confession, Catechisms, and Directory, without the least variation or alteration;" except only some clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters, concerning the civil magistrate; and this action was unanimously adopted.

In 1745, the Synod was unfortunately divided. The division took place from differences about matters of policy, methods, and measures, rather than about doctrines, and when the Synods of Philadelphia and New York were again happily reunited, it was

on the simple basis of the Standards of the Church as they had been previously adopted.

In 1751, the Synod of Philadelphia ordered that the proposals of the Synod of New York, presented by that body in the year 1749, for a union with the Synod of Philadelphia, be recorded. In those proposals the Synod of New York says, "we all profess the same Confession of Faith and Directory of Worship." "And to preserve the common peace we would desire that all names of distinction which have been made use of in late times, be forever abolished; that every member give his consent to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Directory, according to the plan formerly agreed to by the Synod of Philadelphia, in the year 1729. Further, that every member promise that after any question has been determined by a major vote, he will actively concur, or passively submit, to the judgment of the body, but if his conscience permit him to comply with neither of these, then he shall be obliged peaceably to withdraw from Synodical communion, without any attempt to make a schism or division among us" (*Records*, p. 202). The Synod of Philadelphia the same year gave a similar deliverance so that there was a perfect understanding between the two Synods (*Records*, p. 204).

In 1758, the Reunion of the Synods took place, and they formed and united upon a basis in which they declared that "Both Synods continue to profess

the same principles of faith, and adhere to the same form of worship, government, and discipline" (*Records*, p. 286). In the first article of the Basis of Union they declared that both Synods had "always approved and received the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms as an orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine." And in order that there might be peace and harmony in the Church the second article in the Basis of Union was adopted as follows:

"II. That when any matter is determined by a major vote, every member shall either actively concur with, or passively submit to, such determination; or, if his conscience permit him to do neither, he shall, after sufficient liberty modestly to reason and remonstrate, peaceably withdraw from our communion, without attempting to make any schism. Provided always, that this shall be understood to extend to such determinations as the body shall judge indispensable in doctrine or Presbyterian government (*Records* of 1758, p. 286).

In 1763, when "a Presbytery in New York government" asked to be received into the Synod, the Synod agreed to receive them on the condition "that they agree to adopt our Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and engage to observe the Directory as a plan of worship, discipline, and government, according to the agreement of this Synod" (*Records*, p. 331).

In 1770, when the Presbytery of South Carolina asked to be received into the Synod, it was informed that it could be received on the following terms:

"The conditions which we require, are only what we suppose you are already agreed in, viz., that all your ministers acknowledge and adopt as the standard of doctrine the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and the Directory as the plan of your worship and discipline."

By requiring this subscription to its Standards the Presbyterian Church in Colonial days grew into a strong, united, harmonious ecclesiastical organization.

II. Let us now turn our attention to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

After the War of the Revolution had closed it was deemed advisable to adopt a new and more complete Constitution for the Church, and the Adopting Act of 1788 was passed by Synod with wonderful unanimity.

This Adopting Act of 1788 is a more comprehensive and specific act than that of 1729. It divided the Synod into four Synods; constituted the General Assembly; and also adopted the Constitution of the Church with its System of Doctrine, of Ecclesiastical Polity, its Book of Discipline, and its Directory for Worship.

Let us now notice more closely what is comprehended in our Church Constitution.

1. It includes "The System of Doctrine" of the American Presbyterian Church.

In the old records we find various expressions used to denote the Creed of the Church, such as "The Systems of Doctrine," "The System of Doctrines," and "The System of Doctrine." In the Constitution of the Colonial Church there were no questions embodied which were asked of licentiates, or ministers seeking admission to Presbytery, but a general subscription to the Standards was required of ministers; but when the new Constitution of 1788 was adopted a series of questions was introduced, which are required to be asked of all persons entering the ministry—namely: "Do you believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice?" and "Do you sincerely receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this Church, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scripture?" etc.

It is a greatly mistaken notion to suppose that "The System of Doctrine" in the Standards of the American Presbyterian Church is simply a statement of the Five Points of Calvinism as opposed to Arminianism. The Five Points occupy a very small space in the Confession.

You must go back to the days of the Westminster Assembly and consider what "The System of Doctrine" meant at that time. Who constituted the combined forces against which the Assembly lined

up "The System of Doctrine" which they believed to be "taught in the Holy Scriptures?" The attempt made at that time was thoroughly to reform the Church of England, and in particular to make a clear statement to the world of what the members of the Assembly believed the Word of God distinctly taught as against Romanism. They also protested against Deism, Tritheism, Polytheism, Antinomianism, Socinianism, Unitarianism, Arianism, and Pelagianism, as well as against Arminianism.

"The System of Doctrine" starts out by a protest against Deism, which claims that the light of Nature is a sufficient guide to man, and asserts the necessity of a revelation from God. Then "The System of Doctrine" is differentiated from Roman Catholicism by claiming that the Word of God is of itself the only and infallible rule of faith and practice independent of tradition, and it here opposes tradition which had largely supplanted the authority of the divine Word.

The next chapter on the Trinity states our faith in opposition to Polytheism, Unitarianism, and Antitrinitarianism. Further, in the 3d chapter it teaches the doctrine of the divine decrees as against the views of the Arminians. Then, after speaking of Creation, it proclaims a belief in the direct Providence of God over his creation as opposed to Fatalism.

But this is enough to show that "The System of Doctrine" is not simply the Calvinistic system of doctrine as opposed to Arminianism. The Calvinis-

tic system is only a part of the broad, comprehensive system which the Westminster Assembly believed the Word of God explicitly taught as antagonistic to the multiplied forms of error prevalent in that age.

The Westminster Confession of Faith is a Protestant, evangelical system of Christian doctrine formulated by Reformed Calvinistic theologians, which the Presbyterian Church in America has always held to be "an orthodox and excellent system."

The very foundation of this comprehensive system is that the Bible is inspired of God and is the infallible rule of faith and practice for all men as distinguished from the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

Look at the teachings of the Confession of Faith on this fundamental doctrine. The Confession explicitly makes the following declaration:

"Under the name of *Holy Scripture*, or *the Word of God written*, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testaments, which are these": And then it names the entire sixty-six books of the Bible, and adds, "all which are given by inspiration, to be the rule of faith and life."

The Confession then asserts that "the Holy Scripture" . . . "is the Word of God." It proceeds to give the arguments including "the entire perfection thereof," "whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God; yet notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and

divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word to our hearts." It further declares that "The infallible rule of interpretation of scripture is the Scripture itself," and that "The Supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture."

This latter is aimed at all *ex cathedra* utterances of the supreme pontiff and the authority of unreliable tradition, and declares to the world that we are to be guided in all matters of faith and practice by the infallible Word of God as contained in the sixty-six books of the Old and New Testaments, and the American Presbyterian Church has never swerved a hair's-breadth from these declarations of its immortal Constitution.

The Word of God then becomes the divine Charter of the three divine institutions which we have upon earth: the Family, the Church, and the State, and it is the infallible guide for all these institutions.

Starting with this divine Charter, our whole creed is settled by the allwise and loving Sovereignty of God.

Some do not like creeds; but our Church has always thought it fair and honorable to state explic-

itly what it understands the Word of God to teach. Our Creed then is our witness-bearer to the whole world. Indeed, no man can write or preach a sermon without stating in part his creed, and we are bound to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. At the same time our Creed is pre-eminently an irenical document, and we believe the clear, definite statement by the Christian denominations of what they believe, is the very best road to an ultimate agreement of the churches on the fundamental and essential doctrines of our holy religion.

We reject, as if by anticipation, in this old creed the popular new doctrine that we are to be guided by our Christian consciousness. The various creeds of the religious world are a positive demonstration that Christian consciousness is utterly unreliable. Christian consciousness is not law, but the Word of God is infallible law in all matters of faith and practice.

There has always been some liberty allowed in the subscription to our Standards which our Constitution requires, and the right of private judgment has always been recognized.

(1) There is liberty in the Constitution itself about many doctrines. There is nothing said in the Constitution about supra-Lapsarianism or sub-Lapsarianism; nothing about Creationism and Traducianism; no specific theory of inspiration is there formulated; nothing is said about human composition in the

psalmody of the church, or about the use of instrumental music in the worship of God. No positive theory is laid down about the orders and classes in the eldership, although our denomination is expressly called the Presbyterian Church. Some say we have two orders in the eldership: teachers and rulers. Others say there is but one order: the preacher. Others say we have one order with two classes: teachers and rulers, as Calvin, Breckinridge, Miller, etc. Others say presbyters or bishops are of one order and one class, and that they are both teachers and rulers, as Hitchcock and Thompson; and others hold they are all of one order and one class constituting the rulers of the church, as Adger, Hatfield, and Thornwell.

There is also great liberty allowed in regard to following our Directory for Worship.

(2) There is liberty allowed in the subscription itself required by the Form of Government.

The Constitution requires that all ordained officers of the Presbyterian Church shall "Sincerely receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this church, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures."

This subscription includes the adoption of the Larger and Shorter Catechisms as parts of "The System of Doctrine" of the Presbyterian Church as "an orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine."

This is not an *ipsissima verba* subscription, nor a "substance of doctrine" subscription, but "The System of Doctrine," the Protestant, Calvinistic system of Christian doctrine subscription.

Private church members are not required to make this subscription, but all ordained officers are required to make it. A man of his own free will accepts this system of doctrine and adopts it, or he does not adopt it at all. Therefore, it is no hardship to a man to make this subscription. Men, in becoming members of a civil government, surrender certain natural rights for the benefit to be derived from the compact of government, and they are required to be subject to the laws of the government they thus enter. So men who join the Presbyterian Church become subject to the laws of the Church, and if they find after entering this organization that they can no longer believe and preach its doctrines, what then? From the very earliest days of our American Church a minister was required to state his scruples to his Presbytery, and the Presbytery was to decide whether his scruples were about "articles and points of doctrine" that were regarded "essential" to the gospel as we understand the teachings of the Word of God, and if a minister could not agree with his brethren of the Presbytery in the Colonial Church, he was required peaceably to withdraw from the body. This was the law of the Church, and it was largely drawn from the custom of the Reformed Dutch Church, for

the language, "articles and points of doctrine" here used, is taken from the Constitution of that Church.

In that Constitution, edition of 1793, we find that a candidate for the ministry before his admission had to subscribe to a most solemn promise, part of which reads as follows:

"We heartily believe and are persuaded that all the articles and points of doctrine, etc., do fully agree with the Word of God." "And if hereafter any difficulties, or different sentiments respecting the aforesaid doctrine should arise in our minds, we promise that we will neither publicly nor privately propose, teach, or defend the same, either by preaching or writing, until we have first revealed such sentiments to the consistory, classis, and Synod, that the same may be examined; being ready always cheerfully to submit to the judgment of the consistory, classis, or Synod, under the penalty, in case of refusal, to be *ipso facto* suspended from the office."

The law of our Church was more liberal, and only required a man to peaceably withdraw from the denomination if he could not agree with its doctrines. It did not suspend him from his ministerial office.

The Adopting Act of 1729 prohibited any Presbytery from receiving any minister or any candidate for the ministry "but what declared his agreement in opinion with all the essential and necessary articles of said Confession and Catechisms;" and if any one had any scruples about any article he was bound

to declare them to the Presbytery, and the Presbytery would determine whether the article was or was "not essential and necessary, in doctrine, worship, or government."

(3) There has been liberty allowed in the practice of the Church.

In the discussion which accompanied the effort to revise the Confession of Faith a few years ago, there were many divergent views expressed in regard to preterition, and the subject of elect infants, the pope as Anti-Christ, etc., but no trial for heresy arose out of those discussions. The New and Old School branches of the Church differed in their interpretation of our Standards, but they separated more on questions of Church methods, as did the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in earlier days, than upon questions of doctrine; and in the Reunion in both cases the bodies came together upon the Standards pure and simple. If the churches North and South are ever united, it will be upon the simple basis of our common Standards.

When the Constitution of 1788 was adopted the Presbyterian Church eliminated from the Confession of Faith every trace of Erastianism, and declared itself unequivocally in favor of civil and religious liberty. When the great struggle for liberty came the old Calvinistic Colonists declared that "God alone is Lord of the conscience," and their belief in the sovereignty of God made them fearless unto death in

demanding for themselves and others the liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. They demanded a complete severance between Church and State. The Synod of New York and Philadelphia was the first organic body of men to declare in favor of open resistance to the oppressive power of Great Britain. When the war raged and Washington was once compelled to retreat and he was asked where he would make his last stand, "He replied," says Prof. Mears, "that, if he were obliged to cross every river and mountain to the limits of civilization he would make his last stand with the Scotch-Irishmen of the frontiers, there plant his banner, and still fight for freedom." Bancroft says, "A coward and a Puritan never went together," and Froude says, "Calvinism, in one or other of its many forms, has borne ever an inflexible front to illusion and mendacity, and has preferred to be ground to powder like flint, rather than bend before violence, or melt under enervating temptation." It is not surprising, therefore, that Washington put such implicit confidence in the courage and heroism of the Presbyterians who composed the largest part of his unconquerable army. When Calvinists undertake a revolution, they seize hold of it with a grand grip, and they never let go until they have carried it through all the convulsions of war to a glorious success.

No wonder Presbyterians are proud of the bright

banner that floats in beauty over this broad land of freedom. A member of the Continental Congress said that the blue in our banner was taken from the blue banner of the Old Covenanters, and it has to us, therefore, a precious and peculiar significance.

Let me here express in rhyme the thought that burns within my soul:

Flag of freedom, flag of blessing,
  Flag of splendor, floating high,
Best of banners, boon of heaven,
  Gem of all beneath the sky!
Flag of beauty, flag of duty,
  Banner of the rights of man,
In the march of mighty nations
  Thou dost ever lead the van.

Flag of brave men, dearly paid for,
  How we love thy Stripes and Stars!
Thou didst guide our dauntless heroes
  Through our long and bloody wars.
Flag of grandeur, flag of brightness,
  Glowing o'er the land and sea,
Shine forever in thy glory
  O'er the brave and o'er the free.

2. The Constitution of our Church includes a definite, specific ecclesiastical polity.

As the sovereignty of God settles our creed, so it settles our polity. As the Westminster Assembly, composed as it was largely of members of the Church of England, determined to have nothing in their work which could not be substantiated by the Word

of God, it could not but reach the conclusion that the Presbyterian Form of Government was revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

Before the days of Laud the Church of England received without reordination Presbyterian ministers from all the Reformed Churches of Europe. The ever-to-be-despised prelate, however, could not devise means cruel enough to drive Presbyterians from the face of the earth, but he did drive thousands of them from the face of England, only to establish the strongest and best government on the surface of the globe, where all men may enjoy the fullest and the sweetest liberty noble souls ever enjoy—the liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own enlightened consciences.

3. The Constitution includes a complete System of Discipline. There was no Book of Discipline adopted by the Westminster Assembly. The Synod of 1788 made a little book of only seven pages, which it called "Forms of Process." This has since been greatly enlarged under the title, "Book of Discipline."

Discipline is intended to safe-guard the Church and the religious lives of its individual members. Sometimes it is said our Calvinistic theology has a tendency to make men indifferent as to the lives they live, but there never was a graver blunder. Dr. Chalmers said, "Wherever there has been most Calvinism, men have been most moral;" and Froude

says, "The practical effect of a belief is the real test of its soundness."

Look at the fruits of the Calvinistic system and you will discover that its doctrinal belief and its disciplinary government have had a most happy effect upon the lives of its adherents. The sovereignty of God settles the discipline of the Church and governs the lives of its members, for God is the Lord of the conscience.

4. The Constitution includes a Directory for Worship. The Westminster Assembly could not make a Prayer Book that would suit both the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, and the members compromised on the Directory for Worship. Here, too, the sovereignty of God ruled their pronunciamento, and they would require nothing of men's consciences which was not positively required by the Great Charter of their authority, the infallible Word of God.

Here, then, we have our ecclesiastical Constitution adopted by the General Synod the same year our National Constitution was adopted by the United States.

The American Presbyterian Church under its Constitution of 1788, which has from time to time been modified and amended, has had a most successful career. Sometimes the question is asked, Is our Presbyterian Church adapted to the conversion of the world? Look at its complete organization, with

its "orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine," its representative government, its admirable discipline, and its simple and dignified mode of worship, and what can be added to its Constitution to make it better adapted to the great purposes of spreading the gospel to the uttermost bounds of the world?

The American Presbyterian Church is an orthodox Church, holding only such doctrines as are clearly taught in the Word of God. It is an evangelical Church, holding the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible to be "the very Word of God," the only and infallible rule of faith and practice.

We hear the cry on every hand to-day, "Back to Christ! Back to Christ!" What does it mean? How do you get "back to Christ" but through the gateway of the inspired Word and the guiding Spirit of the living God? To get back to him we must get back to his very words as they have been written by his inspired apostles, study his ethical teachings, drink in of his spirit, meditate upon his matchless model of manhood, and be aroused to the grandeur of his atoning sacrifice for sin. Then in his name, by his authority, in his place, by his help, by love to him, by hope in him, and for his glory, preach and teach the everlasting gospel by word and by life; becoming living epistles of his sovereign grace known and read of all men.

Our Church, it may here be appropriately said, has always placed great value upon catechetical instruction. The early Church spread the truths of salvation very largely through catechetical instruction, and the Roman empire was Christianized in three centuries by this method. The Reformers, Luther, Knox, Zwingle, Cranmer, Ridley, the old Waldensian church, exalted this mode of instruction, and the Westminster Assembly spent five years in preparing the Catechisms, and woe be the day to the Presbyterian Church when she ceases to teach the children of the covenant the great fundamental doctrines on which she has built her splendid ecclesiastical structure. Next to the Bible the world can spare any other book better than the Shorter Catechism.

Again the American Presbyterian Church is a magnanimous Church. Our form of government and our system of doctrine both tend to develop an unflinching independence of character and an ardent love of religious liberty, and whilst our idea of the sovereignty of God and his lordship over men's consciences compels us to demand liberty of conscience for ourselves, it also compels us to demand equal rights and privileges for all mankind.

The American Presbyterian Church is also a benevolent Church, and it is doing more for the world's evangelization than all other churches in the United States. It is further a progressive Church, immov-

ably determined to conquer the world for King Jesus. Archbishop Hughes says of our General Assembly: "It acts on the principle of a radiating centre, and is without equal or rival among the other denominations of the country;" and we may add that the General Assembly is to-day the greatest missionary organization upon the face of the globe.

Again, with a creed and polity adapted to the conversion of the world to Christ, and to the consolidation of the churches of the world in one grand representative organism, our Church is bent on the gathering of all the friends of Christ into a glorious Solidarity—the Kingdom of God—embracing all the true followers of the King of kings; for it believes that this consummated fact and this unparalleled glory of the Church of Christ are foreordained of God, and that his plan shall not be frustrated by the powers of darkness.

We do not stand in idleness or despair by the grave of the past glory of the Kingdom. Nearly 10,000,000 of people to-day receive and adopt the Westminster Standards, and with optimistic hopes they move forward on their world-wide mission.

When Adoniram Judson was asked what are the prospects for foreign missions, his reply was given in words that ring like silver chimes:

"BRIGHT AS THE PROMISES OF GOD!"

The world is open for the sacramental host of God to move forward in solid and unflinching columns to

take possession of the nations; and we are moving onward with cheerful hopefulness, believing that it has been foreordained that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our glorious Lord and his all-conquering Christ.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND THE PEOPLE.

BY

GEN. JAMES A. BEAVER,

EX-GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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FELLOW PRESBYTERIANS:

As I look into your patient faces on this great field day of ecclesiastical oratory, I am reminded, and take courage from the fact, that the climax of Presbyterian graces, as summed up in "the benefits which in this life do either accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification" is "perseverance therein to the end."

We have a great history. It has been presented to us in a magnificent setting. How our hearts burned within us as we heard of the dangers met, of the deeds done, and of the duties performed by the goodly ancestors from whom we have received the rich heritage we now enjoy!

As you have been informed by the programme, the themes of the day are not all or at least not entirely historical. The lessons which we have learned will have practical value only as they strengthen us for

the discharge of our own duty. Mine is the privilege of attempting to throw the searchlight of past experience across the pathway of the present and into the immediate future. I am to deal with two generic and comprehensive terms. They have special meaning as applied to each other, and are to be interpreted in the light of history, and especially of the history of which we have heard to-day. The development of the historical meaning and the delineation of the historical setting of either of these terms would more than exhaust the time allotted to this address. What we have already heard must suffice, and is all-sufficient in these respects. Let my words be plain, practical, and, as far as possible, pointed.

The Committee of Arrangements has asked me to speak upon "The Presbyterian Churches and the People." Who are the people? Viewed from the standpoint of history, those who stood for the rights and the interests of the people have constituted a small minority of the mass of mankind. When James I. of England, with the knowledge and experience of Scottish character and the inevitable tendency of Scottish Presbyterianism, made the emphatic declaration, "No bishop, no king," he announced a fundamental truth essential alike to monarchy and hierarchy. They are interdependent and mutually supporting. In all the long, strange story of liberty, written in the blood of the people during the centuries which are behind us, emperors and popes,

cardinals and kings, lords and bishops have seldom been of, and more seldom for, the people. Monarchy and hierarchy alike have not only been opposed to, but have combined to oppose the fundamental idea of representative popular government, in which the interests of the people should rise superior to those of the class. Now and again, as when the lords and barons of England exacted from King John, Magna Charta, or the Duke of Argyle and the lords of Scotland joined in the Solemn League and Covenant, class privileges have been held subservient to popular rights, but these have been exceptions which only emphasized the rule. Equally true is it that wealth, which through the ages has been for the most part concentrated in the hands of the church and of the so-called privileged classes, has not yet been on the side of the people nor used in their interests. And what is true of the past is equally true of the present. The devotees of fashion, frivolity, and pleasure, incapable alike of serious thought or earnest effort, intent only upon self-indulgence and self-seeking, have not been in the past and are not now upon the side of the people. At the other extreme, ignorance and folly, penury and pauperism, vice and crime have been equally the bitter and malignant foes of the people, and have repressed and retarded the development of popular government, which in our day is reaching its full and final consummation.

Throughout the ages the men who do and dare, who sacrifice and suffer, who espouse a great cause and die for it, are to be found between the extremes of organized society, among the so-called middle classes, —what Mr. Lincoln called the common people,— among the men who think first and strike afterward, who act not from impulse but from principle, and who are willing to follow principle to its legitimate conclusions. These, as a rule, are the sifted men who constitute the real people of every age, by whom the battles of the people have been fought, and through whom the sovereignty of the people has been established and maintained. This it is necessary to keep in mind in considering the theme which now demands our attention.

What is Presbyterianism? What the essentials in which it is grounded, and upon which its superstructure of doctrine, government, and worship has been established?

As to doctrine. Believing in the absolute sovereignty of God, it is ready to accept the legitimate consequences of that belief, whether they can be measured and understood by the finite mind or not. Acknowledging the divine Christ as the Head of his Church in the world, it accepts him as its infallible teacher, as its all-sufficient atonement, and as its king and ruler. It can, therefore, in the nature of things, have no other infallible teacher, has no place for a priest to come between it and him who offered him-

self as a sacrifice for the sins of the world, and owns allegiance to no other ruler in spiritual things. It deplores man's lost estate and "the sin and misery into which the fall brought mankind," but rejoices in the estate of salvation into which he is brought by the only Redeemer of God's elect. It magnifies the work of the Holy Spirit. Although some have criticised its Standards, because of the lack of sufficient description and emphasis of his personality, it, nevertheless, recognizes his all-sufficient power in moving upon the hearts of men, in convincing them of their sin and misery, in renewing their wills, and in persuading and enabling them to embrace Jesus Christ as he is freely offered to them in the gospel. His is the power which is recognized by it as accompanying the word which he has inspired, when read and preached.

It accepts and insists upon the acceptance of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only infallible rule of faith and practice. It accepts the moral law, "as summarily comprehended in the Ten Commandments," as binding upon the conscience and the life, and emphasizes both their letter and their spirit as interpreted and taught by the divine Teacher. These and other doctrines which need not now be enumerated constitute its system of doctrine. You may call it Pauline, or Augustinian, or Calvinistic. It is all of these and more. You may name it for Knox, or Edwards, or Hodge—for any one or

for all three—and it will be true to name. If true, this system of doctrine becomes no more true, because expounded or enlarged upon or believed in by any number of the learned and godly men who have believed in it and died in the faith which it teaches. It is to be accepted and maintained and taught and lived, not because of its name, or because of the men who have believed in it and rejoiced in teaching it, but because it is essentially scriptural, and embodies in itself the unadulterated and infallible truth.

As to government. It is, as we believe, simply scriptural. When the multitude of the disciples, under the direction of the apostles, chose Stephen and his compeers as their representatives to administer the temporalities of the Church, in order that the apostles might give themselves "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word," they established both a precedent and a practice which is at once the germ of and the authority for the representative government of the Presbyterian Church. This fundamental idea of elected representatives, and as a logical sequence, responsible representation, underlies the entire system of Presbyterianism which dominates not only our church government but has been imparted, largely through the influence of those who were Presbyterians, to our civil government as well.

As to the order of its worship. Protesting against ritualistic mummery, it may for the time have swung to the opposite extreme, but in its provisions for the

service of praise and of prayer, for the reading and the preaching of the Word, and for the service of God by offerings, it denies nothing which is enjoined by Scripture, and offers to all men everywhere, in the language most familiar to them, an order of worship which in its practical effect will best meet the needs of the worshipper, and tend by the influence of the Holy Spirit to build him "up in holiness and comfort, through faith, unto salvation."

It will be seen from this short review of its fundamental character, especially as to church government, what the people have done for Presbyterianism. It will also be seen, upon very slight reflection, that the relations between the people and Presbyterianism are reciprocal. If the people, as the outcome of a long and bloody contest, secured a representative government, it must be confessed that the Presbyterian Church has not only been true to its scriptural doctrinal standards, but has endeavored to teach the people the essential truths of representative government for the Church, and, as the outcome thereof and incidental thereto, of a free, representative government for all mankind. It would be interesting to enlarge upon this statement and to give the proofs thereof, particularly as they relate to the organization and adoption of constitutional, representative government in our own country, but time fails me, for we must consider, as the more important and practical part of this address:—

The obligations which grow out of the relations between the Presbyterian Churches and the people. If the Presbyterian Church in doctrine, in government, and in order, has divine authority for what it believes and teaches, it rests and must of necessity rest upon an infallible Word, and this Word must be maintained in its integrity. Multitudes of men and women profoundly believe that the word of God which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments is divinely inspired, and is the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the man who undertakes designedly to undermine or in thoughtless ignorance attempts to destroy that faith, is an enemy of his kind, and the Church which permits it to be done or aids and abets in his doing so, is no longer worthy the confidence and respect of its constituency. It should, as it undoubtedly will, be left to the ways of its own devising and be driven to wander in the barren wastes of its utter faithlessness. It is barely possible for a man, by much study, to make himself so mad as to believe that two and two make five. Granted that it is possible for him to believe in this absurdity, yet when he comes to preach it to the common, hard-headed, thinking Presbyterians who know that two and two make four, he will find himself bereft of a following, and the Church which permits it will find itself, as it ought, destitute of a constituency. If the Presbyterian Churches are mindful of their obligations to the people, they will

be true to that system of sound doctrine formulated and promulgated by the learned Assembly of which we have heard so much to-day, and which in its essentials finds expression in that logical and matchless compendium which we call the Shorter Catechism.

Just here we may well consider whether it may not be necessary for the Presbyterian Churches to go backward before they can go forward. May it not be well to retrace our steps and pick up some of the strong threads of the warp of Presbyterianism which have been dropped, and weave upon them that strong web of faith and duty which serves alike as a sure repose from the disquiet within, and as a defence from the elements of doubt and discord from without. I mean by this that it will not do to rely upon the Sabbath-School, the Christian Endeavor Society, or any other agency to take the place of the old and time-honored custom of family instruction in the standards of the Church. If we could restore the old-fashioned family instruction in the Shorter Catechism, which led in many families to what is known as "the passing of the question"—that is, giving the answer to the question previously asked and asking the next question in order, in the Catechism, without book and without reminder, we might dismiss all apprehension as to the effect of the rather ancient and flat, if not exploded, theories of German rationalism and doubt which are being re-hashed and dealt out to us, under the guise of modern learning and

research. More systematic training of the young in the fundamentals of Presbyterianism will mean less of theological vagaries in the old.

If the Presbyterian Church be true to itself and to the people whom it represents, it must keep "pure and entire all such religious worship and ordinances as God hath appointed in his word, expressly one whole day in seven to be a holy Sabbath to himself." It is necessary to have not only an order of worship, but a time for worship, and, whilst we may be busied not unwisely about responsive readings and other means of popularizing the worship of God in the sanctuary, let us remember, as a truth to be practised in our own living and to be taught from the pulpit and the teacher's chair, in church, in Sabbath-School, and in the home, that "the Sabbath is to be sanctified by a holy resting all that day, even from such worldly employments and recreations as are lawful on other days, and spending the whole time in the public and private exercises of God's worship, except so much as is to be taken up in the works of necessity and mercy." This is very old-fashioned doctrine. It smacks, to those of you who recognize it, of the Westminster Assembly; but, if there is anything which the churches of to-day, Presbyterian as well as those of other names, need to have reiterated and emphasized, it is this old-fashioned truth in regard to the observance of the Sabbath.

It is hardly necessary to say, and yet this is not an altogether inopportune time to say it, that the Presbyterian Church owes it to the people to maintain in its integrity and to be unswervingly true to its representative system of government. This, being interpreted, means that the representatives of the people must govern. I am not one of those who apprehend great danger from the growth and increasing influence of our so-called church institutions, but it is nevertheless true that institutions, as individuals, are like Jeshurun; when they wax fat, they kick. Our representative government is so organized theoretically and so administered in practice, that we have little to fear from this source, if the Church's representatives are true to themselves and their constituents. The remedy for supposed evils in this direction is in the hands of the people, and, at the very first intimation of centralization or dictation, it is the duty of the representatives of the people to demand of the servants of the Church absolute and unconditional subservieney to their will.

I have no desire to trench upon the subjects of those who are to come after me, but the presentation of the obligations of the Presbyterian Church to the people would be manifestly incomplete without at least a reference to the subject of education. Our Church for many years led in the facilities which it afforded for higher education. It has lost first place in this respect and now occupies third or fourth place.

If Presbyterianism is to be true to itself as well as faithful to its constituency, it must bring a liberal education within the reach of all who desire to secure such an education. More than that, it must carry education, as it carries the gospel, to the masses. It is true now, as it has always been, that the presence of the facilities for securing begets the desire to secure a liberal education. Log colleges such as were planted by the Tennents in eastern Pennsylvania and by MacMillan in western Pennsylvania, are not to be duplicated or multiplied as such, but what they were in their day, to their generation, must be established in our day, for our generation, in every locality where there is a constituency which can support, or which is likely to be able to support such an institution. The small college not only brings education within the reach of many who would otherwise be deprived of the opportunity to secure it, but in the judgment of very many educators and practical men, it does more for the development of manly men, and for fitting its students for the practical work of this practical age, than the so-called great university. I make no plea for the university. It can take care of itself. If the Presbyterian Church believes in itself and in what it teaches, it must educate its own sons and daughters in the future, as in the past, in its own institutions of learning, planted in the immediate neighborhood of those who are to be educated. My plea, therefore, is for the establishment of the small college, wherever

there may be reasonable assurance of support, through the agency of the youngest of our Boards, the importance of whose work and the efficient and conservative character of what has been already accomplished, being apparently but little known and appreciated by the Church at large. The means for the prosecution of its work should be multiplied immediately, at least tenfold.

I may not speak of missions after what has been said in this Assembly and what is to be said this evening from this platform. It would seem as if the Presbyterian Church was taking a new grasp of the subject and was to carry forward its work both at home and abroad with more of energy and efficiency than ever before. This must be so if Presbyterianism is to maintain itself as an aggressive force in doing its share in Christianizing the world. Through our missionary agencies the Church is to come into close and intimate touch with the masses of the people to whom it has a God-given mission. Through our home missionaries especially we are to come into touch with and train the conservative forces in the newer parts of our country which under God are to preserve to the nation, as an example to the world, the free representative government for which the Presbyterian Church so conspicuously stands.

Time fails me to speak of the duty of our churches of the Presbyterian faith to the exceptional populations, which have grown up in our midst and are

thrust upon us from without; of the agencies which have been established by the wisdom of the Church in the past for reaching some of these exceptional races and peoples to whom we undoubtedly have a mission and for whom we are responsible; of those other beneficent agencies whose province it is to found Sabbath-schools and supervise the teaching of our young people therein; which help to build churches and manses in new and destitute places; which assist in the education of young men for the ministry; and which care all too insufficiently for those faithful servants of the Church who have borne the burden and heat of the day, and for the dependent ones of those who have laid down their lives in its service for the help of mankind. These agencies, established by the wisdom of the Church and maintained by its beneficence, afford the means through which we as Christians are to bear "one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ," and thus, by the sacrifice of self and through the joy of service, to provide for our own "spiritual nourishment and growth in grace."

In this connection need it be said—alas! that it should be necessary to be said—the Church owes it to its own membership to cultivate and stimulate by all the means within its power the grace of systematic giving. If Christian giving be a Christian grace, and if the manner of its exercise is taught in the Scriptures, it is clearly the duty of the Church to

make it the subject of study in our theological schools and of regular instruction from our pulpits. The great majority of the teaching elders of the Presbyterian Church, either do not believe that Christian giving is a Christian grace or do not teach what they believe. Our beneficent agencies languish and lack funds, not because our people lack interest in them or fail to respond to the proper presentation of their claims, but because, as a Church, we are slip-shod and faithless in our teachings generally, as to the fundamental question which was the subject of the exhortation of the apostle Paul to the Corinthian Church, when he said: "See that ye abound in this grace also." If the treasuries of our beneficent agencies are to be kept filled to the point of their needs, and are to be ready to meet the increasing demands which are made upon our distinctively missionary agencies, so admirably adapted in design and execution for the work which they have to do, it will only be when there is a general awakening in the Church to the necessity for systematic teaching in regard to systematic giving, and when the wise and helpful provisions of Chapter VI. of our present Directory of Worship, are put into active operation and cease to be practically a dead letter in our standards.

I would be untrue to the promptings of my heart did I not make allusion to the flag of our country which is displayed in such profusion all about me. Its presence is profoundly significant at this time.

The men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray a generation ago, are marching shoulder to shoulder beneath its folds in a common effort to repress cruelty, injustice, and wrong, and to bring the uplift of hope and freedom to an oppressed people. In this we cannot but rejoice, yea, and do rejoice. Miles and Lee, Brooke and Wheeler, and those whom they represent, march together in a common cause, beneath the Stars and Stripes! But where are the divided hosts of Presbyterianism? Shall they gather again under its blue banner, surmounted by the blood-stained banner of the Cross? Oh, for the time when our brethren of the South and we of the North may see eye to eye, and join in the discharge of the obligations which are common to us all! Is it possible that love of country is a more potent influence than the love of Christ in bringing men together in a common service, and in making of one heart and of one mind those who were erstwhile alienated and estranged? It would seem to be so. Shall it continue so to be? We may not be able by direct effort to change present conditions, but we may be ready to respond instantly and lovingly to any intimation from any source that it is desirable and becoming "for brethren to dwell together in unity." We may be devoutly solicitous that the Holy Spirit by his presence in all hearts may hasten the time when all branches of the Church of like faith and order may unite, under one denominational banner, in waging

the aggressive warfare which is to evangelize the nations and prepare the world for the universal reign of the Prince of Peace.

Fathers and brethren, the quarter millenium behind us is history. We can do little more than recount it and profit by its lessons. The quarter millenium before us is to us scarcely a prophecy. It has possibilities. Are we awake to them? It has obligations. Are we equal to them? In the little portion of it allotted to us, we are to make history. How shall those who come after us write it? God pays his tribute of respect to us, as the crown of his creation, by trying us, by testing us, by placing responsibility upon us. Shall history write of us, in the administration of the great trust which has been committed to our keeping, what we have this day written of the fathers—faithful, true, tried and not found wanting?

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND EDUCATION.

BY

GEN. JOHN EATON, LL. D.,
EX-U. S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

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THE celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Westminster Assembly may well include the consideration of the Presbyterian Churches and Education; for

First, education prepared the members of the Assembly for the formulation of their remarkable utterances; second, Presbyterian Churches have existed since, by reason of the education of their members in these truths.

We can neither pause to dwell on the scope intended in the use of the term Presbyterian Churches, nor to discuss the definition of Education. Only so much of the opinions or character of any present generation can continue in the future as may be conveyed by education. Presbyterian Churches are such only by reason of their distinctive belief and conduct; the only means of their perpetuity is education; they must educate or perish; they must preserve their

purity and soundness by education or become corrupted and change their character; they must prepossess mind by right education or it may be given such a twist by error that the truth cannot reach the soul through which the Holy Spirit operates for conversion and sanctification.

The felicitous phrase used by George Peabody, "Education, a debt due from present to future generations," which he so far repaid in the gift of his millions, for Presbyterian Churches must mean more than the gift of wealth—must mean all they can accomplish by the gift of wealth, by prayers and worship, by preaching and teaching, and by the force of example in educating future generations in their beliefs and form of worship. This power of education is incomparably the greatest in youth: "As the twig is bent, the tree is inclined." Then habits, a second nature, are formed; then man is impressible as clay, but after he has passed through the heat of experience, change is difficult, as pottery can only be changed by breaking. Indeed, education is the greatest power intrusted to man. By it he masters himself and shapes the characters of his fellows, and gains the science and skill by which he, for his use and purposes, increases the beauty of flowers, improves the fruit of the trees, controls animals, fills valleys and removes mountains, invokes the power of chemical affinity and of steam, commands the lightning, and transforms the rudeness of nature to

his comfort and pleasure. God alone creates, but education, next in power to creation, God shares with man, and imposes upon him the duty of performing his part. In discharging his responsibility, man opposes a plan of his own to that of God. In man's plan, he seeks his own end; God's plan is complete, man's imperfect or partial; God's plan requires the surrender of the human will; to this man objects. Doing his best unaided, man is conscious of two discouraging facts: the one that he comes short of realizing his own best thought, and the other, that for his wrong-doing sacrifice is needed, and his reason does not disclose how that required sacrifice is provided.

Never before has so much attention been given to education as now. Assyria and Babylon preserve in their ruins some indication of their systems. Egypt tells of its culture by its pyramids and the winding sheets of its dead; Greece reveals its excellence in art, and Rome in law. Their religion was the central thought and force in their teaching, but there was nothing of the true God and the Messiah. Even in Rome, the husband and father exercised a cruel supremacy over the wife and child to the taking of life; the defective child might be thrown out as social waste. We hear much of the ideal philosophy of Plato and the Socratic method of questioning. Aristotle, to whom modern education is so greatly indebted, gave morals a subordinate place in his

ethics and treated woman as dwarfed man. To-day, by the influence of Christian teaching, it is seen that all are susceptible of education, and if a cause is to be carried, a submerged class or a degraded race to be elevated, or a nation to be born in a day, education is invoked. So greatly has its force recently multiplied that 1870 is said to mark a new epoch. Vast sums of money are expended for it, and its literature has increased without parallel. But no human treatise on education equals the Bible; all there is of merit elsewhere is contained in it; all principles and methods must be tested by it. All who would elevate mankind emphasize high aims; "Excelsior" is their motto. Much is made of Emerson's advice—"Hitch your wagon to a star." But the Scriptures bid us aim above all stars, and take hold on the throne of God. In physical education, man's body is to become the temple of the living God, his intellect is to think the thoughts of God, and his spirit to awake in the divine likeness. No race presents such an illustration of the power of education as the Hebrew, which amid whatever environment, civil or religious, to this day preserves its distinct characteristics; the covenants made with them by the Almighty included posterity; the consecration of the child was to be marked by a special sign, and his inquiries in regard to observances and symbols were to be answered whether at home or by the way. But this careful nurture was so perverted

that when the Messiah, foretold by their prophets and emphasized by the instruction in their home and church, came among them and gave unmistakable signs of his presence, they knew him not. The obligations imposed on man by the divine law, either in the training of the child or otherwise, were not so much the acquisition of science, or wealth, or station, as conduct, conduct as piety toward God and duty to man; the training of man's moral and spiritual nature was to be supreme. The revelations and the symbols used for the training of the infant race are marvellously adapted to the instruction of the infant mind. The coming of our Lord was to light every man; form was nothing without the spirit. He taught as never man taught; the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man were revealed as never before; above the precepts of all teachers he declared, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." There was to be no mediator between God and man save the Son, Jesus Christ. The prophetic symbols and promises were fulfilled; the Lamb was in verity slain, the innocent for the guilty; thus the way of pardon was opened; by faith in him the sense of unforgiven sins could be removed; and no man, woman, or child in the two thousand years since who has sought offered pardon has failed of relief. Infinite aid was offered to make the effort of every one effectual; faithful endeavor, however short-coming, was assured of final triumph. The

doctrine of immortality was brought to light, and the ground of man's faith in it made clear by Christ's resurrection and ascension. His offer of salvation was made to all without distinction of sex, or age, or other conditions.

The scientific agnostic, when he has exhausted his assignment of the elements of human nature to the category of industry and to the category of his self-protection and the like, finds a residuum looking to worship, and has begun to assign these elements which he finds universal in man's nature to the category of religion, and when he has done this he must, to give man a complete education—that is, to make the most of him—and to be consistent, provide for the training of these elements or for religious education.

When the Educational Commission connected with the Japanese Embassy-extraordinary to our country was puzzled by the part they saw women taking as teachers and pupils in our schools, apparently no explanation received by them was so satisfactory as the statement that according to our religion the provision of salvation was through an atoning Saviour, the same for man and woman. He died for her as well as for man; her soul in his sight was equal to that of man, and, therefore, opportunity for preparation was required by her as well as by man. The institutions which the old dispensation had indicated were founded in man's nature and the divine order; the family and the State were sanctified anew. Thirty

of the thirty-three years of Christ's short life were given in faithful service to his father and mother that he might teach the importance of the family. The child he took in his arms and blessed, and he rebuked the conceit of those older by declaring that they must become as little children in their humility, confidence, and teachableness. He taught the duty of obedience to civil law even when perverted; he wrought a miracle to pay tribute to the wicked Cæsar. In obedience to his command, his followers went forth to educate the world in his doctrine by voice and pen, and the witness of effectual aid was given by Pentecostal outpouring of the spirit. The new testament of his grace was closed with the inspired words of his disciples. The canon of the Scriptures was completed. The ups and downs of education during the epoch of the gospel and the epoch of the Reformation would be found related as cause to effect in the rise and fall of empires.

Presbyterian conceptions of God and man are so adapted to human development and so require it that, when in these historic periods they approach nearest to supremacy in their direction of human thought, there is to be found, as a legitimate result in their direction of man's training, the best education whether a man is considered individually or socially. The assumption of worldly power by the bishops of Rome and Constantinople covered a multitude of sins, and by their compromises with paganism intro-

duced many of the worst evils of pagan education into the instruction given under their authority. Teachers of a pure gospel depended upon their personal influence; the schools of the early fathers culminated in the instruction at Alexandria; of the four great fathers of the Latin Church, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory, each has exerted a great educative influence down to our time, but none of them a greater in his day or since than Augustine, whose views in regard to fundamental doctrines so nearly agree with those of the Presbyterian Churches. For a long period the trivium and quadrivium reigned supreme in higher courses of study.

The school of the castle arose over against the monastery; great teachers appeared, and under their influence, universities sprang into existence and began to exert a power of their own upon the course of instruction; the fall of Constantinople sent the teachers of Greek philosophy throughout Europe; and the Renaissance, glorified by the poetry of Dante and the art of Michael Angelo and Raphael, brought in the Reformation of Luther, a synonym for education, in which appear Melancthon and Erasmus and others —a splendid galaxy of names. The Roman Catholic Church responded to the influences of the Reformation with the schools of the Jesuits, which Pascal declared, "taught that the end justifies the means." Within the Roman Catholic Church, the brothers of Port Royal made a splendid attempt to purify the

faith and practice of the church. Fenelon was a type of their teachers. The Burger Schools did an important work.

Knox, in Scotland through the Kirk, organized a system of education which has kept Scotland in the front to this day. In the Netherlands, all the people were reading the Bible in the vernacular six years before Luther's translation was completed; Calvin, in addition to working out his great system of doctrines, was a teacher, and organized education in Geneva. So far as his doctrines were accepted, the churches favored education. For four centuries before the Westminster Assembly, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge admitted to their privileges all Englishmen save Dissenters. Every appearance of the Bible in connection with instruction was a sign of human purification and elevation. Its translation by Wycliffe, Coverdale, and Luther began to pervade the philosophies accepted in the schools, and the principles of conduct in common life. In teaching its doctrine of man and God, martyrs multiplied.

Out of the education thus afforded, profoundly studying the struggle of man with the evils of sin, the members of the Westminster Assembly came to their great task, and were enabled to set aside the false ideas and practices—the subterfuges regarding man and the superstitions regarding God—and in treating these great fundamental facts came back from all the wanderings of human deceit and speculation to

the simplicity of the truth, and solemnly declared, "The Word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy Him." From these Scriptures they are enabled to affirm that "Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him forever;" thus in the simplest terms to embody this great truth which no human philosophy has been able to invalidate in its study of man's destiny. All worship but that of the one living and true God is swept away. Man's triumphant attainment in righteousness is not found in any self-perfectability, as announced by Rousseau; but "Effectual calling is the work of God's Spirit; whereby, convincing us of our sin and misery, enlightening our minds in the knowledge of Christ, and renewing our wills, He doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ, freely offered to us in the Gospel." The door is opened to infinite possibilities; man's fear of a way closed by sin and of his own failure of accomplishment are both overcome; he is taught by the Spirit and led by it to the use of his powers for new and holy ends; nothing which he can do for himself is done for him. We can see how these doctrines in their application to all human activities include what is described by the term "education," and where in the exercise of human responsibility there is room for differences of opinion.

We should never forget that the Westminster As-

sembly did its work during four years of the troubled period of the Long Parliament; royalty going to the gallows and manhood coming to sovereignty. Should we look in upon the Assembly, we should recognize the influence of the Presbyterian demand for a learned and godly ministry, and that the form of Presbyterian Church government had favored their selection in the preparation of so many of its members for their duties. Perchance, we look in when the Committee on the Catechism reported to the Committee of the Whole that they failed to agree upon a satisfactory answer to the question—"What is God?" and Gillespie, the youngest member, is called upon to lead in prayer for the special aid of the Divine Spirit, and when he began with the words, "O God, who art a Spirit, infinite, eternal and unchangeable in thy being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth," the body already began to feel that the desired answer was sent. We should be convinced that the great Assembly had been taught in the Scriptures and had learned the doctrine of prayer, and enjoyed the spiritual benefit of its constant observance. Thus they were enabled to embody in human expression this Bible view of the processes of salvation—pre-eminently educational. Shortly, the reaction began in England, and Presbyterians to the number of one hundred and forty were expelled from Parliament, and England waited two centuries for her great educational revival.

Comenius, the great Moravian Bishop, lifted up a marvellous light, which for a time illumined the principles and methods of education which he would adapt to the several periods of man's growth. He would use the object or the picture in connection with the word, and thus lead the thought through the senses up to abstract reasoning; he would educate every boy and girl and thus prepare for a Church united and universal, and for nations fit for responsibility in secular affairs; he would have brought education back to biblical methods; he would have the mother school in every family for every child until six, urged prayer for it before it was born, and rebuked any slight of it by its mother. Neither the farming-out of infancy nor the making of an exhibition of it for the gratification of parental pride or the admiration of friends found any favor with him; he emphasized the idea that the Bible not only gives the right view of the child but of the family in which it is placed, and enforced its integrity and purity. Could his scheme have been adopted by England, as desired by Milton and Hartlib, or had he come to our own Harvard, as suggested, and carried out his plans, we should to-day have been immeasurably in advance of where we are; but, unfortunately, he was soon forgotten, and the old, unnatural, abstract methods for elementary instruction remained, and generations have suffered from the consequences.

We must remember that other denominations so far

as they accept the Calvinistic action of the Westminster Assembly share with Presbyterian Churches the results of its influences on education.

In the movement of Presbyterians from the old to the new world, they brought with them not only their notion of Christian doctrine, but also the principles and customs of education which prevailed in the country from which they came. There was among them a general admission of the importance of child training and that parents had special obligations in this regard. We cannot pause to trace their diversities. We may say there was a great agreement that the offer of salvation should be extended to every one, and therefore there should be provided for each so much of instruction as would enable him to avail himself of the means of salvation. We first find the term "free school" in the action of the East India Company in the early days of the Jamestown settlement. But Virginia waited until our own day for the establishment of free universal education after the plan that Jefferson announced a century before its realization. In no colony did Presbyterians so prevail as to enforce their special ideas of education.

Mather declared that of the immigrants arriving in New England up to three years before the Westminster Assembly, about one-fifth were Presbyterians. Wherever they settled, the schoolhouse was opened beside the church—so much the boast in American history. The learned and devout clergy shared in

every hardship and braved every peril of the wilderness and savage. Their sermons stimulated the study of the Bible, led the reflections of the sturdy men and women—of the women as they cared for their homes, and the men as they hewed down the forest and stood guard against the savage, and thus they awakened the thought, formed the minds, and built the characters of those who initiated, defined, defended, and confirmed our liberties.

The course of events in America, to which the utterances of the Westminster Assembly have constantly contributed through the Puritan and Covenanter, has resulted so that the form of organization and direction of education are divided in the main between the Church and the State; first, the church or churches charged with the preservation of the oracles of God acknowledge the duty of training man therein as the means of saving his soul; second, the State for its own preservation assumes the responsibility of preparing man to discharge his duty as a citizen or as an officer when called to rule over his fellows. Thus the country receives whatever advantage may arise from their competition in excellence or public favor. Comparing their buildings and equipment, their text-books and teachers, their methods of instruction and discipline, we find those of Church and State much the same.

The story of the efforts of Presbyterian Churches in America to found institutions of learning would

furnish a romantic chapter in educational history. Rev. William Tennent, a man of learning and devout piety, in 1726, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, twenty miles north of Philadelphia, opened a school for the better training of young men for the ministry. Rev. George Whitfield, the distinguished evangelist, who shared with Tennent the desire to elevate the character of the clergy and increase the spirituality of the churches, said after a visit, "The place where the young men study is called in contempt a 'Log College.'" "It was about twenty feet long and near as many broad." "The logs were hewn for it on the spot." From this humble beginning what vast consequences followed to Presbyterian education? Thence came Princeton, preparing its great array of officers for the churches and for civil duties. In spite of the limitations and distresses of poverty, the hardships of pioneer life, multiplied by the threatening savagery of the Indian, the graduates of Princeton went out to found other like institutions in the wilderness, Smith to establish Prince Edward Academy, which in the year of American Independence became Hampden-Sidney College, named in honor of those defenders of liberty; Graham laid the foundations of Liberty Hall. The State of Virginia voted George Washington one hundred improvement bonds as a token of its gratitude for his eminent services. These bonds he refused to appropriate to his own use and donated them to Liberty Hall, which thereupon en-

tered upon its enlarged sphere as Washington College, now Washington and Lee University. The efforts of McMillan in Western Pennsylvania resulted in Jefferson College. Doak, a native of Virginia, with his Princeton diploma, carrying the books for his library on horseback across the mountains, settled on the Holston before that territory was transferred from North Carolina and constituted a part of Tennessee, and there established Washington College, which contends with Transylvania for recognition as the first college opened in the Mississippi Valley. The sturdy Scotch-Irish of North Carolina are specially honored for the defense of their homes in the Revolutionary struggle and for the Mecklenburg Declaration; for most of their preparation they were indebted to a learned and devout ministry who instructed them in their homes or in various academies established by their self-sacrificing efforts.

Presbyterian ministers shared with Puritans in New England in administering the public school system. They did their share in founding academies and in establishing the early colleges—Yale, Harvard, Brown, Princeton, Dartmouth, and others, and the churches and presbyteries sustained them in their efforts. The insertion in the Ordinance of 1787 of the clause enforcing the duty of education and providing the means for it in the gift of the sixteenth section of land for common schools and two townships for universities, is credited to Manasseh Cutler,

another Calvinistic clergyman. Rev. Samuel Wood, of Boscawen, New Hampshire, in addition to his instructive labors in the pulpit, fitted eighty young men for college, including Daniel and Ezekiel Webster, besides teaching many students in theology. What these learned and devout ministers did for education up to the inauguration of our Constitutional Government, their successors in the generations following have done for the vast regions west, the Mississippi Valley, the Rocky Mountain Regions, and the Pacific Slope. They have been pre-eminently the leaders holding aloft the Stars and Stripes and the Banner of the Cross, planting the church and the school. Dr. Whitman, a Presbyterian, in honor of whose memory a college is now erected, by his perilous ride in midwinter across the mountains, and plains, and frozen rivers, through the deep snows and the blinding storms, and by leading in return a train of immigrants, saved to our flag an empire on the Pacific. Nor has the chapter of these great heroes ended. Our own generation is blest with a missionary who in the variety and vastness of his labors and in their influence upon education surpasses them all, and our Church has properly manifested its appreciation of this fact by his elevation to the most honorable office in its gift.

We must not overlook the educating influence of the Church itself upon its own members. A careful statement indicates that Americans have so improved

their liberty of worship that there are among us fifty sects, and a looser authority counts a hundred.

This is the day of new organizations, clubs, and societies almost beyond number, with all sorts of objects and of every name, for men, women, and children. But man has never devised any organization equal to the Church in its educating and uplifting power. This is the form selected by our Lord for his followers, through which they were to disciple the world; in their great differences of doctrine and form of worship, there will be found corresponding differences in educating power. There are still those who would cling to the union of Church and State; those who affirm that ignorance is the mother of devotion; that the Bible is not for common believers; that education is for the few; that the sermon should count for little; and others that the preacher should lift up his voice without preparation and speak as he is moved; others would prescribe forms to be followed so exactly that they may all be gone through without either interest or heart on the part of hearer or preacher. The adherents of each will claim superiority for their own; we would disparage none.

Presbyterians by universal consent stand for intelligence. This standing has been the occasion for criticism, but we notice as time goes on objection gives way to approval. Presbyterians believe that not only their doctrine but their form of worship and polity find authority in the primitive church. Pres-

byterians always encourage the reverent use of reason, not its diseased, unbalanced, or insane use, destructive of reason itself, any more than they encourage that misuse of the body which brings disease and death. They invite to membership all believers who accept Christ as their Saviour, and are ready to be baptized in his name, and to conform their lives to his precepts. They hold to the perseverance of all true believers and make no provision in their theories for lapses in practice. They contemplate no giving of youth to the sowing of wild oats. Parents indicate their acceptance of the old and new covenant by bringing their children to baptism, thus consecrating them in infancy and promising to train them for the service of the Lord, in which all their brethren agree to join, confirming their promise by public sign. Shortcomings in these covenanted duties are most disastrous. Here may be found the greatest defects in the education practised by the Presbyterian Churches. The Church thus constituted, what association for the sake of companionship can equal it? Or for reform of any condition of evil, intemperance, impurity, dishonesty in fulfilling private or public trusts, what can invoke stronger motives? Is any improvement proposed, intellectual, moral, social, civil, or spiritual, what combination is like it in fitness or effectiveness? What observances could be better adapted to promote perpetuity of ideas and activity than its sacraments, its seasons of prayer, and its Sabbaths set apart from

secular pursuits to worship and rest, to instruction, and study of the Bible and Catechism in the Sabbath-school and at home? What human combination has in view such an end, perfection in holiness, salvation from sin, the glories of immortality? Or where is any other association accorded such a leader, one who has left behind the example of a perfect life, who has overcome death and the grave and ascended on high, and who invites all his followers to share with him the beatitudes of his glory? To make all this effective, there is the under-shepherd required by Presbyterians to be learned and godly, ready to lead, to warn and exhort, with all humility, patience, and tenderness. The Presbyterian Church with its learned and godly ministry is the school of schools for all its members in all their duties. By it the family is set apart and its members instructed; wisdom in entering upon its obligations and loving fidelity in their discharge, enforced that it may not so often end in divorce; divine precepts brought to bear upon the duty of each member; the father and mother, the very priest and priestess, daily worshipping at the altar of the home church; and all parents and children under the instruction of the Church vieing with each other in the beauty and loving fidelity of their lives—what a protection and inspiration is thus thrown around the family circle, making the devout home the very threshold of heaven!

In the Church, too, every member, every worshipper

is instructed in his civil duties; he hears the voice of the divine oracles; the moral law is laid upon his conscience; his patriotism is lighted by a divine flame, and he is stimulated to that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty. The equality of church membership prepares him for the equality of citizenship, and the practice of the principle of representation in Session, Presbytery, and Synod in spiritual affairs prepares for its application in affairs of the State. If he is called to rule, he should, like all believers, rule in the fear of God. All Presbyterian church officers, including the pastor, are called by the voice of the people; the parity of the clergy is fixed; the descent of authority by the laying on of hands comes not by the bishop, who assumes authority over his brethren of the clergy, but through the chosen member of the Presbytery.

In founding institutions of their own, academies, colleges, and seminaries, the most Presbyterians seek formally of the State is the charter necessary for security; and this they ask not formally to churches but to individuals who are their members. Turning from the Log College, what a triumphant result is presented!

The Commissioner of Education, Dr. W. T. Harris, reports now sustained by Presbyterian Churches, including the Cumberland and the Northern and Southern Divisions, 102 academies attended by 4922 students, or 2523 males and 2399 females; with

60,206 volumes in their libraries; and grounds and buildings valued at $1,864,500, with an annual income of $305,110; with 54 colleges for men, or for men and women, with an attendance in the preparatory departments of 3815, or males 2360 and females 1455; in their college classes, 4145, or males 3255 and females 890; or a total in these institutions enjoying preparatory and college instruction of 7760, of whom 5615 are men and 2345 are women, with 312,481 volumes in their libraries, and grounds and buildings valued at $5,779,816, and controlling productive funds to the amount of $5,133,295, and having an annual income of $469,766. Of colleges for women alone there are 25, with an attendance of 300 in the elementary departments, of 846 in the preparatory, and 1618 in the college classes; or a total attendance of 3047, with 42,184 volumes in their libraries; and grounds and buildings valued at $1,596,075, with an annual income of $337,210. These three divisions of the Presbyterian Church maintain twenty theological seminaries, with 1341 young men in attendance, and 293,738 volumes in their libraries, and having grounds and buildings valued at $2,755,527, and productive funds amounting to $6,626,425. Here is a grand total of 17,070 students in attendance; 708,609 volumes in libraries; $11,995,918 in buildings and grounds; $11,759,620 in productive funds, and having an annual income in colleges and academies of $1,112,081.

Our congratulations on this occasion may not be the less helpful if sometimes admonitory. Grateful and encouraged as we should be as we compare the above educational work of Presbyterian Churches with the beginning at the Log College, we shall be compelled in view of the large wealth controlled by Presbyterians and the large share that they must have given of the $198,044,141, reported by the Bureau of Education, bestowed upon education since 1870, to conclude that a great part of their gifts has been bestowed upon other institutions than those directed by Presbyterian agencies, and that they have not given to their own institutions as they have in other directions.

There can be no question of the obligation of Presbyterian Churches to maintain the purity and efficiency of the instruction under their own control. We have seen how free from technical and formal restrictions is the admission to Presbyterian membership. But in considering the relation of Presbyterian Churches to education, we should not fail to observe the care with which they call the teacher or preacher. His personal piety, attainments, and beliefs must pass the scrutiny of his Session and be approved by the Presbytery. When commissioned, he is duly authorized to teach Presbyterian doctrines, and he is held by every obligation to preach no other. In assuming the responsibility of his commission, the churches allow the largest liberty of inquiry, but in

accordance with principles most common in all the affairs of men, either religious or secular, they hold the teacher or preacher responsible to the obligations which he has assumed. If he reaches views essentially contrary to Presbyterian doctrine, he may have the largest liberty in declaring them when he is no longer under their commission and pay. A man of the common sense of honor, honesty, and fidelity could hardly propose for himself a different course. Agnostics may sneer at the application of this principle as narrow, but would they commission and pay persons to preach Presbyterianism? Can an officer commissioned in the service of his country fight under a hostile banner without committing treason? Persons should not assume to be religious teachers who have no experience of religious faith. Too often Americans have been beguiled into error under German instruction, and on account of their opportunities for intellectual culture have been accepted as worthy teachers in American institutions. It is due to those who give money for Presbyterian purposes and those who seek Presbyterian instruction that they should not be deceived. Sometimes there is a sentiment which would be satisfied with good character without intellectual attainments, with the goody-good as teacher or minister. In other cases, in this day of special care of methods and professional skill, the mistake is made of requiring no preparation in method. It may be well demanded that the religious

teacher should excel not only in character and scholarship, but in mastery of methods. He has before him the example of the great teacher whose method was never equalled by Socrates or any other man. Presbyterians may well be cautious how they treat the Bible in all their instruction; frivolous questions about it should be dismissed: neither should it be regarded with superstition. The superiority of its antiquity, piety, and moral sentiments may well be appreciated; and, above all, it should be accepted as the Word of God, as the finality in teaching the nature of God and man and their relations. Studies about the Bible may be useful, but they should not take the place of the study of the Bible itself. It must be admitted there has been here and there a singular growth of indifference to Bible instruction in our higher institutions of learning. In the religious college and academy it has been too often treated in a manner to deprive its study of all interest and enthusiasm. Indeed, the president of a college connected with another religious body when asked if the Bible was used in his course, replied, "No," and that he hoped that it never would be. Time was when it was carefully studied in all higher institutions such as Harvard and Princeton.

The Southern branch of our Church has excelled in its restoration to college use, and finds the Bible part of the course of greatest interest among students. The motives to excellence in our religious institutions

are sometimes thrown out of balance by a system of merit, which recognizes only brightness in scholarship and leaves out all account of fidelity and character. Our theological seminaries, while giving special attention to the study of the Hebrew and Greek, have too much neglected the English Bible. In this form of the Word, the minister will be called upon specially to wield the Sword of the Spirit. Too often the student coming through all the course of our religious training finds himself most imperfectly grounded in the relation of fundamental truths to the administration of civil affairs or to the current practical questions of the day.

Historians have not ceased to describe the educating power of Presbyterian doctrine and forms of worship in shaping the institutions of our country. For the American Presbyterian, education should be as universal as the responsibilities of citizenship. Therefore, having fixed the separation of Church and State, the universal and advanced education required to guarantee the intelligence necessary to a free State, both by religious and civil considerations, is intrusted to the State. Here, too, the Bible should be the test of any scheme of instruction.

The formal action of the State in education in ancient history appears only here and there; and then in the main for special purposes or for limited classes, as is illustrated in the instruction of which we catch glimpses in Assyria and Egypt, Greece and

Rome. Later this power and duty only dawned here and there upon a royal mind, as upon that of Alfred, or Charlemagne, or Frederick, who found he could make his people more powerful in array against his enemies by training officers, and caught the idea that by training teachers he could multiply the effectiveness of his citizens, and so established normal schools. Luther declared that it was as much the duty of the magistrate to establish schools for the instruction of youth as to build bridges and make roads. The undertaking of these duties by the State justifies itself to reason, and more than any other cause has in recent time given great impulse to educational progress. If the State for self-protection must levy taxes and exert its power to preserve order and punish murder, it can with equal right levy taxes and educate its people for the prevention of crime. There follows logically the duty of applying the best principles and methods, guarding the qualification of teachers, supplying equipments, and conducting supervision. Our public school system originated in Puritan New England, where school and church, and State and church were so long one. Before they were separated, schools were established by civil authority including every child, so that each one might be able to read so much of the statute as to be deterred from its violation, and so much of the Scripture as to be enabled to resist Satan. In different States, the system of public instruction has come to

embrace all grades from the kindergarten to the university. The relation of Presbyterian Churches to education by the State is not formal, but like their relation to civil affairs in other respects, through their members sharing in its direction and paying taxes for its support, and through their youth who enjoy its privileges. To judge how much this may be, we may gain some idea by reflecting that if one child in a family is normal, he may have free all education to which he aspires, even to that in the university. Is another blind, or deaf, or feeble-minded, the State offers the needed instruction without cost.

How many Presbyterian youth attend this elementary or secondary public instruction it is impossible to estimate with accuracy.

From a religious census of the State universities and of the Presbyterian colleges, edited by Francis W. Kelsey, Esq., we have the significant statement that "in seventeen State universities there were enrolled 2434 Presbyterian students, against 2388, the total attendance in the thirty-seven colleges under the auspices of our churches." He adds, "in view of present tendencies that are unmistakable, is it not likely that in twenty-five years the majority of laymen in the Presbyterian Church who have enjoyed the advantages of higher education, laymen who will be charged with the administration of its material interests and will be exerting an influence in

shaping its policy, will be laymen who have never entered the door of a Presbyterian college?"

Here is a responsibility which Presbyterian Churches bear to education that must be met without delay. No one can object to their making their own institutions more effective, or to their carrying to success the movement already commenced of furnishing a Presbyterian house in connection with each State university, where Presbyterian students may enjoy Presbyterian association and worship, and instruction in Presbyterian doctrine and polity. But there remains still the adjustment of religious instruction to the entire public system of education. No educational question of the day is more important. We are fully assured that the separation of Church and State is to the advantage of each and of the individual. Presbyterians have no question of their duty to each. They have only to be assured there is no antagonism and to think out clearly for themselves and others the line of harmonious action. There is a sentiment that would carry this separation to the extent that civil administration must be not only non-sectarian, but positively hostile to religion. This sentiment has apparently resulted in the declaration of a clergyman or a judge here and there, who has been ready to run before he is called, "that the reading of the Bible must be excluded from public instruction." Is it clear that the best book is the first book to be excluded from public

schools? that the book most helpful to American youth is the one they are forbidden to use? the book out of whose influence have come our free institutions and their defense, the book whose presence or absence has marked the ebb and flow in education, the rise and fall of nations? No Presbyterian will ask that his creed, as distinguished from others, shall be taught by the public instructor, but in common with all evangelical believers he holds that the morals of the American State, upon which it depends for order and peace, are in substance the same as the morals of the Bible. On all hands it will be agreed that nothing is more essential in education than moral training. The body may be strengthened and the intellect sharpened only to make their possessor a deadly foe to himself and to his fellows. The power of moral direction—the right choice—is most important to be cultivated. Choices right in effect will be made by different persons from different motives. In man's intercourse with his fellow they may be determined by conditions under the control of the State, or they may be controlled by a desire to obey the divine command. Two persons drawing their motives from these two widely different considerations may act the same on all questions affecting each other's lives and property; may live in harmony and be good citizens; the morals of each traced to their source will be found to come from the Bible; now may they not both look at the Bible as they look

at life, and as they disagree as to the religion of life and agree as to the wisdom and necessity of its morals, may they not see with equal clearness that they can disagree as to the religion of the Bible and accept its morals, and for the purpose of its morals unite in its use as they unite in the uses of life? Much in this question depends upon the good temper of all concerned; the qualification of the teacher is a most important factor. It is interesting to know that there has been made a book of selections from the Bible satisfactory to the committee, representing the Agnostic, the Jew, the Protestant, and the Catholic.

The relation of these questions to provisions of the National Constitution is most intimate. The great sentiment of the country is in favor of the separation of ecclesiastical from civil affairs. But of this separation there is no guarantee in the National Constitution. Indeed, the only provision in that instrument in regard to religion is that Congress shall not enact any law establishing a religion or exclude a person from office on account of religious belief, and recognizing the Christian Sabbath, and the date of the year of our Lord, and the solemnity of oaths. All powers or rights not specifically granted to the nation are reserved to the people of the States. It is in the opinion of the people of each State, therefore, to provide enactments of their own choice with regard to religion. So one State after another has been very

exact in providing in its Constitution that its Legislature shall not appropriate money for the support of religion; but there is nothing in the National Constitution to prevent any State from reversing its present decision, and the State of Utah might establish Mormonism as its religion and turn the entire machinery of public instruction to the education of its youth in Mormon doctrines.

What a rich legacy our fathers left us in that structure of our Government which assures liberty of conscience, and which permits the supremacy neither of the Church over the State nor the State over the Church. But with this great inheritance we have something to do. We must settle aright for ourselves and for our posterity the relation of the Bible to education under the direction of the State. One thing we can do without question from any quarter, and that is make Bible instruction in colleges under religious control so superior in interest and results that all will want the Bible in their courses of study.

Presbyterian Churches acknowledge other responsibilities to education beyond what may be accomplished by their doctrines and their forms of worship within themselves. For the purpose of aiding feeble churches and carrying the Gospel to those not reached by it in our own and other lands, this our body, or division, has organized eight Boards, each educative or promotive of education in its special way. I wish

we might focus their educative power and bring it to bear on our hearts. If it is true that only one-seventh of our churches contribute to the work of all the Boards, what a privilege, what a means of grace the other six-sevenths of our churches fail to improve!

Is a worshipper ever annoyed by his pastor's announcing the day for receiving gifts to this or that Board of the Church, let him reflect that this is no begging, that this is an offer of an opportunity for using with greater effect his influence and means which he has consecrated to the Master. Neither one member nor one church can take into view all conditions or demands for Christian effort; but by association this may be accomplished. In the operations of these Boards, every church member may have a voice, as he has in his Session, Presbytery, Synod, and the Assembly; they make present this opportunity for the gifts, prayers, and personal influence of every worshipper. The men who administer these Boards are carefully selected for their ability, piety, trustworthiness and special fitness, and their operations are brought before all Presbyteries and Synods and carefully revised annually by the General Assembly. In connection with these Boards, woman finds her appropriate sphere and fills it with an efficiency sealed with divine approval and has added mightily to the educative work of the churches. Each Board will appear before Assembly with its own full report; but we cannot appreciate the pres-

ent relation of this, our body, of Presbyterian Churches to education and leave out all allusion to them here. Once Presbyterians may have suffered like other denominations from the theory that missions only required preaching—the mistaken theory under which a great missionary secretary closed so many mission schools; but that day, thank God, has passed. It is not now doubted that teaching and training in the life of Christ is an essential part of the preaching of the Gospel. Our two great organizations, the Home and the Foreign Boards, divide the world between them. As the Home Board adds churches to its forces, each should become a systematic contributor to all the Boards, and as the Home Board lifts up the cry, "Our country for Christ," the Foreign Board takes up the refrain, "Christ for the world."

If American liberties are to be destroyed or American Presbyterianism corrupted, it is to be done through the education of the young. In the future, as in the past, destruction may come by man's assuming some unwarranted power over his fellow as a divine right; it may be the divine right of wealth, or station, or labor, or some power devised for man's gratification. In the absence of the law, God's chosen people came nearest to destruction. Every nation has found its greatest peril in the greatest absence of the Divine Word. Our safety is the presence of its truths wrought by education into the hearts and illustrated in the lives of the American people. The

Bible is the only safe guide for training in the righteousness which exalteth a nation. What more significant sign of our peril and of the need of the Bible to enlighten the individual understanding than the declaration of a man dignified by a seat in the United States Senate to the effect that the Ten Commandments have no place in American politics?

As a nation we are especially charged with the responsibility of elevating degraded races, the African and the aborigine, and of receiving to our great privileges those not so highly favored.

Is Hawaii, after being brought up from the degradation of paganism to the position of Christian civilization by the labors and sacrifices of American missionaries, now to become a part of our domain—are the prophecies of this critical year to bring to us civil responsibilities for other people? Let us remember we can have no assurance that we shall discharge them with success if the Bible is left out of our education.

Nor are Presbyterian Churches unmindful of the influence in favor of education exerted by authors, teachers, agencies, institutions, or journals not formally under their control but devoted to instruction in their doctrine. Even a catalogue of these agencies cannot be attempted. As we canvass this array of the educational forces of Presbyterian Churches, we exclaim, how fit, how well adapted to enlighten mankind and to advance the Kingdom of Light and

bring men to a knowledge of the Gospel, to save souls and to maintain a free Church in a free State! Nowhere is there a lack of opportunity, or men, or measures, the only deficiency—the only lack—is the supply of means with which its membership has been so largely blessed. Did not their consecration include their wealth as well as themselves? Do they so cherish their gold and silver that they are unwilling to give of their superabundance to preserve the faith which their fathers died to maintain—the faith upon which depends their hope of immortality? Shall we surrender our birthright for a mess of pottage? Shall we hold the things of this world so tightly in our grasp that they can be bestowed for the benefit of others only when our hand is cold in death! Shall not Presbyterian Churches rouse themselves to this full responsibility for the education of the youth of to-day that they may go forth with a consecration never before witnessed, and thus use their inheritance of privilege and means to prepare better and greater things for the magnificent century about to begin?

PRESBYTERIANISM AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON SOCIETY THROUGH ITS EMPHASIS UPON CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

BY THE

REV. NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS, D. D.

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IN the highest sense Jesus Christ may be called the discoverer of childhood. In an age when kingdoms were founded upon thrones and armies he announced the monarchy of cradles. Surrounded by jurists and scholars, he placed a child in their midst, and crowned its dispositional qualities as the highest types of the heavenly kingdom. Nature can change a small seed into a golden sheaf, an acorn into an acre-covering oak; and Christ announced a power for transforming a babe into a sage, a hero, a statesman, a seer. For teachers and parents he exhibited the child as a handful of germs and roots to be grown as a bough of unblossomed buds. If Socrates sneered at the grief of a mother weeping for her babe; if Plato suggested that every town or city should select some distant hill-top and there build a pen for the exposure of unwelcome children; if Aristotle urged laws making the drowning of weak babes compulsory upon parents; if Seneca said "we slay the worn out

ox and horse and it is not wrath but reason that separates weak children from strong"; in striking contrast therewith Jesus Christ took a child in his arms, and in its trust, teachableness, and purity discovered forces that threatened thrones and made the might of kings ridiculous. For him, the grave itself was not so overarched by awe and mystery as was the cradle, and his love brooded over the child in his arms as the star stood over the divine child in the manger. Down through the ages unto distant generations he sent forth this word, "Suffer little children to come unto me."

From that hour his disciples began to make attractive for all young feet those paths that lead to the temple of knowledge and beauty. Because Christ made childhood sacred, Christian parents and teachers began to make all forces and institutions to exist for the enrichment of youth. For children laws became just and gentle. For children the wheels of industry turned round. For children the walls and shelves became beautiful. For children schools were founded, colleges strengthened, printing presses ran day and night. For youth homes became happy, music became sweet and high, the gallery and library took on a lustrous grace. Indeed, a new epoch dawned for society. Thenceforth all institutions began to imitate the wise men from the east, who brought to the divine child their rich gold and aromatic spices, their frankincense and treasure. To-day Christ's estimate

of childhood is the very heart and genius of Christian civilization.

But when we have affirmed that for all churches, Lutheran, Anglican, and Reformed alike, the founding of schools and colleges has been the immediate and powerful result of the acceptance of Christ's estimate of childhood, we may also affirm that the genius, principles, and methods of the Presbyterian Church have been such as to strengthen in a way altogether unique, those instruments that make for the happiness and culture of youth. History tells us that in Geneva the colleges sprang up under the very eaves of the church in which Calvin preached. In Holland, when "William the Silent" became a Calvinist, he directed that the teachers for adults on the Sabbath should become teachers of children on week days. In Scotland, when our fathers had finished the Solemn League and Covenant, they went on to found their public schools, their great universities. In our own land also it must be a matter of pride with us and our children that the founders of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton all held to the Reformed faith. In that Grecian scene, when the little child, ignorant of its danger, loitered on the way to the temple, an unseen friend drew near, and rolling golden apples along the path, caused the child to run gleefully towards the portals of safety. And for two centuries Presbyterian teachers and parents have sought to lend allurement and beauty to those paths

that lead toward that temple where wisdom hath her dwelling place. Standing in the pulpit or forum, in library or legislative hall, our Presbyterian fathers have insisted that the State that throws a wall of protection around its iron-furnaces and cotton-factories, should also throw shields of learning and morals around young feet, and for young hearts make possible a fair start in that dangerous thing called life. Already we have traced the influence of Presbyterianism upon our law and literature, our art and morals, our science and government, our social and civic institutions. But, if in calling the roll of the great men of this nation, the number of Presbyterian presidents, of legislators and jurists, of authors and editors, teachers and merchants has been vastly disproportionate to the membership of our church, we shall find the explanation of this unique pre-eminency in the simple fact that our Church has stood for the family and the children in it, emphasizing the mother's heart as the true university, emphasizing the father as teacher and priest, insisting upon the higher education for its daughters, founding colleges and universities for the culture of its sons. For let us confess that whatever is unique in the manhood of the hero, inventor, or statesman was first of all unique in his childhood.

The emphasis that the Presbyterian Church has placed upon God's covenant with parents for their children, has exerted an immeasurable influence upon

the nation's thought and life. If the English and American Baptist Churches, though Calvinistic in creed, have minimized the Abrahamic covenant, that covenant has been magnified by the Presbyterians. In a world where the home is safer for an outer covenant called the marriage ceremony; where justice in our courts is the surer for the covenant, pledging a man to speak the truth; where governments are more firmly founded, because presidents take the solemn oath to fulfil the laws; the Church has urged parents through a public and solemn ceremony to accept Abraham's covenant as unto us and our children after us. One of the results has been that greater sanctity could not have attached to the child in the cradle, had God taken the babe in his arms, consecrated it with some sacred farewell, given it over to a celestial messenger, and sent it forth bearing a scroll of heavenly writ on which was written, "This babe is my well-beloved one; take it, teach it; when you have stored it with treasures of mind and heart, bring it again to me." It is a truism that every child has a right to a good first birth; and it may be doubted whether any children in the community are better born, cared for, or trained than those reared in the homes of the Reformed faith. And under the laws of nature a certain result of home care and culture is, that all that is best in the parent's mind and heart is handed forward to the children and to the children's children, so making each new genera-

tion healthier, happier, handsomer, wiser, and better than its predecessor, giving us good hope of an era when a redeemed society shall dwell upon the earth.

Science affirms that heredity is to usher in an era of universal happiness and peace. But this law that science has only recently emphasized was fully stated by Moses more than three thousand years ago, when he tells us that the vices and sins of the fathers are not permitted to go beyond the third and fourth generation, while the knowledge and virtues of the righteous are put out at compound interest for "thousands of generations of them that love me and keep my commandments." And our church's emphasis of God's covenant with parents seems fully justified by the career of the great and small men of history. A noble Hebrew mother braves Pharaoh's wrath, and her moral courage appears in the leadership of her son Moses. Avaricious Jacob covets Esau's wealth and deceives his father. Then Jacob's avarice reappears in his sons, and, exchanging Joseph for the gold of the slave-dealers, they in turn deceive Jacob. Trust in God is a striking quality in Hannah, and that beautiful trust is more striking in her son Samuel. John is the forerunner of Jesus, but Zacharias is the forerunner of John. Sitting at twilight in her open window in Hippo, Monica, like Stephen, sees the heavens open and the angels of God descending, and then the mother's vision power reappears in her great son Augustine, who saw the City of

God as an Ideal Commonwealth coming down out of heaven. We say Paganini is the first of violinists, but Paganini was born with muscles in his wrists that stood out like whip-cords. We say Sebastian Bach is a great musician; but there were one hundred and twenty-six people of the name of Bach living in France and Germany during a single century, for music is hereditary in this great family. Catharine de Medici is cruel and ferocious, and her ferocity reappears in Charles IX. ordering the massacre of St. Bartholomew; for if the mother was a hawk, pouncing down upon young doves, the son was a wolf slaying for mere love of blood. English critics rank Emerson as the first essayist of the century, but Emerson represents seven generations of clergymen who were essayists and scholars. Abraham Lincoln was distinguished for stature, lucid statement, and wit and humor, but his mother, Nancy Hanks, was the daughter of one of the handsomest, most talented, and influential of all the Virginia planters. Thinking of heredity, we liken the child unto a cask whose staves represent trees growing on distant and widely separated hills; some staves are worm-eaten, standing for the errors of sinful ancestors; some staves are sound, standing for God-fearing forefathers; and all the staves are brought together at the child's birth to be filled by parents and friends. On Easter day in St. Peter's a golden urn is placed before the altar, and the multitudes passing by, drop in, some their

gold, some their pearls and diamonds, some their silks and costly stuffs. But if the Presbyterian Church asks each parent to cause the child's mind, as a vase to be stored with gold from the best books, with beauty from the best pictures and landscapes, and truth from the divinest religion; on the other hand, atheistic nations, through their neglect, make their children to seem like unto those vessels of dishonor that stand in the alleys, to receive the refuse represented by the vices and immoralities of our tenement districts.

The emphasis that Presbyterianism has placed upon the child's predisposition to selfishness and sin, and the consequent necessity of the systematic culture of the higher spiritual faculties, has had the inevitable result of the emphasis of habit and method as the very basis of character. Speaking in Washington, a distinguished bishop of the Methodist Church explained the wealth, influence, and precedence of Presbyterian families by our catechisms for children and youth, and our systematic drill in Scriptures. A century ago an English deist calling upon Coleridge inveighed bitterly against the rigidity of instruction in the Christian home. "Consider," said he, "the helplessness of a pastor's child. How selfish is the parent who ruthlessly stamps his ideas and religious prejudices, into the receptive nature as a moulder stamps the hot iron with his image. I shall prejudice my children neither for Christianity

nor for Buddhism, but allow them to wait for their mature years and then choose for themselves." A little later Coleridge led his atheistic friend into the garden. Suddenly he exclaimed, "The time was when in April I killed the young weeds and put my beds out to vegetables, flowers, and fruits. But I have now decided to permit the garden to go on until August or September, and then allow the beds to choose for themselves between weeds and fruit. I am unwilling to prejudice the soil either toward thistles and cockleburs or roses and violets." In that hour Coleridge unconsciously stated the genius of Presbyterianism in its relation to childhood and youth, seeking through systematic drill to develop spiritual aptitudes and habits.

Often those who disbelieve in the Presbyterian emphasis on family worship and regular Bible instruction, urge that our systematic drill in religion destroys spontaneity, that habit and rule do away with freshness of feeling. Nevertheless, the method of the Church is the method of nature. Working to a rule nature lays the warm tints into the rose and paints the apple-blossom. By rule nature mixes the tints of the strawberry. By rule nature works coal-dust into diamonds and clay into sapphire. By rule nature covers the hills with the rich glow of clustering food, and lends a spice and tang to peach and pear. In the creative realm also, just in proportion as men have gone toward habit and method in the

intellectual life, have they gone toward spontaneity of genius. The poet David is by pre-eminence the child of creative inspiration. But David says, "morning and noon and night do I pray." For it is system that feeds in him the springs of inspiration. Those orators, too, who have been most famous for spontaneous eloquence, Webster, Phillips, Beecher, Gladstone, have given whole years to drilling themselves in voice, posture, gesture and expression. Obeying the laws of language, the essayists have their eloquence. Obeying the laws of color, the artists have their beauty. Obeying the laws of melody, the song has its sweetness. Nor does history show one great architect, sculptor, or lecturer who has attained excellence in any department of life, who has not had his pre-eminence through his emphasis of habit and rule. For nature and experience alike stand back of our Church in its estimate of the importance of drill and training in the Christian life.

The estimate that Presbyterianism has placed upon the critical hours of youth has led it to emphasize the intellectual instruments that make for higher education, and hence it has naturally a close affiliation with the arts, sciences, and literature. Believing that wisdom is better than rubies, and knowledge than fine gold, from the beginning our fathers defined ignorance as failure, and success as knowing how. They held that the doing that makes com-

merce is born of the thinking that makes scholars. They taught their children that the scholar is the favorite child of heaven and earth, that elect one upon whom the good God pours forth all his most precious gifts. Other systems of philosophy and religion have emphasized the land, sea, and sky, but the Presbyterian system has emphasized God, his divine government, his all-loving providence. It taught the young to ponder on those high questions: What is conscience? Is duty or pleasure the basis of right? Is man free? Is law invariable? What is right? Pleasure? Self-sacrifice? Is man immortal? And these great thoughts made young men to be great thinkers. For eloquent orators do not discuss petty themes. Great philosophical systems cannot be built upon the spawn of frogs or the ooze of sloughs. The woes of India lent eloquence to Burke. The Madonna lent loveliness to Raphael. Paradise lent beauty to Dante and strength to Milton. And the divine truths that our fathers emphasized have been among the most powerful stimulants ever known to the mind and heart. In the profoundest sense the Church that most closely allies itself to the teaching of Christ becomes the greatest force in society. For in itself Christianity is a beautiful civilization. Once men actually began to understand Christ's revelation of God, the architects began to tax themselves to build cathedrals worthy of the worship of him whom the heaven of heavens could not contain. Artists vied

with one another to create angels beautiful enough for the walls of Christ's temples. Sculptors went everywhither searching out marble white enough for Christ's forehead. Handel taxed his genius for songs sweet enough for Christ's praise. And in the founding of schools and colleges for all young feet, where men should discourse upon the home, the State, the marriage tie, the children about the hearth, upon art and beauty, our Church came to affiliate itself with the institutions of higher education. Its intellectual associations have been many and honorable. Having brought wisdom and happiness to the children about the hearth, it has indirectly brought progress to the State, thus exercising influence immeasurable upon all civilization.

Having insisted upon the schools of higher education for our sons and daughters, it became necessary for the Church to insist upon the higher education for the ministry under whom these children were to sit. When parents have been trained to rise up early and sit up late to rehearse the truth of God to their children, the next step was the higher education of that group of sons destined to enter its ministry. If certain sister churches known as Arminian, and certain Calvinistic churches known as Baptist, continued for generations to minimize education for the ministry, for two hundred and fifty years the Presbyterian Church has insisted upon the higher training of those who were to teach our youth the oracles of

God. And to this single fact we may attribute the unprecedented influence upon civilization of Scotland and England and America. If the time was when historians mentioned warriors, kings, and generals, the time has now come when historians have to recognize the influence of moral teachers in the rise and progress of the people. Webster through stately orations, Choate through impassioned addresses, and Froude through polished essays, have all affirmed that our town meeting and representative government go back to Calvin's pulpit in Geneva. In the realm of literature also, Macaulay and Morley declare that Shakespeare, Milton, and Tennyson received their literary inspiration as a free gift from those religious teachers named Cadman and Bede, and those pastors who gave us our King James version of the Bible. Standing before the cathedral of Wittenberg, Jean Paul uncovered his head and said, "The story of the German language and literature is the story of Martin Luther's pulpit." Speaking of the pleas for patriotism and liberty that led up to the revolution, Emerson said the Puritan pulpits were the springs of American liberty. In his celebrated argument in the Girard College case, when Daniel Webster was discussing the ministry in its relation to children and youth, the great jurist asked this question, "Where have the life-giving elements of civilization ever sprung up, save in the track of the Christian ministry." Having expressed the hope that

American scholars had done something for the honor of literature abroad, that our courts of justice had to some degree exalted the law, that orations in Congress had tended to secure the charter of human rights, Daniel Webster added these words, "But I contend that no literary effort, no adjudications, no constitutional discussion, nothing that has ever been done or said in favor of the great interests, of the universal interests of man, has done this country more credit at home and abroad than our body of clergymen." In commerce, writing for a prominent journal, a manufacturer has just said that he has learned to fear the competition of the sons of ministers, because they have good habits, are educated, know the value of money, and can handle men. In politics, reviewing the last campaign and the candidates of the various parties for the presidency, an editor said political parties must reckon with colleges and the sons or grandsons of clergymen. Those volumes called the Dictionary of Science disclose the men that the clergy have furnished, the large proportion, ten to one, of the great scientists of our era.

Be the reasons what they may, when we have emphasized the influence of war, politics, commerce, law, science, government, we must also confess that the pulpit has been one of the greatest forces in social progress. For the prophets of yesterday are the social leaders of to-morrow. To-morrow Moses will enter his pulpit and control the verdict in every

court in our cities. To-morrow as Germans we will utter the speech that Luther fashioned for us, or as Saxons use idioms that Wycliffe and Bunyan taught our fathers. To-morrow the citizen will exercise his privilege of freedom of thought and speech and recall Guizot's words, "Democracy crossed over into Europe in the little boat that brought Paul." To-morrow the groom and bride will set up their altar, and kindling the sacred fires of affection, will found their home upon Paul's principle, "The greatest of these is love." To-morrow educators, authors, and jurists will re-read the Sermon on the Mount, and influenced by this sermon, society will seek to put justice into law, ethics into politics, goodwill into commerce, and righteousness into all social life. It is said that many young men are being allured into the paths of commerce through the enormous wealth that trade offers. But if the Presbyterian minister averages six hundred dollars a year, and our merchants have their millions, these merchants need their millions to compensate for the fact that they are not clergymen founding a college for ignorance, a hospital for hurt hearts, an armory from which men may receive weapons for life's battle, opening up springs in life's desert, and planting palms in life's burning sands. For the ministry puts its stamp not into wood that will rot, not into iron that will rust, not into colors that will fade, but into minds and hearts that are immortal. It deals largely with the forma-

tion, instruction, and culture of childhood and youth, and with the establishment of youth in vital habits, hopes, and faiths. The historian tells us that when an Italian princess was defeated in battle the victor claimed her child as a trophy of war. In the hour when the soldiers came to take away the child, the mother rushed from the house, tore her jewels from her, and emptied all her gold and treasure at the child's feet. In the same hour that the brutal general would fain have slain the little one that threatened his succession, the mother caused her palace to empty all its treasures about this little one, whom she loved more than her life. It is not given us through voice or hand to reach forward and touch future generations. But futurity is vulnerable at that point named childhood. Happy our Church that has made the family to be the spring of progress; that makes the heart beautiful for the children; that has made the school rich for the mind, the gallery beautiful for imagination, the marriage altar sacred for the eager heart; that has plied its sons and daughters with influences that make for missions; that has founded bands of hope, endeavor societies, and fed all the forces that ally young hearts with the Christian Church.

Grateful for what our fathers have lent us of law, or learning, or liberty, our chief debt is for what they have done for us through the enrichment of childhood. And should an age ever come when we

neglect the training of our little ones, cease to ply them with the great truths of God and Christ, of sin and redemption, and conscience and immortality, an immense loss would befall our Church and our nation. Eloquence will depart from our forum, the glory will fade from library and chapel, all lustre will leave our learning and our laws. We can record no higher prayer than that the spirit of our fathers, which led them to rise up early and sit up late, for the rehearsing of the truth of God, may be our heritage and spirit also. May goodness like theirs glorify our churches. May heaven drop its charmed gifts upon our children and our children's children, until all are Christians and patriots and sons of God.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND HOME MISSIONS.

BY THE

REV. GEO. L. SPINING, D. D.

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THE spirit of a mighty past has come upon us this day; the curtain of history has been uplifted; the fathers of Presbyterianism have reappeared upon the stage; their heroic deeds have stirred our souls as with the sound of a trumpet; battle hymns of the 16th century have been caught up loyally and answered back in a thundering chorus from the head of the column in the 19th century; oratory aglow with inspiration has thrilled us with the electricity of kinship which unites the great million-hearted Presbyterian Church of to-day with the heroes of the Reformation, with martyrs of whom the world was not worthy, with Scots who gave to the old Grayfriars' Churchyard everlasting renown, with divines who gave to Westminster Abbey its greatest monumental significance, and with the Puritan, the Huguenot, and the Covenanter who brought Presbyterianism and Republicanism—mother and child—from the

Old World to the New: who framed the Constitution of the State upon the polity of the Church; and who under God made America—grand imperial America—what it is to-day, humanity's most powerful advocate and the world's best exponent of civil and religious liberty!

Oh thou religious mother of heroes, reformers, and martyr-confessors! thou patriot mother of sons whose names illumine our Declaration of Independence! thou mother of children whose blood cemented our political fabric, and whose lives have passed into all the noble institutions which constitute the strength and glory of our Republic, we salute thee to-night!

Thy history is the rich heritage of thy sons and daughters, and woe is unto us if we allow it to perish from the earth, for within it lies the heroism of faith, the stimulus of example, the wisdom of experience, the teachings of Providence, and the prophecy of the future.

To remember thee is to be ourselves remembered; to forget thee is to be ourselves forgotten!

Whence cometh the old Norse legend that the spirits of patriot martyrs are permitted to return and hover over their descendants on anniversary and memorial days? What meaneth the "great cloud of witnesses" in Holy Writ? What is the significance of that vast star-reaching amphitheater of shining immortals ever looking down upon the church? Ah, it means that

"We are not divided,
All one body we,
One in hope and doctrine,
One in charity."

—that the Church in heaven and earth is one; that the church militant needs the flashing inspiration of the church triumphant; that the shadow of a vaster presence—a more imposing assemblage than mortal eyes have ever seen is over us; and that God would utilize the heroism of illustrious examples, the achievements of conquering faith, and the ravishing glory of the victor-crowned host to animate and quicken the sacramental host on earth until the end of time.

We speak of the "dead past," but the past is never dead. Who are the leaders of the Church to-day, Canon Farrar, or Paul the tentmaker? Leo XIII. or Peter the fisherman?

Are Washington and Lincoln dead, and do not their names contain a magic power to waken millions to noble endeavor?

Ah, the past is never dead! All history is God's mighty electric battery charged to the full with slumbering forces which have subdued kingdoms, overturned thrones, and shaken the world to its center.

To-day we have but touched a pole connecting us with the stirring scenes of the great Reformation, and although three centuries have passed since those

scenes were enacted, that touch has sent such a thrill through this body as to

> "Stir a fever in the blood of age,
> And make the infant's sinews strong as steel."

The end of this anniversary is not self-glorification and an ostentatious parade of denominationalism. Nay, God's hand is in it, and it means remembrance, stimulus, inspiration, life from the dead, and a glorious flood of light on some of the dark problems of history.

We see clearly now why America was not given to Spain in 1492, and why the massive doors of our vast domain were locked and bolted for a century thereafter.

It was because the master builders of the future kingdom of God in the New World were still in their apprenticeship: Luther, Calvin, and Knox had their work to do; the new Israel was still toiling in the brickyards of Egypt and not ready for its exodus; the Spanish inquisition had its grip of steel on conscience and intellect, and an unchained Bible and the printing-press had not yet effected their emancipation; the money-changers held the temple of Christianity and their god Mammon was therein enthroned, while the Master "kept tryst with his saints in the mountains—his locks wet with the dews of the morning"; a holy war for civil and religious liberty was raging; shining saints were to be born of fire,

and tempest, and sword; and men of clean heart, clear brain, enlightened conscience, and nerve were needed as standard-bearers of emancipated Truth—around whom the elect from many nations should gather, and by whom they should be led from the Old World to the New. For such reasons, if we interpret history aright, did the Angel of Providence stand with mailed hand and drawn sword at the eastern gates of this fair continent; and when with far-discerning eye he saw the banner of Protestant Christendom emerging like a flame of glory from the dark battle-clouds of the Reformation—borne aloft by the scarred Huguenots of France, the heroic exiles of Holland, the grim psalm-singing Puritans of England, and the firm, unfaltering Covenanters of Scotland, he sheathed his sword, his mission was ended, the ponderous gates swung open wide, the winds of God were loosed, and over a stormy sea the nucleus of a new-born world was wafted to its wilderness home, its field of continental conquest, and its magnificent destiny.

Oh, America, America! thou latter-day Canaan of humanity, child of the Reformation, mighty enlightened free Republic, crowned with liberty, sceptred with might and dominion, enthroned between two great oceans, buttressed by religion, morality, law, education, and freedom, regal art thou, in thy shining garments of blue and gold and green wrought with threads of silver; in thy millions of happy homes em-

bowered with flowers; and with thy tiara of a thousand cities flashing back the splendors of the Sun of Freedom as it rises to noontide glory! God of our fathers, preserve us, "lest we forget, lest we forget" thy hand in our deliverance, thy mighty hand in our prosperity!

Oh, America, favored above all lands, no child of infidelity art thou. Forget not that the Puritan, the Huguenot, and the Covenanter were thy master builders, that their principles and religious faith were inwrought in thy structure, and that their sacred dust has consecrated thy soil to civil and religious liberty for ever!

Forget not the men who built thy first family altars, hallowed them with prayer, cemented them with virtue, baptized them with blood, and laid them so deeply in the Rock of Ages that they have withstood the storms of centuries, and constitute thy chief strength and thy greatest security to-day.

Forget not the type of religion which dominated these men; because nations are the product of religious faith; religion shapes and moulds their political character and destiny.

Where is the wickedest spot on the map of the globe? Is it in Africa, in Asia, in the South Sea Islands? No, it is in the heart of nominally Christian Europe: Turkey, bloated with sensuality, drunken with the blood of innocence, the double-dyed murderer of mankind. The sensual religion

of Mahomet has determined her national character —a character "as far below that of her neighbors—degraded as some of them may be—as the Dead Sea is below the level of the Holy Land." In just so far as religious faith may be accountable as a factor entering into the formation of character, the Turk is the product of the Koran.

Nor is the religion that dominates the Latin races the religion that America needs; it will not produce the type of character we want. The Church which proclaims that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," has never emancipated or uplifted a nation, and it never will. We need the religion of the Puritan, the religion which strikes the shackles from body, mind, and soul; the religion which dominates the Anglo-Saxon race and has made it what it is, the strongest race of the world, in virility, in intellect, in moral force, and in social and political progress.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." Compare nations and races as they exist to-day and note the difference.

There is a certain island—a mere dot in the ocean —which is the governing center of one-fourth of the world's population; the manufacturing center of civilization; the naval center of fleets on every sea; the intellectual center of the present age; the religious center of Christendom, the land of Victoria, the peerless Protestant Queen; the land of Christian churches, schools, scholars, and statesmen; the land

of Shaftesbury, Bright, and Spurgeon; the land of Gladstone, the great commoner, who towered above men as a giant sequoia above trees—and the crash of whose mighty fall is still reverberating throughout the hushed forests of the world.

I refer to England, little England, Protestant England, mighty England!

What is the secret of her national integrity, her commanding influence, and her dominant power among the nations of Europe? When a heathen prince put this question to Victoria, she answered, "the Bible," and gave him a King James version of the Word of God.

If we would have America a grander England, we will make it our patriotic as well as our religious duty to give this same Bible to every foreigner coming to our shores, and to every man, woman, and child in the land.

We will evangelize and keep on evangelizing. We will send thousands of missionaries into the field, gather thousands of congregations, gather millions of children into our Sunday-schools. The Bible and the Bible alone is our strength and our salvation as individuals and as a nation.

The patriotism of the Presbyterians of America has always been characterized by deep religious feeling, and they have found it almost impossible to secularize it. The sacred cause to which their pious ancestors dedicated this country pervades their politi-

cal and religious thinking. They think of America as belonging to Christ, and of their national flag wherein it represents Christian principles and Christian institutions as being Christ's flag. They cannot secularize it entirely, for its folds have been reddened by the best blood of Christian heroes, shed in the holy cause of civil and religious liberty.

To-day it is tipped with a divine flame of glory as it represents the humane spirit of the Gospel, and goes forth on the mission of the good Samaritan. If ever the Almighty made a national flag the symbol of a holy cause, he is doing it now. May it never retreat from this high moral plane, and may the manifold evils which now find shelter under its shadow be speedily vanquished by the moral and spiritual power emanating from an open Bible, a free Gospel, and a consecrated, evangelizing Christ-witnessing Church.

The Presbyterian Church in America has always been an evangelizing church. Its earliest ministers were missionaries, and its first churches were many of them aided by stronger churches across the sea. Our system of home missions is built up on the principle that the strong should held the weak. The First Presbyterian church in New York City was nurtured from Scotland one hundred and eighty years ago.

There are some exceptions, but generally, our first

churches in every American city have been aided by our Board of Home Missions. All our churches west of the Mississippi except two have received such aid. Every church of the one hundred and seventeen in the State of Washington is a child of the Home Board.

We find the same home missionary spirit in the earliest minutes of the General Assembly that we find in the minutes of to-day.

The first Assembly (1789) appointed a committee on "Missionaries to be sent to the Frontier." In 1798, just one hundred years ago, the Assembly commissioned five men to go to the far west in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, and found churches in the frontier settlements adjacent to lake Erie. Three of this number, John Close, Asa Hillyer, and Asa Dunham, were ordained ministers, and two, John Slemmons and John B. Patterson, were licentiates of New Castle Presbytery. They traveled on foot and on horseback; their stipend was forty dollars per month, and it was raised by annual contributions from the churches. Their mission was not only to preach to the whites, but to instruct negroes wherever found, and to "gospelize" the Indians.

Ninety years ago our church numbered 354 ministers and licentiates, 576 churches, 21,270 communicants, and contributed $4618 for benevolent purposes. It also employed seventeen missionaries.

Every year since we have increased the number, and to-day we have about 1800 preaching and teaching, ministering to 4000 churches and missions every week, and scattered all over the continent and among all tribes and peoples from Maine to Alaska and from Florida to California.

In the last thirty years we have contributed sixteen millions of dollars toward the evangelization of our land through our Board of Home Missions.

It is owing to this policy of liberal seed-sowing that we now have 7000 ministers, 7600 churches, about 1,000,000 communicants, and over 1,000,000 children in our Sunday-schools. Of all the thousands of our churches on our roll to-day, probably nine out of every ten have received home missionary aid.

What then is the logical relation of most if not all of our churches to home missions? It is the relation of the child to the mother, of the debtor to the creditor, of the beneficiary to the benefactor.

By every sentiment of gratitude we are all bound to the support of this great agency for the evangelization of our beloved country.

We are also bound to it by sacred obligations to the dead; to the noble army of missionaries from Francis Makemie, the founder of organized Presbyterianism in 1684, down to Crocker of New York, Barret of Wisconsin, Dennen of California, Matheson of Minnesota, Sibbet of Idaho, and Wilson of Colorado,

who died at the front in the service of the Church during the past year.

What worthy tribute can we pay to these frontier soldiers of Christ, this heroic vanguard of Presbyterianism in its triumphant march of conquest from the Atlantic to the Pacific, these pioneers of the Church, who plunged into the wilderness and with their axes, their lonely camp-fires, and their Bibles, blazed the way of civilization and Christianity across a continent! Where is the historian who can write their history, the mathematician who can compute the sum of their spiritual achievements, the tongue of fire that can do justice to their heroism and their fidelity to the Master?

Would the historian find the secret springs of our national intelligence and morality, would the poet find inspiration for his muse, would the Christian find examples of self-sacrifice, would the patriotic orator electrify his audience, would the statesman find his peers, let them camp along the long trail of these men from the prison of Makemie in New York to the prison of Jackson in Alaska; from the lonely horseman of the 18th century facing westward and slowly climbing the Alleghenies, to the horseman of the 19th century, the marvellous missionary horseman in buckskin from Idaho, facing eastward, his heart burning with patriotic fervor and his eye fixed on the capital of the nation three thousand miles away. The world will yet ring with the wonderful

story of his brave ride for four stars in "Old Glory." Talk not to me of Sheridan's ride or of the gallop of Paul Revere! Speed away, Whitman, speed away! Onward, right onward, like a flash of light through a thousand miles of barbaric night! Speed away, Whitman, speed away! nor slacken thy pace, for an empire is ours if thou winnest the race! Speed away, Whitman, speed away! Ah, where are the plumed knights of more courage, where the Crusaders who went forth in holier cause! Where is the mountain or valley upon which home missionaries have not planted the standard of the Cross and consecrated them as holy places by their lonely graves? Imperishably dear to us should be not only the cause but the country for which they gave their lives. Do we talk of dedicating America to Christ? it is already dedicated.

To use the language of Abraham Lincoln when he broke forth in the resistless eloquence of woe over the graves of Gettysburg, "*We* cannot dedicate, *we* cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to their unfinished work."

We have obligations also to our hundreds of living missionaries. They are our color-bearers at the front. In four thousand centers there they have planted our standards and are holding their ground. The frontier

is not determined by geographical lines; it is wherever sin is strongest and spiritual destitution is greatest. It is as truly in New York City as in Alaska; in the mountains of North Carolina as in the mountains of Utah. There is one peculiar thing about the home missionary. Wherever you find him, whether in the crowded city, the Mexican Pueblo, the Indian village, or the Klondyke mining camp, he is the unique man of the community. Unlike the lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, and the miner, he is not there on a private enterprise, not there to make money. His mission is nobler. He is there as an ambassador of Christ, and as the representative of a great Church.

Often he finds the whole community against him. Panoplied by prayer, and armed only with the sword of the Spirit, he enters the strongholds of Satan, penetrates saloons, brothels, and gambling hells, and fearlessly attacks intemperance, profanity, prostitution, lawlessness, infidelity, and vice in its most hideous and gigantic forms.

By the grace of God he wins, wins every time. Patiently he preaches the Gospel, sows the germs of law, order, morals, culture, and religion, and gradually transforms little hells of humanity into law-abiding, God-worshipping, Christian communities.

What shall we do with our fellow-soldiers who are thus bravely doing this work? Shall we cut off their supplies and leave them to perish—shall we call a

halt and order them to retreat? God forbid! Treasure we have in uncounted millions.

Finally, we are bound to the support of this cause by most solemn obligations to our Lord and Master. It is not an optional matter with us to do or not to do. It is in the line of obedience to his last command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Mark 16 : 15.

This command was enforced by the thunders of Sinai, the agony of Gethsemane, the imperative and glorious message of Calvary, and all the obligations of the redeemed to their Redeemer.

At the basis of this command lies the value of the human soul—the lost soul. No man can appraise it, for no man knows its value. Only its Maker can set a true value upon it, and by faith we must take it at his appraisement. Christ said it was worth more than the whole world, and God said it was worth Calvary.

The inspiration to all evangelistic work lies in just three things, viz.: faith, gratitude, and the value of the soul.

OUR FIELD.

The field we have to evangelize affords an interesting study. We now number seventy-five millions of people, one-half of which number are of foreign parentage or foreign born.

One-tenth of our population, or over seven millions, have come to us in the last twenty years. And still

they come. The vanguard will be followed by the army, the surf by the mountainous swellings of the ocean!

In some of our large cities the population is now less than one-third native American. They are foreign cities including American colonies on American soil. New York City's 1,800,000 shows over a million citizens of foreign parentage or foreign born.

Analyze the nationalities of New York or Chicago and tell me what kind of an American is coming out of this admixture of blood. German, Irish, Bohemian, Polish, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, French, Welsh, Belgian, Russian, Dutch, Hawaiian, Spanish, Syrian, Swiss, Japanese, Italian, African, Greek, Hungarian, Scotch, Chinese, Indian, and Hebrew.

In view of the preponderance of foreigners we see that the American of to-day is not the descendant of the Puritan, the Cavalier, the Huguenot, the Covenanter, or even of revolutionary ancestors. The sons and daughters of the Revolution are now in a hopeless minority—so rare as to be pointed out as curious animals in our great national menagerie, and tagged with a button of yellow and blue to distinguish their species.

We are told that in India there are one hundred Indias, one hundred dialects, and one hundred phases of religion with which the missionary has to contend. Are we coming to that in this country? In New York

city there are numerous foreign colonies where one may see here and there the curious sign "English spoken here." That would not be strange in Paris or Berlin, but there is something of a shock in it when seen in New York.

Are we to have a hundred Italias, Germanias and Scandinavias here? No, the English language must break up these solidarities, education must let in the light, and the Gospel must evangelize them. We must attack them with the missionary, the colporteur, the Bible visitor, the tract-distributor, the college settlement, the reading-room, the coffee-house, the kindergarten, and the Sunday-school.

We are told that with this foreign invasion has come in a great tide of drunkenness, and that the rum power has grown to alarming proportions. We have 165,000 public schools, and they cost us $140,000,000 per annum. We have also 215,000 saloons, and our drink bill is $1,000,000,000 per annum. Ah, alcohol is our domestic Weyler! the drunkard, the widow, and the orphan are our "reconcentrados;" ghastly is the ruin wrought, pitiful the poverty and hunger, holy is the war-cry, "The saloon must go!"

Will it ever go? It certainly will if we evangelize, if Christian faith survives, if the Gospel has free course, and if the Church unites to preach, pray, and vote it out of existence in the name of the Lord. God is not dead, and his name is not withdrawn from the use of his people. It is doing wonders every day.

Before his name many an ironclad Philistine stronger than Goliath of Gath has fallen and will fall.

But, watchman, what of the night; the dark night of ignorance, superstition, and sin among these great foreign masses; among our 40,000 Alaskans, our 150,000 Mexicans, our 200,000 Mormons, our 250,000 Indians, our 2,000,000 mountain whites, and our 8,000,000 negroes? The morning is dawning, the light is penetrating the darkness, Christianity and education are doing their work, spiritual and intellectual lighthouses are being distributed over the continent as thickly as stars on the field of night, and slowly but surely in the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, the shadows will flee away.

As to foreign immigration, we should take the broadest view of it possible. Our Constitution makes America "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." This is manifest destiny. Unlike Palestine, our country has not been set apart for a family of one blood—a close corporation. It was intended to be the seat of a great nation gathered out of all kindreds and peoples, unified by the love of certain principles, and, like the Church of Christ, a visible demonstration of the kinship of mankind.

We look on in wonder at the absorbing power of our Republic. It is almost miraculous. From the beginning it has been, like the Church, receiving Parthians, Medes, and Elamites. Or we may liken it to the ocean which receives into its bosom rivers

white, black, yellow, and red, impregnated with the minerals, soils, and refuse of all lands, and, like the ocean, it seems to transform them into its own character.

Foreign immigration is no new thing. It has always been a feeder to our national life. The names of foreign-born patriots are graven with a pen of iron in our Declaration of Independence. It is not birth but principle that makes the American. We have seen that the American of to-day is a composite man, slowly evolving from many nationalities. It is the province of the Church and State to educate this man. The State must mould him politically, and the Church must transform him morally and spiritually.

Raw material is cheap, it is manufacturing that costs. Two hundred years ago the Dutch acquired title to Manhattan Island for twenty-four dollars—all the barren soil was worth. To-day it supports the great American metropolis, pinnacled with churches, hospitals, asylums, schools, public buildings, palaces, marts of trade, and is worth one hundred millions for every single dollar of its original cost.

It is not what the raw citizen is, but what we put into him, what we may make out of him, that constitutes his real value. This whole subject resolves itself into what the Gospel can do for man, and what God can do with foreign clay.

Looking back into history we see that he once took

a piece of Hebrew clay and made the apostle Paul. Of French clay he made a Calvin, of Italian clay a Savonarola, of German clay a Luther, of Scotch clay a Knox, of Bohemian clay he made a Huss, and of British clay he made that fine old presbyterian bishop known as St. Patrick, whom the Irish have adopted as their patron saint.

Not long since I sat on a platform at the Carlisle Indian School, and looked down upon seven hundred bright young Indian faces illumined by the light of a new nature born within them, under Captain Pratt's splendid system of industrial and Christian training.

It will only take about a generation of such training to transform barbarism into Christianity.

Upon that platform were two white men, of foreign-born parentage, now Christian governors. Thirty-five years ago they were homeless orphans, miserable street gamins wallowing in the slums of New York City.

This is what religion and education will do for the commonest kind of clay and the rawest kind of material in America! Some there are who take a pessimistic view of our future, they predict moral degeneracy and political disintegration, and assert that our life forces cannot permeate, cannot unify, cannot make a living organism out of so many diverse elements in our body politic. This is true if we leave God and the Gospel out of the question. But who can measure the actual leavening influence

of the Gospel upon any nation. We cannot determine it by ordinary standards of morality, or by the number of our schools, churches, and communicants. Some great test of the national conscience is necessary. Such a test is now being made, and I doubt if the world has ever seen such a magnificent spectacle; a spectacle in which seventy-five millions of people, moved by one mighty impulse, have fallen into line, and are all keeping step and time, "the brogan with the patent leather, the kid slipper with the wooden shoe"—all keeping time not only to the music of the "Star-Spangled Banner," but to the drum-beat of the Christian conscience, yes to the drum-beat of the Gospel of the Son of God, as sounded forth by the brave old drummer who marched down the Damascus road in Palestine, 1800 years ago!

Where in all history has a nation gone to war, not in self-defence and not for spoils, but for sweet humanity's sake? Where in history has a powerful nation been willing to sacrifice the blood of its best sons for downtrodden and oppressed widows and orphans, aliens in language and race?

This movement marks a distinct era in the history of mankind: an era which proclaims the supremacy of humanity over tyrants, of God over governments, of conscience over selfishness, and of morals over all international laws.

Here then is one test of our national integrity,

and of the power of the Gospel over our national conscience. But we have seen another almost as remarkable, and that was the moral courage, the self-restraint, the dominion of principle over passion, as displayed by our country in its suspension of judgment for sixty long days after the foul assassination of two hundred and fifty of her sons in a Spanish harbor, while in the meantime a Spanish warship rode as peacefully and securely at her anchorage in New York Bay as if she had been at Cadiz!

I have somewhere seen a great painting of a tawny African lion, lithe, powerful, trembling with anger, every muscle knotted, and ready to spring. By its side was a child with a fearless eye and an uplifted hand holding the infuriated monarch of the forest under complete control.

That lion illustrates the temper of the American people on the fifteenth day of February, 1898, when our whole land was in sackcloth for its dead; and in the child holding the lion in check we may see resolute, God-fearing William McKinley!

If the restraint of angry passion is a sign of Christian virtue in the individual, it is equally such when seen in a nation. Is not this, too, another test and evidence of the power of the Gospel and of its leavening influence upon our national character? Let us not despair, the Gospel is all-powerful. It has lifted nations from barbarism, and it will lift this one to millennial glory. Statesmen the world over pre-

diet our glowing future. Matthew Arnold with all his prejudices writes, "America holds the future of the world." William E. Gladstone says, "America has the basis of the grandest empire ever built by man: at the end of the 20th century her population will be six hundred millions."

I have spoken little of the extent of our domain upon which the untold millions of coming centuries are yet to dwell.

The East we are supposed to know, but what about the grand Eldorado, the eight great empires as large as Spain lying beyond the Mississippi?

The great West! Seven great trunk lines of railway and their branches now gridiron its surface, connecting the East with the semi-tropical garden of fruit and flowers on our sunset coast, and with white-winged fleets from China and Japan. Over these lines a tide of imigration is constantly rolling westward and opening up wonderful fields of agricultural and mineral wealth.

That great buffalo pasture twelve hundred miles long and five hundred wide, lying along the eastern lap of the Rocky Mountains, extending from the Gulf of Mexico on the South to Manitoba on the North—a region in which I hunted with the wild Indian in my boyhood—is now dotted over with the cottage homes, villages, and cities of the dominant race.

It is no longer a synonym for Indians and wild

beasts, for its desert stretches are now populous and clad in Eastern forms of civilization. The locomotive has outstripped the woodsman with his axe and rifle, and has become the fleet-footed pioneer.

The Rocky Mountains which in Daniel Webster's day were thought to be the natural and insurmountable limits of empire; those hoary sentinels of the ages whose forms are wrapped in mantles of eternal snow, and whose majestic heads tower among the stars, now bend their proud necks beneath the feet of man the conqueror! Aye, even the locomotive has climbed their lofty summits, and high over all it parts the clouds of heaven in its thundering course, breaking aerial silences—heretofore unbroken save by the voice of the storm king in his fury—and wakening the slumbering valleys beneath to the grand coming of a nation in its march to the western sea.

I believe in God and in his great purpose concerning this land. I believe in Christ and in the power of his Gospel to redeem it from all its sins. I believe in the principles and doctrines of the Reformation and their final supremacy. And I believe in our godly foundation-builders of Church and State, and in the final achievement and Christian capstone of the structure they commenced.

As we look back over but one intervening century we see them at their family altars, and in the Church, the Presbytery, and the General Assembly. Again

we have glimpses of them in Continental uniforms at Lexington, Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, Trenton, and Yorktown.

Foundation-builders were they, and much of their work was done in want and pain, in poverty and woe, in storm and cloud and battle. Through blindness they saw to some extent—but, oh, how limited—the glory of our day. Could they have seen the present superstructure, the world's great temple of civil and religious liberty, how it would have nerved their hearts for battle!

From this harvest of a thousand-fold the fruit of their seed-sowing, let us, their children, take heart. Let us sow the seed of the Gospel, multiply our seed-sowers, do our work faithfully, in our day and generation; believe in the leavening, transforming, and all-conquering power of the Word of God; and look forward confidently and enthusiastically to the glory of a coming day when this broad land shall be as a field of waving palms, a Christian nation such as the world has never seen, the pride of Mount Zion and the joy of the whole earth.

"Zion rise, thy cords to lengthen,
  Hear the Master's rallying call!
Forward! all thy stakes to strengthen,
  Plant thy banners over all!

"Cast thy bread upon the waters,
  Sow thy seed o'er all the sod,
By the hands of sons and daughters
  Reap this continent for God!"

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND FOREIGN MISSIONS.

BY

MR. ROBERT E. SPEER.

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AND now, at last, at the close of this splendid day, we come to this final theme, "The Presbyterian Churches and Foreign Missions." A modest theme doubtless it appears to some, but perhaps if I should rephrase it, "The Presbyterian Churches and Their Relation to the Christian Conquest of the World," we should see more clearly its splendor and its solemnity. After all, this is the vital issue; here at last, at this bar, must every religion, every form of religious conviction, stand to be judged. Alexander Henderson and the Westminster Confession are not the final tests of the Presbyterian Churches. As our Master has said, it is not by clear perception, nor by crisp statement of doctrine, nor by forms of worship and of ritual, that religion is to be judged or discipleship to be tested; but by the warmth of its brotherhood and the tenderness of its love. "By this" said he, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one for another." And he

himself declared that on that wondrous day in which all the nations and peoples and beliefs of the earth shall stand before his throne, the ultimate test of all principles of human conduct, the ultimate test of all forms of worship and faith, will be found, not in their power to develop individual character, nor in their ability to form and consist with satisfactory doctrinal symbols, but in their power to persuade men to lives of self-forgetful service of their kind. "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: And before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say to them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me."

The Church of Christ was not established by him as a society for personal spiritual culture, nor for the development of personal character and refinement as ends in themselves, nor for the satisfaction of those demands of the intellectual life which crave doctrinal explication of the mysteries of the unseen or of the

divine life that has been manifested in history. Christ's Church came like Christ—not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give her life a ransom for many; and by its fruits in unselfish service and self-forgetful helpfulness must every branch of that Church be judged.

Nor are the Presbyterian Churches submitted to their final test by any appraisement of their relations to education, or to the young, or to home missions, or to the people. Such tests are preliminary, not ultimate. If the vision, the mission, the message of the Presbyterian Churches were provincial or ethnic, such testings might suffice; but against just this conception of a local design and a limited destiny we and our fathers have ever made protest with strenuousness; and have ever claimed for our faith those characteristics of universality without which we should be obliged to abandon also the contention that it was divine.

The Presbyterian Churches, therefore, have ever recognized the validity and the solemnity of this test to which we are now subjecting them. They have affirmed, as no other Churches have done, the world's utter need of the gospel, the unique sufficiency of Christianity, and the solitary lordship and sovereignty of Christ. Turning toward the cross, their members have ever cried—

"Thou, O Christ, art all we want;"

and turning toward the weary world, have added,

"And thou, O Christ, art all they want."

We have never been so much wiser than our Master as not to be willing to affirm with utter loyalty to their narrowness his own words, "I am the way and the truth and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me." And we have never dared to be so untrue to the world's own life as to proclaim any broader message than Simon Peter's, "There is none other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved." There is a King, one Jesus, and he is the only King.

Holding these deep convictions, the Presbyterian Churches have never been intimidated by charges of intolerance or illiberality. Fidelity to the truth of God and to the deepest needs of our sin-smitten humanity can never be bigotry. And we have never been ashamed in this matter to stand with him in whom alone God came to reconcile the world to himself, and whose attitude, as Horace Bushnell has pointed out, "is charity, not liberality; and the two are as wide apart in their practical implications as adhering to all truth and being loose in all. Charity holds fast the minutest atoms of truth as being precious and divine, offended by even so much as a thought of laxity. Liberality loosens the terms of truth; permitting easily and with careless magnanimity variations from it; consenting, as it were, in its own sove-

reignty to overlook or allow them; and subsiding thus ere long into a licentious indifference to all truth and a general defect of responsibility in regard to it. Charity extends allowance to men; liberality, to falsities themselves. Charity takes the truth to be sacred and immovable; liberality allows it to be marred and maimed at pleasure. How different the manner of Jesus in this respect from that unreverent, feeble laxity that lets the errors be as good as the truths, and takes it for a sign of intellectual eminence that one can be floated comfortably in the abysses of liberalism."

Our Churches have never been willing to buy a cheap reputation for liberalism, or to curry favor with those with whom indifference and uncertainty are the synonyms of enlightenment, at the price of treason to the world's Life and the world's Redeemer.

Nor has the revival of the study of comparative religions, with its tendency to pare down the uniqueness and compromise the supremacy of Christianity, diverted the great Churches to which we belong from their conviction that Christ alone can save men; that out of him men "are without hope and without God in the world;" and that "at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven, with the angels of his power in flaming fire, he will render vengeance to them that know not God, and to them that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus," however smooth the words or soft the poetry of their superstitions.

Once for all for us the final judgment in the matter of comparative religion was passed at Bethlehem and on Calvary. All the non-Christian religions except Mohammedanism were here before Christ came. God looked down upon them all and judged them insufficient; and by sending his Son to the best of them and condemning that, passed his final and conclusive judgment upon all. The incarnation closes the issue of comparative religion. Calvary was a colossal blunder, or it was the necessary fruit of God's conviction that Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Parsiism, Judaism, Shamanism, Fetichism, had been weighed in the balance and been found wanting.

Holding these opinions, consider for a moment the moral loathsomeness of the position of the Presbyterian Churches if they had not been missionary. Could more hideous enormity of guilt be conceived than that of Churches which believe that they stand in the midst of a lost world, holding in their possession a gospel of adequate life, who hear in their ears for ever the voice of their Risen Lord saying: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," and the wail of a dying world stumbling blindfold around the great altar-stairs of God, and who yet go their way, eat, drink, and make merry, with no regard for the commanding Master, and no pity for his weary world? I say solemnly that the anti-missionary Presbyterian church, or the anti-missionary member of our Church, or, even the

church or church-member who is not opposed, but only indifferent to the work of the world's evangelization, is either disloyal to the fundamental convictions of our Churches—aye, to the very foundations on which Christianity itself rests; or else, if yielding mental assent to these convictions, is an object of moral baseness beyond our power to describe, as also beyond our capacity to condemn. To believe that a man is dying, to stand by his bedside with adequate remedy, to be enjoined by acknowledged obligation to offer the remedy, and to refuse or to neglect, what can be imagined more awful, more repellant, more antagonistic to the spirit of a just and generous God than this?

The full force of these awful considerations has ever been felt by our Church. She has recognized from the beginning that she must be a missionary Church, or forfeit alike her prerogatives, her self-respect, and the blessing of God. In the General Assembly of 1838 she declared, in the first annual report of her Board of Foreign Missions, "In the providence of God and by his blessing, no branch of the Church of Christ has an organization so perfect to become a missionary community as that of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." Two years later a solemn resolution was adopted, prescribing a certain course of activity, to the end, as was specified, "That our whole Church in its organized form may become what she ought to be, a mis-

sionary Church; and that all other churches of other denominations may become animated with a true missionary spirit, and do their part in accomplishing the great work to which the Head of the Church is now summoning his people, the work of enlightening, reforming, and converting the world, that he may reign over all nations in the fulness of his grace and glory." Seven years later, on the 22d of May, the General Assembly listened and gave assent to these words of James W. Alexander: "Those who are gone admitted the claim of Christ's cause on us as a Church. One of them, especially, has left us his testimony. Consider, reverend brethren, these words, of date March 4, 1831, words suggested to this court of Jesus Christ, by Dr. Rice: 'In the judgment of this General Assembly, one of the principal objects of the institution of the Church by Jesus Christ was, not so much the salvation of individual Christians—for, whosoever believeth shall be saved—as the communication of the blessing of the Gospel to the destitute, with the efficiency of united efforts.' The Presbyterian Church is a missionary society, the object of which is to aid in the conversion of the world, and every member of the Church is a member for life of said society, and bound to do all in his power for the accomplishment of this object." In 1867 the Standing Committee on Foreign Missions reported to the General Assembly a resolution beginning with the declaration, "This Assembly regards the whole

Church as a missionary society whose main work is to spread the knowledge of salvation." Our brethren of the Southern Assembly have been equally outspoken. "In the Church South," as Dr. Houston declared at the Centennial Celebration of this Assembly at Philadelphia in 1888, "from the day on which she first took up her independent task, foreign missions have been recognized as the imperial cause. When in that day she found herself girt about as with a wall of fire, when no missionary had in his power to go forth from her bosom to the regions beyond, the first General Assembly put on record the solemn declaration that, as this Church now unfurled her banner to the world, she desired distinctly and deliberately to inscribe on it, in immediate connection with the Headship of her Lord, his last command, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,' regarding it as the great end of her organization, and obedience to it as the indispensable condition of her Lord's promised presence."

The General Councils of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system, have with equal consistency recognized the missionary obligations resting upon the broad fellowship of the Presbyterian Churches. "As to the constitution of the Christian Church," it was declared in the first Council, "Whether Presbyterian, Episcopal or Congregational, or a combination of these various elements, doubt and uncertainty may prevail; but as to

its missionary character there can be no question. When the Church ceases to do this, its very existence is at stake. Missions are but the simplest dictates of Christianity, and no more than decent tributes to it. They are essential, not extraneous to its nature." At this same Council the indubitable truth was recognized that, "If the Bible is to be our teacher, all dispute or doubt as to the obligation of evangelizing the nations is foreclosed at once. To deny it would be as complete an abnegation of Christianity as to deny the duty of loving the Lord our God with all our heart, or loving our neighbor as ourselves." In the Third Council, that incarnation of the apostolic missionary spirit, Dr. W. Fleming Stevenson, swept the whole Council with him as he gave expression to the fundamental faith of our Churches in St. Enoch's at Belfast, in the words, "But if Christian men seem now agreed that the Word of God does not merely contain here and there a missionary chapter, or the music of a missionary psalm, or some clear words of prophecy, or more clear and commanding word of Christ, but is throughout, an intensely missionary book, the missionary spirit being of the very essence of its revelation; if it is a book that responds, with the sensitiveness of a divine sympathy, to the cry of the lost but seeking spirit, to the burdened sign of pagan Asia as well as to the anguish of those that doubt and yearn in Europe and America; if it is a book

that proclaims, with every one of its tongues of fire, that there is a kingdom of God to grow out from it, instinct with its own spirit, a kingdom of living men in whom its revelation will be seen in action, by whom its sympathy and its offer of life and rest will be borne to every nation, in whom the great hunger for the redemption of the world has struck so deep, that every one who is of that kingdom must hunger with the same intensity, and look out on the world with the very eyes of Christ, and see, not in dreams and fancies of the poets, but by faith—faith which is no dreamer, but real and practical, carving swiftly the way to its own end—see, by faith, the march of the people back to God, the idols flung aside, and the cry of all—

> "Nothing in my hand I bring,
> Simply to thy cross I cling;"

if that is the idea of the kingdom of God, then even our noble missionary societies are not the adequate expression of this enterprise of Christian missions, but are only preparatory, and the conception of a missionary society we are to keep before us is of the Church herself, as broad as the Church, as manifold as her gifts, as numerous as her membership, and as much clothed as she can claim to be, with power from on high. That, in theory, is the position that has been taken by the great body of the Presbyterian Churches, and what I plead for is nothing more than

that this theory should be wrought into practice." In a later Council still, to quote but from one other, the report on foreign missions concluded "with the hope that clearer, fuller expression than ever before may be given to the great principle that the Gospel must be preached to every creature, and that 'missions' (in the well-known words of Alexander Duff) 'are the chief end of the Christian Church.'" And Dr. Murray Mitchell added, "Oh, then, let a voice, a proclamation, go forth from this great gathering, which shall be re-echoed from every General Assembly and Synod and Presbyterian church, and which shall go on reverberating from shore to shore, until the heart of every member and adherent of our communion is aroused, and the zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of man rises to the height of a holy passion."

The missionary spirit and conviction, therefore, are of the very fabric and texture of our Presbyterian Churches. Opposition to missions or indifference to missions is heresy. There is no worse heresy. The spirit of antagonism or indifference is heretical. The man who is guilty of it is unworthy of his fathers; unworthy of the principles on which the Church rests; unworthy of the Church herself; unworthy, most of all, of that dear Master, who, though he was on an equality with God, counted not that equality a prize to be jealously retained, but made himself of no reputation, and took on him the form

of a foreign missionary, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Such heresy should not be tolerated with easy carelessness. That Assembly was acting with sound judgment and a solemn recognition of its responsibilties, which instructed the Presbyteries to enter upon their records the names of all churches failing to contribute to the cause of foreign missions, with the reasons for their delinquency.

These fine protestations of missionary sympathy have not been confined to Assembly deliverance or fervent resolution. The Presbyterian Churches have deliberately assumed heavy and far-reaching responsibilities. Our fathers in this Church spread their missions all over the world. No other American Church has extended its banners or flung out its line of battle as we have done. Our missions are on every continent save Europe, and we confront every non-Christian religion. The American Board stands with us before Islam, but has no missions in South America. The Methodist Board works with us in South America, but has no missions to Islam. While the Baptist Union has missions neither in South America nor among the Mohammedans, save, as like the Methodists, it touches these in India. With our associated Presbyterian Churches we have spread out over the world as not even the Church of England has done; and while the Roman Catholic Church is more penetrative and universal, we at

least surpass it in the number of missionaries, in the indomitable zeal, and in the undiscouragable faith with which in Egypt, Persia, Turkey, and the Punjab we are making our assault on the citadels of Mohammedanism.

An unexaggerated estimate of the numbers for whom we, of this single Church, have made ourselves responsible by our occupation of heathen soil and by the principles of missionary comity, would assign to us perhaps not less than 160,000,000 of people. We were among the first to plant our missions in Japan, with its 40,000,000; Syria with its 1,500,000; Brazil with its 14,000,000; Mexico with its 12,000,000; Chili with its 2,500,000. We occupy alone Siam and Laos with their undetermined millions, estimated by some at 6,000,000, and by others at 30,000,000; Colombia, with its 4,000,000; Guatemala, with its 1,200,000; all of northern Persia, with its 5,000,000. Korea, with its 12,000,000, was opened practically by our own missionaries, and in China we bear great responsibility, in many cases the major responsibility, for 18,000,000 in the Province of Pechili; 35,000,000 in the Provinces of Chekiang and Kiangsu; 36,000,000 in the Province of Shantung; 30,000,000 in the Province of Canton and the Island of Hainan; and for the 21,000,000 of Hunan and the 32,000,000 of Anhui. While in India, we have laid our missions in the northwest Provinces with their 47,000,000; the Punjab with its 21,000,000; the Bombay Presidency with

its 19,000,000—for all of whom, we, with others, shall be obliged to give account in that great day when we stand with them, face to face, before the judgment throne of him who came, not to condemn, but to save the world.

On every continent, on the islands of the sea, on the soil of every non-Christian faith, the Presbyterian Churches have planted their standards. No Churches have recognized so clearly, or with such magnanimity, the rules of mission comity. None have been so careful to avoid transgression upon territory or among people for which other Churches have made themselves responsible; but even so, driven by the mighty impulse of our deep convictions, constrained by the love of that Christ for whose unique and stainless divinity we have been ever jealous, eager to offer to break the bread of life and to reveal to the restless millions who await "that light whose dawning maketh all things new," we have gone out as our Master bade, through the lands near at hand, on and on, unto the uttermost parts of the earth.

And the responsibilities that are implied in God's manifest blessing upon our Churches at home are as great and solemn as the responsibilities we have avowedly assumed. Mr. Moody, whose shrewd views of men and movements seldom err, said to a friend of mine not long ago, as he sought advice regarding a proposition made to him in connection with one of the boards of our Church, "It will be a place of great

power. That Church has the brains and the wealth of the United States." As to our intellectual capacity, we may let others speak for us; but it is common fame that whatever wealth can do, the Presbyterian Churches can do if they wish. The wealth of the United States according to the census of 1890 was $65,000,000,000. According to the same census, one-twentieth of the communicant members of the Churches were Presbyterians. While not all the population of the country is in the Churches, to assign to the Presbyterian Churches a proportion of the total wealth of the country as large as the proportion sustained by the Presbyterian communicants to the total Church membership of the country, would be well within the mark. It was asserted here the other evening that one-sixth of the wealth of this land is in the hands of the Presbyterians. Let us assume that one-twentieth is. According to the census statistics of our national wealth eight years ago this proportion would assign to our churches three billions of dollars. The average annual increase of our national wealth for the decade ending 1890 was two billions of dollars; the same proportionate increase during the present decade would make our present national wealth about ninety billions of dollars; one-twentieth of this would assign to Presbyterian control four and one-half billions of dollars; while our proportionate share of the annual increase of our national wealth would be one hundred and fifty mil-

lions. Our present gifts to missions, therefore, amount to one five-thousandth of our wealth, and less than one one-hundred-and-fiftieth, not of our income, but of what we annually save out of our income and add to our stock of accumulated values. One-third, or at the utmost, one-half of the treasure that the Presbyterian Churches alone lay up annually where moth and rust corrupt and where thieves break through and steal, would be sufficient, given annually, to support the work of the world's evangelization on a scale that would promise the effective proclamation of the gospel throughout the world, to the extent, probably, to which that responsibility rests upon the foreign mission enterprise.

As to men and women, it is estimated that two million young men and women will be graduated from colleges and higher institutions in this land in this generation. How many of these will be Presbyterians it is impossible to say. One-twentieth of them would be a low estimate. According to this estimate, 100,000 young men and women of our own Church will be sent out into life with the fullest and highest training which our country has to offer. One-half of this number would be sufficient, the wisest and most judicious missionaries think, to spread the gospel and establish native churches, so as to bring us reasonably in view of the issue of the distinctively foreign missionary enterprise. And this takes no account of the large numbers of men and women who have been

already trained, and who would be available for this glorious enterprise, if the spirit of Elijah and Paul—the spirit of blood and of fire, the spirit of passionate zeal and burning devotion, should fall upon the Church of our love.

The Presbyterian Churches alone have men and money enough for the world's evangelization. With no help from any other Church, helped only by the spirit of the Most High, we could go forth if we would, if it pleased God, to satisfy the heart of the expectant Christ, who waits to see of the travail of his soul, and to be satisfied. We are but a part of the innumerable company of the Church militant, and no such exclusive privilege of glorious service as this will ever be ours; but surely Providence is dumb, and the spirit of God has died away into a meaningless rustle of a breeze among the leaves, unless by such endowments of capacity as these, God is challenging us to a new service and a more Christ-like sacrifice.

And now, on these foundations, what conclusion shall we rest? Shall we turn now to glory in our past attainments? Should the predominant sentiment in our hearts be congratulation over the measure of our present obedience; satisfaction with what we have done in the way of the world's evangelization; or utter repentance at our failure and shortcomings, and intense desire after new obedience? God forbid that we should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Is it a time to praise the

Church for her great devotion, when, as has been supposed, she gives less than a tithe of a tithe, not of her income, but of her annual increase of wealth, for the evangelization of the non-Christian world, "Half as many mills on the dollar," some one has said, "as our fathers gave in 1840?" Is it a time to indulge in the sedatives of reminiscence and complacent contentment when, as Mrs. Bishop declared in Exeter Hall, November 1, 1893, "The work is only beginning, and we have barely touched the fringe of it; the natural increase of population in the heathen world is outstripping at this moment all our efforts?" Qualified as it should be, there is nothing soothing or soporific in such a statement, or in the fact that of the two million villages estimated to exist in Asia, probably not two hundred thousand have been reached, while three out of every four men in the world are ignorant of "the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all."

In comparison with that gift and the world's need, what is an offering of $881,000 and 700 men and women from the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America? Is there any sacrifice here? Undoubtedly, but by what standard? David Livingstone wrote:

"Hundreds of young men annually leave our shores as cadets; all their friends rejoice when they think of them bearing the commissions of our Queen. When any dangerous expedition is planned by gov-

ernment, more volunteers apply than are necessary to man it. . . . Yet no word of sacrifice there. And why should we so regard all we give and do for the well-beloved of our souls? Our talk of sacrifices is ungenerous and heathenish."

To pour out blood like water in the campaign in the wilderness was heroism! A lost missionary life is fanaticism! To incur a national debt of $2,845,907,626, and to expend $8,000,000,000 for purposes of bloodshed and war was patriotism. To give a few millions for a world's redemption is "charity." Such infamous opinions as the second and fourth are born of the lenient and dilatory spirit which regards the missionary enterprise as a spiritual luxury, and the missionary goal as far off, not attainable, not demanding the effort immediately to attain it. It may be so. We have no right to assume it. "Live," cried Luther, "as though Christ had died yesterday, risen to-day, and were coming to-morrow."

Let the standard go up and the tone of missionary appeal. There is no need of apology for putting the claim of the Cross and the Commission imperatively first. It belongs there. The mission cause should be presented as an obligation, unavoidable, immediate; and not with half-hearted interest or the benumbing contentment born of satisfaction with the past, or a low standard and ideal. With all just acknowledgment of the work already done, with deep gratitude for the spirit already aroused, let the heart

of the Church be turned to the vast work undone, waiting. As Browning's David says:

> "'Tis not what man does that exalts him,
> But what man would do."

Or, shall we, on the other hand, pause for criminanation and recrimination, complaint and criticism, because of the degree of our shortcoming and the width of the chasm that separates our self-indulgence from the self-sacrifice of Christ? And what profit would there be in that? No, let us rather turn our faces toward the future. We have reviewed our Churches' confession of their obligations; we have marked their acknowledgment of these obligations in their broad assumption of responsibilities; and we have noted God's equipment of our Church for larger service. We have stood this day in the presence of the fathers and have breathed their spirit; we have gloried in our traditions, and have blessed God for all that he has accomplished through us. And now let us forget the things that are behind, and reach forth unto the things that are before, to the mark of the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus, to the broader and more devoted service of humanity, and to the coronation of our King.

For we are not alone the guardians and trustees of the Westminster Standards, which are a statement of truth and life; we are the guardians and trustees of the life and truth therein described. And false

and reprehensible should we be if in our zeal for loyalty to the statement we forgot to be loyal to the substance. We shall be poor descendants of the men who made up the Westminster Assembly, and shall poorly complete their work, if we so concern ourselves with the deposit of truth which they sent down to us, as to lose sight of that great world's redemption, to the principles of whose necessity and method they gave formulation. What the world needs is not the prescription only, but also and even more, that healing stream for which the prescription calls,

> "Which flows from Calvary's fountain."

And from this point of view, the solemn and vital question for us this day is, not what we think of the divines of the Westminster Assembly, but what they are thinking of us, as associated to-night with Him who loved and died for the world, they are regarding it with His affection, and viewing all human enterprises as they appear in the light of His cross and His throne. The divines of the Westminster Assembly served their generation by the will of God, and fell on sleep. The supreme inquiry for us is, whether we are serving our generation by that same will, and are laying such foundations for the future as shall make the men of 2148 look back on this Assembly as we have been looking back to-day to the men and the Assembly of 1648? What sort of men we are

and what sort of men our children will be is of vastly more consequence to this world than the kind of men our ancestors were. There is a story of an Austrian nobleman, who, risen from the ranks of the common people, was taunted once by a group of degenerate princes because of his want of ancestry. "Gentlemen," he replied, "you are descendants; I am an ancestor." If I must make my choice, I would rather be the ancestor of a new Westminster Assembly than the descendant of an old one. I would rather be the architect of two hundred and fifty glorious years of future history than the product of two hundred and fifty years of great history past.

And I venture diffidently to make appeal to you in behalf of the generation that is to follow you. This Church is our Church, the Church of our love, as it has been your Church—my fathers—and the Church of your love. Set her face toward the larger future, and the world-wide service, we beseech you, as you commit the dear interests of her life to us. Make her to see the glory of her world-wide destiny. Let her walk out boldly into the large liberties. Lead us on where, laying aside every weight, and encompassed by the great cloud of witnesses, the glorious company of those who, from before the days of the Covenants, have witnessed a good confession, and have entered into their glory, we may do bravely the ever-broadening work of our Lord. Put our hands for us, before you go to

be yourselves numbered with that great company, to the vast tasks of the new day. The night is gone and the day is breaking. Standing amid the multitude of your sons who are following fast in your steps, I can see the long streamers which mark the coming of the dawn. Let us go out into it in the spirit of the great memories which this day has recalled, to make wrong things right, to make dark things light, to turn human hate into love, and human strife into peace; to beat the swords into ploughshares; to tell men that Christ is King, and to win them to his kingdom; to pour the blessings of his gospel over every land, from sea to sea; to whisper his gentle grace to every human heart; to hasten the certain coming of the glorious age of Tennyson's vision, when,

> "Universal love is each man's law,
> And universal right is each man's rule,
> And universal peace lie"—

no more

> "Like a shaft of light across the land,
> And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,'

but like the all-covering radiance of that city that hath no need of any sun, because the Lamb himself is the light thereof "thro' all the circle of the golden year."

THE WESTMINSTER STANDARDS AND THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

BY THE

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THE predominant influence in the history of mankind has always been that resident in ideas. All forms of human organization, religious, social, political, are the outgrowth of the ideas which constitute their formative principles. This is true whatever the character of the organizations, whether they be societies, communities, nations, or churches. The State as well as the Church, empires equally with republics, tyrannies equally with popular governments, are the results of the dominance of ideas in the human mind. It is this fact which gives to truth its supreme worth, and which confers upon all sacrifices made for principle an inestimable value.

The power resident in ideas finds marked illustration in the Protestant Reformation, which began its beneficent revolutionary work in the early years of the sixteenth century. That Reformation took as formative truths the sovereignty of God over human

affairs, the sovereignty of the Holy Scriptures as God's law over faith and conduct, the direct responsibility of the individual to God, and the fact that in his dealings with men God is no respecter of persons. Further, as ideas, these cardinal tenets of the Reformation became political as well as religious forces. Truth, when accepted, affects all the interests of men, material, mental and political, as well as spiritual. Church and State may be kept distinct, as they are in this land, but you cannot prevent by such separation the moulding influence of religious principles upon the human mind and human life. The Protestant Reformation became, therefore, an irrepressible and aggressive political force, maintaining and securing the rights of man to equality before the law, to liberty, and to a voice in the government under which he lives.

The ideas which caused and controlled the Reformation found expression two hundred and fifty years ago in the Westminster Standards. Doctrinally, the system of thought found in them bears the name of Calvinism, from its chief theologian, John Calvin of Geneva. Politically, the system is the chief source of modern republican government. That Calvinism and republicanism are related to each other as cause and effect is acknowledged by authorities who are not Presbyterians. Isaac Taylor calls republicanism the Presbyterian principle. Bishop Horsley declares that "Calvin was unquestionably in theory a Re-

publican," and adds that "so wedded was he to this notion, that he endeavored to fashion the government of all the Protestant Churches upon republican principles." This thought is still further carried forward by Bancroft when he speaks of "the political character of Calvinism, which with one consent and with instinctive judgment the monarchs of that day feared as republicanism." Emilio Castelar, the leader of the Spanish liberals, says that "Anglo-Saxon democracy is the product of a severe theology, learned in the cities of Holland and Switzerland." Leopold Von Ranke, the German historian, gives his weighty judgment in the words, "John Calvin was the virtual founder of America." James Anthony Froude, the English historian, bears witness to the character of the political progress of the last three centuries in the sentence, "nearly all the chief benefactors of the modern world have been Calvinists." Lord Macaulay writes that the ministers of the Church of Scotland inherited the republican opinions of Knox, and also states that the Long Parliament, which was controlled by Presbyterians, "is justly entitled to the reverence and gratitude of all in every part of the world who enjoy the blessings of constitutional freedom." The Long Parliament was the body which gave existence to the Westminster Assembly, and Macaulay's testimony therefore points to the intimate connection between Calvinistic doctrine and constitutional government.

These extracts from the writings of men who were not themselves Presbyterians, indicate clearly the political influence of the doctrinal ideas contained in the Westminster Standards.

The Westminster Standards were the common doctrinal standards of all the Calvinists of Great Britain and Ireland, the countries which have given to the United States its language and to a considerable degree its laws. The English Calvinists, commonly known as Puritans, early found a home on American shores, and the Scotch, Dutch, Scotch-Irish, French, and German settlers, who were of the Protestant faith, were their natural allies. It is important to a clear understanding of the influence of Westminster in American Colonial history to know that the majority of the early settlers of this country from Massachusetts to New Jersey inclusive, and also in parts of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, were Calvinists. They brought with them to this land those doctrinal ideas which exalt, as we have seen, in the human mind, the sovereignty of God, which bring all lives and institutions to the test of the Holy Scripture, which teach that the divine being is no respecter of persons, and which lead logically to the conclusion that all men are born free and equal. Further, the early British settlers, whether Presbyterians or Puritans, were all believers in the Westminster Confession. The Congregationalists of New England adopted it for doctrine in

1648, one year after its completion at London; the Baptists also adopted it in 1677 except as to Baptist peculiarities; the Presbyterians always maintained it vigorously for both doctrine and government; and the Reformed Dutch were in full sympathy with the Presbyterians. To put the situation concisely, about the year 1700 the American Colonists were divided into two great sections, the one Episcopalians and Monarchists, the other Calvinists and believers in popular government. From Boston to the Potomac Puritan and Presbyterian Calvinists were in the ascendant, and from the Potomac southward the majority of the people were of opposite tendencies. Naturally between these parties conflicts arose, caused by their fundamental differences in religion, in church government, and in the views which they held of the rights of the people. Into a lengthy and adequate consideration of these differences and of the conflicts which they engendered, the limits of time forbid that I should enter. I shall content myself with concise statement of several particulars, each of which is intimately connected as a fundamental factor with the formation of the American Republic.

One of the initial points of difference between the Calvinists and other of the early American settlers had to do with popular education. We to-day believe that the education of all citizens is fundamental to the welfare of the Republic. This prin-

ciple, however, it should be understood, is a logical result of Calvinistic thought and practice. Calvinists, taught by the Holy Scriptures, made religion a personal matter, not between man and the Church, but between the soul and God, and necessitated personal knowledge on the part of human beings of God's Word as the law of faith and life. Education in religious truth became therefore a cardinal principle of the Calvinists, and the steps were easy and swift from it to secular and popular education. This logical connection between Calvinism and education is acknowledged by our historian Bancroft, who says that Calvin was the "first founder of the public school system." It is also shown by the history of popular education. A high authority states that Presbyterian Scotland "is entitled to the credit of having first established schools for primary instruction to be supported at the public expense." The Scotch system of free education was founded in 1567, fifty years before the American Calvinist colonies had been established. Presbyterian Holland followed closely in the footsteps of Scotland, and the first settlers in New England and the Middle States, being themselves Calvinists, naturally proceeded at once, like their European brethren of similar faith, to care for the interests of education. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton Universities were all founded by men who believed in the Westminster Confession, and as early as 1647 Massachusetts and

Connecticut established public school systems. In some other colonies, however, a very different state of affairs was to be found. An Episcopal governor of Virginia, in 1661, thanked God that there were in that region neither "free schools nor printing." Steadily year by year, however, the belief in popular education, nurtured by our Calvinistic and Puritan ancestors, by men who believed in the Westminster Confession, and in the canons of the Synod of Dort, spread throughout the colonies, and to-day the right of all persons to become through instruction intelligent citizens is everywhere recognized in this great republic. Is education one of the foundation-stones of the nation? Then honor to whom honor is due, to the men of the Westminster Confession, and to those who with them believed in the application of Calvinistic principles to secular education.

Another cardinal principle of the government of this American nation is the separation of Church and State, with its resulting absolute religious freedom for the individual. This characteristic of the organization of the republic is also a logical outcome of Calvinistic doctrine. Establishments of religion are found in Europe, even in such Presbyterian lands as Scotland and Holland, but they are survivals from a past age, and are not a rightful development from the great Calvinistic principle, "that God alone is Lord of the conscience." This was seen clearly in the American Colonies first by the Dutch

settlers in New York, who were Presbyterians, then by the Baptists, who equally with the Presbyterians are Calvinists. The English-speaking American Presbyterians quickly recognized the full force of the principle, and as early as 1729, the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church declared that the power to persecute persons for their religion was contrary to the Word of God, and that the Church should be independent of the State. This Scriptural position was antagonized, however, at the first by the Congregationalists in New England, and especially by the Episcopalians in all the colonies where they were in authority. Gradually, however, the principle of untrammeled religious liberty won its way to recognition in New England, and the acknowledgment of it, there and in other parts of the country, was hastened by the attempts made from 1750 onward to establish the Episcopal Church in the colonies. United resistance to such attempts was first organized in 1766, ten years prior to the Declaration of Independence, and in large part by the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church. A petition had been sent by Episcopalians, in the year just named, from a convention held in New York, to the British government, for the appointment of bishops for America. Presbyterians and Congregationalists, Dutch, German, and French Protestants had experienced the baneful power of established Episcopal Churches on the other side of the Atlantic. The

bishops whom their ancestors had suffered under were arrogant lords, temporal and spiritual, over the heritage of God, men of an arbitrary temper and a merciless, persecuting spirit. American Calvinists could not forget the awful butcheries of the Spanish tyrants in the Netherlands, the terrible devastation wrought in the valley of the Rhine, the 100,000 victims of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the 18,000 covenanters who in Scotland, during a few brief years, were either massacred by dragoons or executed by the agents of ecclesiastical tyranny. The moment, therefore, that religious liberty was seriously threatened by the schemes of a Church which at that time was ultra-loyal to the British crown, and whose ministers with hardly an exception were opposed to the cause of the Colonies, American Calvinists joined forces and from New England, southward through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the valley of Virginia, to the highlands of North and South Carolina, never wavered a hair's-breadth from a thoroughgoing devotion to the cause of religious liberty. They stood shoulder to shoulder in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny, and their courage and high intelligence secured for the republic, that religious freedom, which is now a leading characteristic of our national life.

Having dealt with religious liberty, it is natural now to turn to the consideration of the specific relation of the American Presbyterian Church, to the civil

liberty which was secured by the independence of the United States. The opening of the Revolutionary struggle found the Presbyterian ministers and churches ranged solidly on the side of the colonies. In 1775 the General Synod issued a pastoral letter, an extract from which indicates the spirit prevailing in the Church, and reads, "Be careful to maintain the union which at present subsists through all the Colonies. In particular, as the Continental Congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, consists of delegates chosen in the most free and unbiased manner by the people, let them not only be treated with respect and encouraged in their difficult service, not only let your prayers be offered up to God for his direction in their proceedings, but adhere firmly to their resolutions, and let it be seen that they are able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry them into execution." Contemporary with this letter of the Synod was the famous Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence, renouncing all allegiance to Great Britain, passed by a convention in Western North Carolina, composed of delegates nearly all Presbyterians, and forestalling the action of the Colonial Congress in the same line by more than a year. Further, in the sessions of the Continental Congress, the influence of no delegate exceeded that wielded by the Rev. John Witherspoon, president of Princeton College, the only clerical signer of the Declaration of Independence—"a man Scotch in accent and strength

of conviction, but American at heart." Under his leadership and that of others the American Presbyterian Church never faltered in her devotion to the cause of the independence of these United States; her ministers and members periled all for its support, being ready, with Witherspoon to go to the block, if need be, in defence of civil and religious liberty. So resolute and aggressive were they in their opposition to the English government that the Colonial cause was repeatedly spoken of in Great Britain as the Presbyterian Rebellion. At the close of the war, in 1783, the General Synod addressed a letter to its churches, congratulating them on the "general and almost universal attachment of the Presbyterian body to the cause of liberty and the rights of mankind." What was true of the Presbyterian was true of the other Calvinistic churches of the land, of the Congregational and also of the German and Dutch Reformed.* If the believers in the Westminster Standards and cognate creeds had been on the side of George III. in 1776, the result would have been other than it was. But they stood where thoroughgoing Calvinists must ever stand, with the people and against tyrants, and therefore under the blessing of God the American Colonies became free and independent States. Rightly

* It is estimated that of the 3,000,000 Americans at the time of the American Revolution, 900,000 were of Scotch or Scotch-Irish origin; that the German and Dutch Calvinists numbered 400,000, and the Puritan English 600,000.

then, do we acknowledge the debt of the Republic to the men of the Westminster Standards for civil liberty.

We pass now to a fact which in connection with the influence of our Church upon the republic is quite as important as any yet dealt with, the position of the Presbyterian Church for three-quarters of a century, as the sole representative upon this continent of republican government as now organized in this nation. From 1706 to the opening of the revolutionary struggle, the only body in existence which stood for our present national political organization was the General Synod of the American Presbyterian Church. It alone among ecclesiastical and political colonial organizations exercised authority, derived from the colonists themselves, over bodies of Americans scattered through all the colonies from New England to Georgia. The colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is to be remembered, while all dependent upon Great Britain, were independent of each other. Such a body as the Continental Congress did not exist until 1774. The religious condition of the country was similar to the political. The Congregational Churches of New England had no connection with each other, and had no power apart from the civil government. The Episcopal Church was without organization in the Colonies, was dependent for support and a ministry on the Established Church of England, and was filled with

an intense loyalty to the British monarchy. The Reformed Dutch Church did not become an efficient and independent organization until 1771, and the German Reformed Church did not attain to that condition until 1793. The Baptist Churches were separate organizations, the Methodists were practically unknown, and the Quakers were non-combatants. But in the midst of these disunited ecclesiastical units one body of American Christians stood out in marked contrast. The General Synod of the Presbyterian Church was not dependent for its existence upon any European Church, was efficiently organized, and had jurisdiction over churches in the majority of the colonies. Every year Presbyterian ministers and elders from the different colonies, came up to the cities of Philadelphia or New York, to consider not only the religious interests of their people, but likewise educational and at times political questions. It was impossible, at that date, it must be remembered, to separate these latter issues from the affairs of the Church, for the country was under the English government, the Episcopal Church was the only Church to which that government was favorable, and Christians of other beliefs were compelled to act vigorously and unitedly in the maintenance of both their religious and secular interests. And the Presbyterian Church filled with the spirit of liberty, intensely loyal to its convictions of truth, and gathering every year in its General Synod, became through that body a

bond of union and correspondence between large elements in the population of the divided colonies. Is it any wonder that under its fostering influence the sentiments of true liberty, as well as the tenets of a sound gospel, were preached throughout the territory from Long Island to South Carolina, and that above all a feeling of unity between the Colonies began slowly but surely to assert itself. Too much emphasis cannot be laid, in connection with the origin of the Nation, upon the influence of that ecclesiastical republic, which from 1706 to 1774 was the only representative on this continent of fully developed federal republican institutions. The United States of America owes much to that oldest of American Republics, the Presbyterian Church.

The influence which the Presbyterian Church exercised for the securing of unity between the Colonies was zealously employed, at the close of the war for independence, to bring them into a closer union. The main hindrance to the formation of the Federal Union, as it now exists, lay in the reluctance of many of the States to yield to a general government any of the powers which they possessed. The federal party in its advocacy of closer union had no more earnest and eloquent supporters than John Witherspoon, Elias Boudinot, and other Presbyterian members of the Continental Congress. Sanderson, in his lives of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, states that "Witherspoon strongly combated the opin-

ion expressed in Congress that a lasting confederation among the States was impracticable, and he warmly maintained the absolute necessity of union to impart vigor and success to the measures of government." In this he was aided by many who had come to the views which he, as a Presbyterian, had always maintained. Those who differed with Witherspoon at the first came at last to his position. Slowly but surely ideas of government, in harmony with those of the Westminster Standards, were accepted as formative principles for the government of the United States, and that by many persons not connected with the Presbyterian Church. Among these were the great leaders in the Constitutional Convention, James Madison, a graduate of Princeton, who sat as a student under Witherspoon; Alexander Hamilton, of Scotch parentage, and whose familiarity with Presbyterian government is fully attested; and above all George Washington, who though an Episcopalian, had so great a regard for the Presbyterian Church and its services to the country, that he not only partook of holy communion with its members, but gave public expression to his high esteem. Indeed, at one time so marked was the respect for our Church during Revolutionary days, that it was feared by Christians of other denominations that it might become in America, what it was in Scotland, the Established Church, and so widespread was the feeling of alarm, that the General Synod felt compelled to pass a de-

liverance setting forth its views in relation to religious freedom. Great, however, as was the influence of the Presbyterian Church in those trying times, its ministers and members were always true to their own principles, and in every possible manner sought to maintain and further them in their application to the government of the United States, and especially in connection with the union of the Colonies whose independence had been achieved. Presbyterians both in the Old World and the New had been accustomed to representative government, to the subordination of the parts to the whole, and to the rule of majorities for more than two centuries prior to the American Revolution. They knew the value of unity to popular government, and they labored earnestly and persistently until their governmental principles were all accepted by the American people, and the divided Colonies became the United States of America. It is not that the claim is made, that either the principles of the Calvinistic creed or of the Presbyterian government, were the sole source from which sprang the government of this great Republic of which we today are citizens, but it is asserted that mightiest among the forces which made the Colonies a nation were the governmental principles found in the Westminster Standards, and that the Presbyterian Church taught, practiced, and maintained in fulness, first in this land that form of government in accordance with which the Republic has been organized. Our own

historian Bancroft says, "the Revolution of 1776, so far as it was affected by religion, was a Presbyterian measure. It was the natural outgrowth of the principles which the Presbyterianism of the Old World planted in her sons, the English Puritans, the Scotch Covenanters, the French Huguenots, the Dutch Calvinists, and the Presbyterians of Ulster." What the historian states as true of the war for independence is true of the organized government of the Republic. The elements of popular government were, without question, found in many of the Colonies, especially in New England, but the federal principle, whose acknowledgment resulted in the American nation, through the adoption of the Constitution of 1788, was found previous to that year in full operation upon this Continent, only in the American Presbyterian Church, and had in it its most practical and successful advocate. Chief among the blessings which Presbyterians aided in bestowing upon this country was and is the Federal Union.

Brethren of the historic judicatory which is the successor of the Presbyterian General Synod, Presbyterian fellow-citizens of the United States, such is the relation of the Westminster Standards to our national life, such is the answer which as Presbyterians we give to the question, what have the principles of these Standards done for the Republic? To-day, as we look over our broad national domain, as we see the 70,000,000 of our inhabitants in the enjoy-

ment of education, of religious freedom, of civil liberty, of the blessings which the Federal Union has secured to the nation, we can say, this hath Westminster, hath Calvinism wrought! This, too, is our answer to the assertion made by some ill-informed persons, in whose minds prejudice has usurped the throne of sound reason, the assertion that Calvinism is dead! Dead! Calvinism dead! The fundamental principles of Westminster are maintained to-day in this land not only by the Presbyterian and the Reformed Churches, but also by Baptists, Congregationalists, and many Episcopalians. The majority of American Protestants are Calvinists. Calvinism dead! It will cease to be both life and power only, when popular education shall give place to popular ignorance, when civil and religious liberty shall vanish, when the Republic shall be shattered into separate and warring nationalities, and when the very life shall have perished from government of the people, by the people, and for the people. But never shall such changes be. O! America, America! The sovereign hand of the Almighty rocked thy cradle, the eternal purpose sustained and nurtured thy founders, and we believe that the unchangeable divine decree hath ordained thee to be an indestructible union of indestructible States, the leader of the hopes of mankind, the majority of thy citizens servants of God and lovers of humanity, until the hour when God shall in truth dwell with men, and all mankind shall be his people.

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